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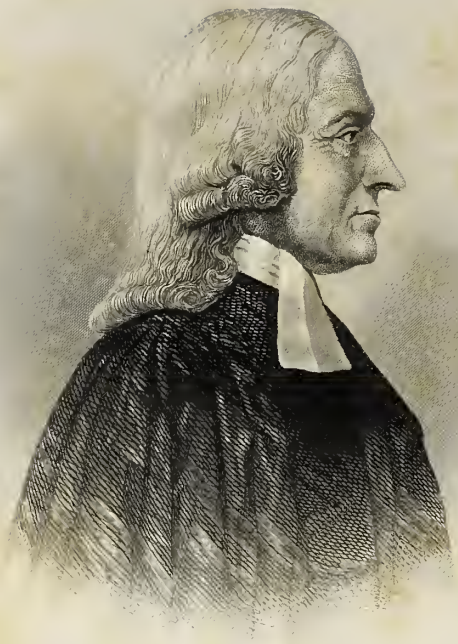

THE

# WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME;

OR,

## WESLEY AND THE METHODIST MOVEMENT,

JUDGED BY NEARLY ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY WRITERS,
LIVING AND DEAD.

EDITED BY

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D., LL.D.

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SCHOOL OF RELICION

1. "If Methodism continue in vigor and purity to future generations, it will be associated with the name of its founder, and encircle his memory with increasing luster."—*Richard Watson.*

2. "These gentlemen are irregular, but they have done good, and I pray God to bless them."—*Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

3. "Mr. Wesley, may I be found at your feet in heaven."—*Lowth, Bishop of London.*

4. "In him even old age appeared delightful, like an evening cloud; and it was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently, 'May my last end be like his.'"—*Alexander Knox.*

5. "I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century—the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums hence, if the present race of men should continue so long."—*Robert Southey.*

6. "His life stands out, in the history of the world, unquestionably pre-eminent in religious labors above that of any other man since the apostolic age."—*Abel Stevens.*

7. "His quarrel was solely with sin and Satan. His master passion was, in his own often-repeated expression, the love of God and the love of man for God's sake. The world has at length done tardy justice to its benefactor."—*Overton.*

# PREFACE.

WHEN a traveler over the mountains of California first sees at a distance those great trees, which, on their discovery, astonished the world, he experiences a sense of disappointment. They are only trees—large trees, it is true, and well proportioned, but yet only trees. But after he has stood in the midst of the grove—after he has walked for more than three hundred feet close around a single trunk, and looked up to branches as high above him—or perchance has walked upon some fallen tree a hundred feet above the ground, with a trunk so wide that along it a team might be driven; then, and not till then, does he realize their immense magnitude.

So is it with great men. First seen they are only men—common men in their appearance and habits. Not until we study their movements, record their labors, follow them in critical moments, consider their decisions, look out on their broad views, and feel the throbbings of their hearts, do we comprehend their greatness. The one grand and only perfect character our world has ever seen was not recognized by his own age. He had no "beauty that they should desire him," and "they esteemed him not." But after eighteen centuries he towers above all other characters.

In some measure, such was the life of John Wesley. No man of his time was less understood. He was singular, because he fixed his eye upon and followed only the truth. He was maligned and traduced. Pulpits denounced him, the press satirized him, and every year pamphlets and volumes attacked his doctrines and movements, and impugned his motives. But, unmoved, he kept steadily to his purpose, and went about doing good. To-day nearly a century has passed; the names

of many of his detractors have perished, but every-where he is associated with the great thinkers and glorious workers of the world. His name to-day is upon more lips, in more lands, than is that of any other man of his times.

It was a happy thought of the editor of this volume to secure different writers, from different churches, and from different stand-points, to present their estimates of Mr. Wesley's life and works. For Wesley was many-sided, and from many points of view his characteristics are worthy of record.

To us, two elements in him are pre-eminently conspicuous. First, his unwearying labor and perseverance: second, his entire dedication of himself to Christ and his work. He planned his work skillfully, and did it thoroughly. It has been said of him that "he read more, wrote more, preached more, and traveled more, than any minister, if not than any man, of his times." His long life, spanning nearly a century, gave him great opportunities, and they were well improved. Two entries in his journal illustrate his life: "Here I rested for two weeks, that I might write up my notes, preaching only every morning and evening." And in his eighty-third year, preparing Mr. Fletcher's life, he says: "To this I dedicated all the time I could spare till November, from five in the morning till eight at night. These are my studying hours: I cannot write longer in a day without hurting my eyes." He knew no rest till he found it in the grave.

He early read, translated, published, and took into his own heart and life, the little book of Thomas à Kempis, called the Imitation of Christ. To be like Christ, to think Christ's thoughts, to speak Christ's words, to carry out Christ's plans, to do, as far as man might do, Christ's works, was the one grand ambition of his life. Hence those broad ideas of toleration, Christian fellowship and unity, which the Christian world is slowly embracing. He heard the Master say, "The field is the world;" and his heart echoed back, "The world is my parish."

M. S.

# A PREFATORY POEM.

SEE God's witness unto men !
Faithful through all the earnest years,
As though, from old anointed seers,
One had been bid to earth again
For ordered work among his peers.

Kindle as ye read the tale,
The thrilling tale of duty done,
Of gospel triumphs, nobly won
By Truth, almighty to prevail,—
By Love, unselfish as the sun.

They to holy missions born,
Who shed a bloom upon the days,
And work for Christ in loving ways ;
For them the envious blasts of scorn
But scatter seeds of future praise.

Time the great avenger is
Of patient souls with lofty aim ;
For whom the blind to-day hath blame,
The wiser morrows hoard the bliss,
And fill the ages with their name.

Who themselves for others give,
Need not to slander make reply,
Nor falter in their purpose high ;
For God hath willed that they should live,
While all the proud self-seekers die.

True hearts wish no flattering songs ;
They humbly bow in holier fane;
Men do not bless the clouds for rain.
The music of the lyre belongs
To the skilled hand which wakes the strain.

Service is its own reward
  If the deep love but prompt the deed.
  All heaven-sent souls can ask or need
Folds in the favor of the Lord ;
  Their guerdon this—their highest meed.

Praise we then OUR GOD ALONE,
  Who made his servant thus complete !
  And pour we, in libation sweet,
Our wealth of spikenard—each his own—
  In tribute at the Master's feet.

*March* 17, 1879.

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# INTRODUCTION.

IN offering the WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME to the Public, it may be proper to state the facts in which it had its origin.

Its object is twofold: first, to erect by pen-pictures, drawn by leading minds, a MEMORIAL to WESLEY which shall be, we trust, more enduring than marble: second, to aid the completion of the WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH, now building in Savannah, Ga., the only city in America in which Mr. Wesley had a home and a parish. To the completion of the MONUMENTAL CHURCH the net proceeds of the sale of the book will be exclusively devoted.

During the Editor's late visit to England the MEMORIAL VOLUME was conceived. It was suggested to his mind, with almost the force of an inspiration, that such a work would not only aid his efforts to build the MONUMENTAL CHURCH, but help to illustrate the life-work of John Wesley, and bring the various METHODISMS OF THE WORLD into closer union and fellowship. While lying, pressed by many a care, upon his bed at his hotel in London, the MEMORIAL VOLUME, with its name, its subjects, and its contributors, was, after constant and earnest prayer to Almighty God, mapped out with such vividness and distinctness that he arose at once and wrote out the plan. The book now offered to the public is the result.

The work is given, in all its essential features, just as it was first conceived and planned on that, to the Editor at least, eventful morning. A few subjects have been added, and a few names substituted; but the great majority of the contributors are those who, from its inception, were assigned to the subjects upon which they have written. That the Editor might be more

likely to succeed, to some of the themes more than one writer was assigned. If one failed, there were others equally able to whom he could apply. With the exception, therefore, of certain subjects subsequently added, and of a few prepared by writers other than those to whom an invitation to write for the work was first given, and whose previous and unfulfilled engagements allowed them to take no part in it, the volume, both in its subjects and contributors, is very nearly what the Editor designed from the beginning.

On the same day the work was conceived, the Editor began a correspondence with some of those whom he had selected to write for it. On some he called, and made personal request. In a few days he received the pledges of the Rev. Dr. James H. Rigg, the Rev. Dr. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Mr. George J. Stevenson, M.A., Sir Charles Reed, LL.D., and the Rev. Dr. Abel Stevens. To these were soon added the pledges of the Rev. Dr. William Cooke, the Rev. Joseph Kirsop, the Rev. Dr. W. Morley Punshon, the Rev. Dr. William B. Pope, the Rev. Dr. O. T. Dobbin, the Rev. Dr. E. O. Haven, and the Rev. Luke Tyerman.

With these pledges, received in London, the Editor returned home to complete what was so auspiciously begun abroad. How he has succeeded will appear in the volume itself. In it the reader will find representative writers from nearly all the Methodisms of Europe, Canada, and the United States. It was the Editor's wish that no Methodist organization claiming John Wesley as its spiritual founder should be left out of the MEMORIAL VOLUME. Every effort in his power to secure this result has been made. If any one is omitted it has been from no fault of the Editor, for he loves all the people called Methodists, and prays that all, with one heart and one soul, may preserve the unity and purity of Wesleyan Methodism.

The Editor would here gratefully record his obligations to all who have contributed to the work. It is, indeed, marvelous how readily responses were made to his call. This is

more a matter of surprise when it is remembered that every contributor is overburdened by Church work and other pressing engagements, and that every article has been a free-will offering—a voluntary contribution—to the MONUMENTAL CHURCH. Every article, as Dr. Abel Stevens called his when he sent it from his temporary sojourn by the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, is the author's "brick" in the monumental edifice which we are building in America in honor of the great and good Wesley. To one and all the Editor returns his heartfelt thanks. May God reward them for what has been to each a labor of love and self-sacrifice!

In returning thanks to the noble corps of writers who have aided him, the Editor must return special thanks to those who belong to other communions. May Heaven's choicest blessings rest upon them! To this simple but sincere prayer we are sure that our common Methodism will respond a hearty *Amen.*

Besides those whose names appear as contributors to the volume, the Editor is under obligation to others. It is very gratifying to be able to record that from every one—except three or four—both in Europe and America, with whom, while preparing the work, the Editor has corresponded, answers have been received. But perhaps it is due to the three or four who have failed to answer his communications, to say, that the Editor has no evidence that they ever received the letters which he addressed to them. Their silence may, therefore, be explained by the fact that his letters to them never arrived at their destination. From all others, however, most prompt and courteous answers came, nearly all of which were full of tenderest sympathy, of good cheer, and of sincere regrets on the part of such as were prevented by prior and imperative engagements from writing the articles requested. For such universal promptness and kindness the Editor can account but in one way:—it was a beautiful tribute to the memory of the great Christian teacher and reformer whose life work he was seeking to honor. It showed more fully than

anything else could show, what a hold the name of John Wesley has upon all true Christian hearts the world over. And this is the more remarkable when it is remembered, that many of these answers came from those who are not called by Mr. Wesley's name. In nearly every instance, both those who have written for the MEMORIAL VOLUME and those who were compelled to decline, have pronounced it a very great honor to be asked to contribute to such a work.

It would, no doubt, give great pleasure to Methodists and the friends of Mr. Wesley to read the letters themselves, or to see them in print. But they are too many and voluminous to be given here. While this is true, the Editor may be permitted to give a few to the public, either in whole or in part. And this he does the more readily, because, when he asked contributions, he requested either articles on the subjects assigned, or letters which might be used in the published volume. Out of the many received the Editor gives only the answers of such as have no article in the book itself. They are given in the order in which they were received, and the names of the distinguished writers are as follows: the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, ex-Premier of Great Britain; the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, of the Tabernacle, London; the Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B., of Christ Church Square, London; Mr. Wm. E. H. Lecky, M.A., author of "Rationalism in Europe," "European Morals," and "England in the Eighteenth Century;" the Right Rev. Dr. Ellicott, Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; the Rev. Dr. W. Antliff, of the Primitive Methodist Theological Institute, Sunderland, England; the Rev. Dr. J. F. Hurst, President of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey; the Rev. Dr. Wm. M. Taylor, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York city; the Rev. Dr. M. Simpson, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, of New York city; the Rev. Dr. Wm. Bacon Stevens, Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania; the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Payne, Bishop of the African M. E. Church, United States; and the

Rev. Dr. Alexander Clark, editor of the "Protestant Methodist Recorder," Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Editor regrets to add that the Rev. Dr. Clark is since deceased. The letters are as follows:—

HAWARDEN, *September* 7, 1878.

Dear Sir: The design described in your letter is full of moral and historical interest, but I regret to say, it is quite beyond my power to take part in it. It would require me to enter upon a new and distinct set of studies necessary for the proper execution of the work, whereas my engagements already begun are in sad arrears. I must, therefore, ask you to excuse me.

I remain, dear sir, your very faithful and obedient

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. W. E. GLADSTONE.

---

NIGHTINGALE LANE, CLAPHAM, *September* 13, 1878.

Dear Sir: I count it a great honor to have been asked to contribute to the Wesley Volume; and you have rightly judged that I should have written in a tone which would show that no doctrinal differences prevent my feeling deep veneration for the character of John Wesley.

I am, however, unable to attempt more work. I am burdened as it is, and can hardly hold on from week to week. I have no leisure, nor the prospect of any, and I could not undertake the work which you request of me. Yours very truly,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. C. H. SPURGEON.

---

THE TRY HOUSE, CHRIST CHURCH SQUARE,
HAMPSTEAD HEATH, *September* 17, 1878.

My Dear Sir: I feel deeply grateful for the high honor your request confers on me. I only wish my ability were equal to my desire to comply with it. But the fact is, that I have just returned from my vacation to a long series of preaching engagements in different parts of the country, which, added to my onerous pastoral work, entirely prevent my venturing to undertake so honorable and responsible a service.

With hearty good wishes, believe me, dear sir, faithfully yours,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. NEWMAN HALL.

---

38 ONSLOW GARDENS, S. W., *October* 4, 1878.

Dear Sir: I am sorry I cannot write an article for the Memorial Volume, for I have already in hand a long book which requires all my

energy and time; and I have, moreover, very recently published, at considerable length, my views about Wesley and his relations to English history.

If men may be measured by the work they have accomplished, John Wesley can hardly fail to be regarded as the greatest figure who has appeared in the religious history of the world since the days of the Reformation; and few men have produced a religious revival in a time so little propitious to religious emotion, or have erected a great Church with so little of the spirit of a sectarian.

It was a strange thing that, at a time when politicians were doing so much to divide, religious teachers should have done so much to unite, the two great branches of the English race; and that, in spite of civil war and of international jealousy, a movement which sprang in an English university should have acquired so firm a hold over the hearts and intellects of the American people.

Wishing every success to your Memorial,

I remain, dear sir, your obedient servant,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. W. E. H. LECKY.

---

PALACE, GLOUCESTER, *October* 5, 1878.

My Dear Sir: I am much honored by your kind and explicit letter. I am unfeignedly sorry, as I have told Dr. Rigg, that I am unable to take any part, however little. My time is now used up to every moment; and I am under a pressure which positively precludes my undertaking any more. I can now hardly keep up my correspondence.

This must be my excuse for this brief answer to your most friendly and interesting letter.

I have no doubt that the forthcoming Volume will be received with interest in both this country and America.

I shall keep your letter as an example of true, heart-whole enthusiasm in the cause you so ably advocate.

Excuse one overpressed for saying no more, but believe me,

Very faithfully yours,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. C. J. GLOUCESTER and BRISTOL.

---

PRIMITIVE METHODIST THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,
SUNDERLAND, *October* 31, 1878.

Dear Sir: Yours came to hand just as I was leaving home on Saturday. I take the earliest opportunity of thanking you for the honor you do me

in asking me to write for the WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME. On account of the state of my health, and my numerous engagements, I am obliged to decline the undertaking.

I am very sorry I cannot help you in your most laudable work. With my best wishes, I am, Yours truly,

REV. DR. CLARK. W. ANTLIFF.

---

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
MADISON, N. J., *November* 8, 1878.

My Dear Doctor: I have read your letter with great interest, and think you have made a very wise and successful choice of writers for your happily-conceived work. I regret to say that it would be impossible for me to prepare any thing worthy of the subject within the coming six months, as I am so far committed to other enterprises as to be unable to find the time.

Wishing you great and continued success in your work in behalf of the Monumental Church, I am, Yours very truly,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. J. F. HURST.

---

5 WEST THIRTY-FIFTH STREET,
NEW YORK, *December* 4, 1878.

My Dear Sir: I have read your letter of 28th ult. with great interest, and if I could have assented to your request, I should have felt it to be a high honor to be associated with so many excellent men in so good a cause. But I am already working up to my very last pound of steam, and I must not undertake any thing extra. Such a paper as you wish should be one's best. But the subject is rather out of the line of my studies; I should have to read up for it as well as write on it, and with my present duties on me it would be madness for me to attempt any thing more.

Not, therefore, because I have no interest in your work, but rather because I have not the time to give to any extra literary work, I am compelled to ask you to excuse me. Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. WM. M. TAYLOR.

---

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 6, 1878.

Dear Brother: Yours of 29th ult. is just received. I am much pleased with the character of the work you are about to publish. The titles of the

articles and the names of the contributors must secure it success. I regret to say, however, that it will not be in my power to contribute an article as you desire. . . . I could not devote an hour to any other literary work. I have been obliged to lay over every thing else on account of the pressure that is upon me. Wishing you success,

Yours truly,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. M. SIMPSON.

---

BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK, *December* 12, 1878.

My Dear Sir: Your favor of November 28 was received this morning. With the best disposition to contribute my humble share toward honoring the memory of the great and good Wesley in your proposed volume, I must reluctantly decline, as my time and strength are already taxed to the utmost tension. Respectfully yours,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. PHILIP SCHAFF.

---

EPISCOPAL ROOMS, 708 Walnut-Street,
PHILADELPHIA, *January* 11, 1879.

Reverend and Dear Sir: In reply to your kind and interesting letter of the 3d inst., in reference to the WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME, I beg leave to say, that my engagements are so numerous and so pressing, that I cannot conscientiously undertake the work you suggest, and must, therefore, respectfully decline your kind request.

The volume which you contemplate making, will, I doubt not, prove both interesting and instructive.

Very truly yours,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. WM. BACON STEVENS,
*Diocese of Pennsylvania.*

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XENIA, Ohio, *January* 12, 1879.

My Dear Sir: Yours of November 29 came to hand late in December. I am in sympathy with your enterprise. I think it a grand one, and hope you may succeed beyond your most sanguine expectations. At the same time I regret that numerous unfinished manuscripts now before me will consume at least twelve months in finishing them. They are official, and, therefore, cannot be laid aside for any other work. So that to overhaul the Journal of Wesley in order that I might write such an essay as you desire, and the dignity of your book demands, is entirely out of my power at the present time. Very respectfully yours,

REV. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D. PAYNE.

METHODIST PROTESTANT BOARD OF PUBLICATION,
PITTSBURGH, *April* 7, 1879.

MY DEAR DR. CLARK: The announcement that you had undertaken the preparation of a WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME, by which to perpetuate the historical associations of Methodism, has given real satisfaction throughout our Methodist Protestant Branch of the Wesley family. Our people are thoroughly Methodistic in doctrine, in usage, in taste, and in all the fraternal sympathies of the Gospel. Ours claims to be a republic of mutual-righted preachers and people, holding the faith of John Wesley precious, and rejoicing with our older and larger sisters of the Methodist persuasion in a common joy at the constantly enlarging dominion of this many-agented but unifold organization.

The spirit of the world's Methodism is ever the same; and it is the spirit of love, of peace, and of devotion. Whatever may be the differences of polity among the Methodist branches, the life and power are forever one. It is full salvation which Methodism proclaims to the dying world, as if the consecrated messengers knew but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and shouted the glad tidings as a one-hearted song.

Our branch of this happy family, whose parish is the world and whose heritage is heaven, unites with all the others in congratulation that the hallowed garden-ground at Savannah is to be marked henceforth by a monument, not as over a grave but as over a cradle; for your service is to commemorate the new birth of Christianity in the wilderness; to record the consequent life and beauty of Methodism; and to foretell the coming glory of this wonderful manifestation of the divine favor. Yours is a gracious privilege. You do the will of a vast multitude. What Plymouth Rock is to Congregationalism, the rich soil of Georgia, where Wesley planted Methodism, is to a vastly larger host of Christian people this day. The Puritans wrought a work in America worthy of their rigid integrity, and a million voices speak blessings on their names; but the doctrine of free-grace, as interpreted by the scholar of Oxford, preaching beneath the pines and palmettos of the New World, has found a welcome in a much larger multitude of exultant souls.

I greet you, dear brother, with a warm right hand in your most commendable service. Others of our branch, authorized to speak for us more officially—President L. W. Bates, D.D., of Lynchburgh, Virginia, and Secretary George B. M'Elroy, D.D., of Adrian, Michigan—will doubtless send you a message of becoming ecclesiastical recognition, and I venture to speak my *Amen* to their communication beforehand, or in the midst, or afterward, wherever, in the method of responsive Method-

ism, this sincere word may chance to strike the current of the more important correspondence from the body to which I have the honor to belong.

And may heavenly benedictions crown your efforts in a thousand lingering joys, until our glory is complete in Jesus Christ our Lord!

Affectionately, ALEXANDER CLARK.

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Before dismissing this Introduction it should be stated, that all the articles in this volume, except a very few, were written expressly for it, and have appeared nowhere else. And of those excepted nearly all have been rewritten or especially arranged by their respective authors. For the poem, "In Memoriam—Charles Wesley," by the late Benjamin Gough, the writer is indebted to Mr. George J. Stevenson, of Paternoster Row, in whose excellent work, "The Wesleyan Hymn Book and its Associations," the poem originally appeared. The Editor takes this occasion to say, that to no one while abroad was he under greater obligations than to George John Stevenson. For so much patient service, at the cost of so much labor and self-sacrifice, and for so many delicate attentions to himself and other American strangers in the great and crowded metropolis of England, the writer of this will ever pray that the benedictions of Heaven may always rest upon Mr. Stevenson and his equally kind and hospitable family.

For the paper, "The Wesley Memorial in Westminster Abbey," the Editor is indebted to the distinguished personages who shared the leading parts in the beautiful and appropriate ceremonies which witnessed the unveiling of the Wesley Monument in that venerable mausoleum. The hand of Dean Stanley himself, chief speaker on the occasion, has arranged his address for publication here. And to the same worthy Dean we are under special obligations for permission to print his late address before the WESLEYAN CHILDREN'S HOME of London. This address, never before given to the public, revised by Dean Stanley, and printed for this volume at the press of the

Children's Home, was sent to the Editor by Mr. T. B. Stephenson, M.A., its able and distinguished president.

To Miss Eliza Wesley, of London, grand-daughter of Charles Wesley, the poet of Methodism, the Editor is indebted for two tunes by her father, Samuel Wesley, and one by her late brother, Samuel S. Wesley, both of whom were eminent musical doctors, and musicians to the English Court.

To the Rev. Dr. Edmond de Pressensè, of Paris, pastor of the Reformed Church of France, whose aid, at the request of the Editor of this volume, was procured through the kind intervention of the Rev. M. Lelièvre, of L'Evangeliste, Nimes, and whose communication was sent both in French and in the English translation, the Editor has the pleasure of returning his sincere thanks.

Many have been the letters received in which the prayers of the writers were offered up for the success of the WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME! Writing from his Irish home, in Dublin, Dr. Orlando T. Dobbin, of the Church of England, thus concludes a letter to the Editor:

"Allow me to wish you a favorable voyage, and a return cargo richer than that of a Spanish galleon, with your handsome venture. With yourself I anticipate for the good Ship, John Wesley, a hearty welcome in every port the bark may touch at. Better than this, I believe and hope your book will do real good to souls, and lead many to think what it was that wins all this renown to your once humble preacher but now exalted saint."

SUSANNA WESLEY.

THE

# WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME.

## THE WESLEY FAMILY.

THE righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, is the declaration of the psalmist; and the truth of those words was probably never more clearly demonstrated than in the family of the Epworth Wesleys, but more particularly in the persons of John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism. In almost every country under heaven there are to be found adherents and followers of John Wesley by the name of Methodists; and in a much wider sense the influence of Charles Wesley is felt, for his hymns are sung by Christians of every denomination; and whether these people, spread all over the earth, acknowledge their indebtedness to those two brothers or not for helps in their religious services, the fact remains the same.

Though at first despised, insulted, and every-where spoken against, the Wesleys persevered in the glorious work which they commenced at Oxford about the year 1729, and which assumed a more definite and permanent form ten years afterward, when, in the month of November or December, 1739, John Wesley commenced the "United Societies," which have spread and increased until they now reach the uttermost parts of the earth. Now the question arises on many lips, Who are these Wesleys, and whence came they?

For a period of two hundred and eighty years nothing was known of the history of the Wesleys beyond the seventeenth century. Dr. Whitehead, Dr. Adam Clarke, and Dr. Robert Southey, all three of whom wrote what they considered to be elaborate and exhaustive memoirs of the Wesleys, all failed to throw even a glimmer of light on their early history, while one of these learned men declares, that all the records of the family of an earlier date than the reigns of the Stuarts in England are lost. That statement has no foundation in truth. Records do exist, by which we are enabled to get a continuous genealogy of the Wesleys during fully one half of the Christian era: but the three learned doctors named above did not persevere in their researches long enough to receive the reward which has crowned the perseverance of the writer. It is believed that we are indebted to a near relative of the Duke of Wellington for the gathering together and completing the Genealogical Table of the Wesley Family, so far as it is complete, which was done nearly a century ago. It is a curious circumstance that about the period these inquiries were being made by the descendants of the Earl of Mornington, John Wesley should have made the declaration, that all he or his family knew of their ancestry went no further back than a "letter which his grandfather's father had written to her he was to marry" in a few days. That letter was dated 1619, so that Bartholomew Wesley was then a single young man. Beyond that period the Epworth Wesleys knew nothing of their ancestry. Had they known what we do, it might have had the effect of diverting their minds from that great work which has made their memories so precious to multitudes of people all the world over.

In the annals of both England and Ireland the Wesleys, or Westleys, or Wellesleys, (for they exist under all these designations,) have a place which marks them in successive generations as among the foremost men of the age for loyalty, chivalry, learning, piety, poetry, and music: not all represented

in any one person or generation, but in the successive ages these are distinguishing features of the leading members. These marks of mental and moral culture, as well as of eminent natural genius, were not extinct in those members of the family who have but recently passed away from earth; nor are they in those who still survive. When the venerable Samuel Wesley died, in 1837, it was acknowledged by those who knew him best, that as an extempore player on the organ, or as a composer of organ-music, he had but few equals and no superior; while in the person of his son, Dr. Samuel Sebastian Wesley, who died as recently as April 19th, 1876, the same surpassing excellence was readily accorded to him as had been bestowed on his father.

Long before the Normans conquered the country called England, the Wesley family occupied a prominent place in the land. Before surnames were used, and before England was united under one sovereign, this family flourished. When Athelstan the Saxon ruled in this land, A.D. 925–940, he called Guy, the then head of the family, to be a thane, or a member of his parliament. This Guy married his kinswoman, named Phenan, the daughter of an old chieftain; he resided at Welswe, near Wells, in Somerset. His son was Geoffrey, who occupied a prominent position among his Saxon compeers, and having been unjustly treated by Etheldred, he joined himself to the Danish forces, and marched with Sweyn against his own countrymen. His son was Licolph, who is said to have been concerned in the murder of Edmund the Elder, A. D. 946, and he was in his turn murdered on his way home to Etingdon many years afterward. His eldest son, Walrond, married Adelicia Percy, and long resided on his ancestral estate, the Manor of Welswey, and died there about A. D. 1070, leaving two sons, Avenant and William. Both these persons were owners and occupiers of large landed territory. Avenant obtained the sergeantry of all the country east of the river Peret to Bristol Bridge. About that period surnames began to be used, or

terms which led to them; hence we find the elder of these brothers thus designated in contemporary records: Avenant of Welswey, or Wesley; while the younger is mentioned as William de Wellesley, who married Elene de Chetwynde. The son of the latter was the heir, whose name was Roger de Wellesley; he married Matilda O'Neal, and left issue, two sons and two daughters. The marriage of these four children into some of the principal families in England greatly increased the property of the family, and extended their influence in the country. Stephen, the heir, married Alice de Cailli, county of York. He having distinguished himself with Sir John Courcy in the wars in England and Gascony, was sent with Sir John to Ireland in 1172, to try and subdue Ulster. Of their four children, Walter, the youngest, who had been initiated into all the arts of chivalry, was permitted to accompany his father to Ireland, and he had the distinguished honor of being appointed standard-bearer to the King, Henry II., who led the warlike expedition. For his military services in Ireland he obtained large grants of land in the counties of Meath and Kildare, and he settled in that country on his property. A standard, supposed to be the one carried in 1172, was preserved in the Irish branch of the family to quite a recent period. The Irish Wesleys became a numerous and influential family.

Leaving the Irish branch of the Wesleys to the heir, Valerian, his younger brother, Nicholas de Wellesley, married Laura Vyvyan, daughter of a Cornish Baronet, and inherited the English estates in the west of England. He was engaged in much military service, for which he was amply rewarded, and left issue four sons and two daughters, several of whom married, by which the family estates were again increased. William was his heir. He is sometimes called Walrond, and was grandson of the standard-bearer. He married Ann, daughter of Sir William Vavaseur. Contemporary history mentions him as Walrond the younger, a great warrior; he was slain, with Sir Robert Percival, in a battle with the Irish, October 22, 1303,

aged seventy years. For his courage and conquests the honor of knighthood was conferred on him. His eldest son, William, was also slain in battle with the Irish. His youngest son, John, became the heir as Sir John de Wellesley, Knight, who married a daughter of the English Wellesleys, of the county of Somerset. His son, Sir John de Wellesley, was summoned to Parliament as a baron of the realm, and as sheriff of Kildare. William, the younger son, became the heir, with the title Sir William de Wellesley. He was one of the most influential men of his time, and his family represented interests of such magnitude as but seldom concentrate in one household.

We take a new starting-point here, as from this center there emanate three very prominent streams of family life and influence. Sir William was married to Elizabeth, by whom he had one son, Edward, and three daughters. Edward joined the Scottish army during the Crusades, and set out with Sir James Douglas and the Crusaders to Palestine with the intention of placing the heart of Robert Bruce in the Holy Sepulcher: he died in a contention with the Saracens in 1340. This incident entitles the Wesleys to use the scallop shell in the quarterings of their family arms; indeed, the Epworth Wesleys filled their shield with that feature only. While these events were transpiring in the Holy Land, Sir William was created a peer of the realm under the title of Baron Noragh, and married, for his second wife, Alice, daughter of Sir John Trevellion, and had issue, four sons, named Walrond, Richard, Robert, and Arthur. Robert was a monk, and died unmarried. Each of the other sons became the head of a distinguished family, whose descendants have come down to our times. Their father, Sir William, was summoned to Parliament as a peer in 1339, but previously he had received from Edward II., in 1326, a grant by patent for the custody of the Castle of Kildare, but this was afterward changed by the king for the custody of the Manor of Demore in 1342, with the yearly fee of twenty marks. A grant of land was also made to him for his defense

of the Castle of Dunlavon, and for his services against the O'Tothells, (powerful anti-royalists,) one of whom he took prisoner. He was afterward made governor of Carbery Castle in Ireland, by Richard II. He died at a very advanced age. His heir was Walrond. His second son, Sir Richard de Wellesley, became the head of the Wesleys of Dangan Castle, county of Meath, in Ireland, from whom descended the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-general of India, and his brother Arthur, the Duke of Wellington. His fourth son, Arthur, became the head of the family of the Wesleys, in Shropshire and Wales, who in the Middle Ages took the name and estates of Porter, and from whom descended Sir Robert Ker Porter, the traveler and author, and his sisters, Anna Maria and Mary Jane Porter, well-known authoresses of the early years of the nineteenth century.

Walrond de Wellesley married into the family of the Earl of Kildare. He succeeded to Wellesley Manor, county of Somerset, in England, leaving to his brother Richard the Irish estates. He accompanied Prince Edward in a military expedition to France, and subsequently set out with the king to check an invasion of the Scots in Northumberland, where his brother was killed. He was eventually taken prisoner with the Earl of Pembroke, and died in France, 1373.

Gerald de Wellesley, third Baron Noragh, succeeded to the estates, but, having offended King Henry IV., was deprived of them, and was imprisoned for some years, but was liberated on the accession of Henry V., in 1413. His estates were returned to him, but the title of nobility was refused. He had issue, three sons and three daughters. Arthur was his heir.

Arthur, on coming to his inheritance, took the name of Westley. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Ogilvy. Relieved of the responsibilities which had rested on his father, he devoted himself to the improvement of his property and to the extension of his influence, in both which he was very successful. Of his four sons, John entered the Church,

Richard married one of the Wellesleys of Dangan Castle, Humphrey married the daughter of Robert Wesley, of Westley Hall, and Hugh, the heir, obtained the honor of knighthood, and resumed the name of Wellesley.

Sir Hugh de Wellesley married into the family of the Earl of Shrewsbury, ancient, wealthy, and influential, by which he recovered much of the position his grandfather had lost; this was further increased by the marriage of his children. His son Richard fell in battle with the Irish in 1570.

William de Wellesley, the heir, married in 1532, into the family of the Earl of Devon, by which his influence was greatly extended among the nobility. He had one son and two daughters. One of the latter married into the family of Wellesleys of Dangan.

Walter, only son of the foregoing, took the name of Wesley, or Westley, and married into the wealthy family of Tracey. They had issue six daughters and one son.

Herbert was the only son of Walter Wesley, and had the honor of knighthood conferred upon him. Sir Herbert married (*temp.* Queen Elizabeth) Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Wesley, of Dangan Castle, Ireland, by which event both the English and Irish branches of the family were again united. They had issue three sons, William, his heir, Harphame, who died unmarried, and Bartholomew, who was ordained a priest, and became the head of that branch known as the Wesleys of Epworth.

William, the heir, was contemporary with King James I. He had issue three sons. William Wesley was his heir, and married the daughter of Sir Thomas Piggot. He had two sons and two daughters. George Arthur Wesley was his heir, who spent some years in the army, and squandered most of his property. He was twice married. Their issue was one son and one daughter. Their son, Francis Wesley, born in 1767, married Elizabeth Bamfield. They had six children. Francis died in 1854, aged eighty-seven years, his wife died a few years

previously, aged eighty-two years. Alfred Wesley was their heir, born in 1804, and married Anne Lilly. They had issue, six sons, five of whom are now living: one is a clergyman in the Church of England, the Rev. Lewis Herbert Wellesley Wesley.

Returning to Bartholomew Wesley, third son of Sir Herbert Wesley, we get to the source from whom the founders of Methodism were directly descended; the same person of whom John Wesley wrote in the brief extract previously given.

The Rev. Bartholomew Wesley was born in the county of Dorset about the year 1595. Chivalry held high rank at that period, and his father and his mother's father had been brought up under the strongest impulses of that mighty influence. Great deeds, both in Church and State, were often the theme of conversation in the family of Sir Herbert Wesley, and chivalry, doubtless, became the standard of aspiration to his sons. Poetry, as well as religion, laid hold on chivalry, and took some of its most popular themes from the heroism of their ancestors. Religion was no strange thing in their household, and Puritanism was developing in the National Church when Bartholomew Wesley was sent to Oxford to complete his education. He studied both physic and divinity at the University, and about the year 1619 he married the daughter of Sir Henry Colley, of Kildare, Ireland. We find no trace of any family, excepting one son, named John, who has had his name perpetuated in the annals of English Nonconformity. From the time of the marriage of Bartholomew Wesley to the year 1640 we find no records concerning the family, but in that year he was installed Rector of the small parish of Catherston, county of Dorset. To that small living was added that of Charmouth, the two being of the yearly value of £35 10s. Out of that sum he had to maintain the dignity of a clergyman, the position of the son of a knight of the shire, and educate his son for the ministry! If we consider the privations, persecutions,

and sufferings which this good minister had to endure in the course of his protracted earthly pilgrimage, (for he lived through more than fourscore years,) we are amazed at his fidelity to Christ and his cause, and see in that endurance the same spirit as that of which St. Paul wrote in his Epistle to the Hebrews, in describing the faith of the patriarchs.

After the battle of Worcester, in 1651, King Charles II. wished to escape to France, and in his journeyings he came, *incognito*, to the village where Mr. Wesley resided. Being suspected at the smithy, where one of the horses of the royal party had to be shod, Mr. Wesley, as the minister, was appealed to, and steps were taken by him to try and arrest the fugitive king; but the king escaped. The incident brought Mr. Wesley into notice, and contemporary historians, who favored popery, speak of him with contempt for his conduct on that occasion. Lord Clarendon calls him "a fanatical weaver who had been in the parliamentary army," and again, he is described as "the puny parson." All the Wesleys, for three hundred years, were of small stature, ranging between five feet four inches and five feet six inches. Bartholomew Wesley was one of the ejected ministers in 1662; so, also, was his son John, who was then minister of Winterburn-Whitchurch, in Dorset. The merciful providence of God undertook for him and his, when cast upon the world without means, and one of his neighbors wrote of him in 1664, that "this Wesley, of Charmouth, now a Nonconformist, lives by the practice of physic in the same place" where he had ministered the Gospel. He was afterward exiled from his home and friends, and had to endure fierce and cruel persecution, so that we know neither the time nor place, exactly, of his death, but he expired about the year 1680, at about the age of eighty-five years.

John Wesley, A. M., only son of Bartholomew, was born about the year 1636, in the county of Devon. Receiving a thorough education at the best schools in that county, he was sent to Oxford, where he entered New Inn Hall, and seems to

have received special help and favor in his studies from Dr. John Owen, Vice-Chancellor of the University. He acquired considerable learning, took his M.A. degrees, left college about 1658, returned home to his father's house, and soon gathered a Church at Weymouth, where he preached for some months. A vacancy occurring in the parish of Winterburn-Whitchurch, John Wesley was examined by Oliver Cromwell's "Triers," and having passed with approval, was appointed by them to minister in the vacant parish, in May, 1658. The living was valued at £30 a year, and on that pittance he commenced his public ministrations, and the same year he married the daughter of the Rev. John White, "the Patriarch of Dorchester," and one of the members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

Dr. Callamy tells us that they had a numerous family, but for over a century the names of only two of their children were known; subsequent and recent inquiry has made known the following: Timothy, born April, 1659; Elizabeth, born January, 1660; Matthew, born May, 1661; Samuel, born December, 1662, and Thomas, date unknown. John Wesley, their father, endured sorrows, losses, persecutions, and privations of the most painful character, and they brought him prematurely to the grave in the year 1678, at the early age of forty-two years. He is said to have died in the village of Preston, Dorset, and to have been secretly buried in the night, as the royalist party, then in power, refused his body burial in the church-yard, where he had so long ministered! His widow survived him thirty-two years, enduring great and continued hardships, supported chiefly by her two sons, Matthew and Samuel, the latter of whom spared his mother (out of his own small income) "ten pounds a year, to keep her from starving." She died in 1710, at a village near Coventry. Such is a brief, but faithful sketch of the parents of Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, and the grandparents of the founders of Methodism.

## THE EPWORTH WESLEYS.

History can scarcely furnish a more doleful picture than that which was presented in the homes of no less than two thousand clergymen in England, in the month of August, 1662, a period known as "black Bartholomew," as on St. Bartholomew's Day that number of ministers of the Gospel were ejected from their homes, their livings, and many of them from all sources of income, excepting what the charity of neighbors supplied. John Wesley, then a young married clergyman of only twenty-six summers, with a young wife, and three very young children, was ejected from his living at Winterburn-Whitchurch. Four months after that great calamity Mrs. Wesley gave birth to her fourth child, on December 17, 1662, and they called him Samuel. Born in the midst of social and national troubles of more than ordinary severity and continuance, it was his hard lot to struggle with difficulties, hardships, and almost penury, during nearly sixty years. Surrounded by pious influences, he was yet deprived of his godly father while a boy at school, and his devoted and pious mother had a heavy responsibility resting on her, with her large family, so that Samuel, when once removed from her home and sent to school, knew nothing more of home till he made one for himself. How he struggled for a bare subsistence and to pay for the best education he could obtain in some of the best schools and at college, is a record of deep and appealing interest, even now, after the lapse of two centuries. At the age of nineteen he wrote and published a book called "Maggots," to help to pay his expenses at college. Dr. John Owen often proved his friend, as he had previously been to his father before him. He took his B.A. degree in June, 1688, and afterward his M.A. degree, both at Oxford and Cambridge. Dr. Thomas Spratt, Bishop of Rochester, gave him deacon's orders August 7, 1688, and he was ordained priest by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, February 24, 1689. Both those prelates were at Oxford with his father.

The same year he had a curacy given him, with the liberal salary of £28 per annum. For a few months he was a naval chaplain, at the handsome salary of £70 a year, but this was soon given up for another curacy, at £30 a year, and while holding the latter preferment he earned £30 more by his pen; so that in 1689 he was passing rich on £60 a year, and on the strength of that income he entered on the marriage state, having for his bride Susanna, the youngest daughter and twenty-fifth child of the learned and pious Dr. Samuel Annesley. Mr. Wesley was ordained in the Church of St. Andrew, Holborn, and he is believed to have been married there also. No man was ever more suitably mated. Mrs. Susanna Wesley became the mother of nineteen children; of these, her three sons who reached maturity, Samuel, John, and Charles Wesley, occupy each a distinguished place in the annals of the country which gave them birth, and of the Church in which they were such eminent examples of piety, earnestness, and devotion to the work of their lives.

Unable to live in London on £60 a year, with a wife and child, Mr. Wesley gladly accepted the living of South Ormsby, Lincolnshire, where six children were born to them, one in each year. In the year 1696 the living of Epworth was presented to him, which was worth £200 a year at that time, and which would have been a comfortable living but for the birth of one child annually in the family for nineteen successive years, the falling of his barn, and the burning of the rectory-house twice. The costs of those repairs, with his heavy family expenses, and much affliction, made life burdensome, and for forty years they were hardly ever free from debt, part of which had to be satisfied by the incarceration of the worthy rector in Lincoln Castle. Mrs. Wesley directed the education of all their children, preparing the boys for college at Oxford, and the girls to go out as teachers in schools for young ladies. The success of Mrs. Wesley's efforts in that department of home duty has made her a model for all English women; while

the father of the Wesleys, as the Rector of Epworth is now called, was most diligently employed in pastoral work, in preparation for the pulpit, and in writing books, so that by the aid of his pen he might add somewhat to the income which was felt to be so sadly inadequate to the wants of the family. He died in the midst of his family, just before sunset, April 25, 1735, aged seventy-two years, saying, a few minutes previously, after reviewing his past life: "I thank Him for all; I bless Him for all; I love Him for all." He was interred in Epworth churchyard three days afterward. The "Gentleman's Magazine" of that year described him as "a person of singular parts, piety, and learning, author of several poetical and controversial pieces."

Susanna, the wife of Samuel Wesley, is now generally designated "the mother of the Wesleys." She was born in London, January 20, 1669. This remarkable anecdote is related by Dr. Callamy, in reference to the birth of this child: "How many children has Dr. Annesley?" To which Dr. Thomas Manton replied, "I believe it is two dozen, or a quarter of a hundred." For many years it was difficult to determine which number was correct, but recent research has proved that both numbers are correct. She was her father's twenty-fifth child, but she was the twenty-fourth child of her mother, who was Dr. Annesley's second wife. Her mother was the daughter of John White, a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; he was a man of considerable influence in London, who died in 1644, and was buried with much ceremony in the Temple Church, and over his grave is a marble tablet with this inscription:

> "Here lieth a John, a burning, shining light,
> Whose name, life, actions, all were WHITE."

It is curious that the mother of Samuel Wesley, her husband, was also a daughter of a John White, who also was a member of the Westminster Assembly.

The education of Mrs. Wesley was thorough, and included a

knowledge of Greek, Latin, and also French. She excelled in all the graces and accomplishments which a finished education could bestow. The systematic manner in which she conducted the education of her children, and the remarkable success which she had in her efforts, led her son to obtain from his mother details of the same, which he published, and these, with other circumstances arising out of them, have tended to invest her memory with imperishable fragrance, which will be perpetuated to the end of time, wherever Methodism is known. The trials and difficulties she went through were so numerous and protracted no language can describe them; these she endured almost without a murmur. She lived to see the commencement of Methodism. Her last home on earth was the residence of her son John, at the Foundery, Moorfields, where she peacefully entered into rest July 23, 1742, aged 73 years, and was interred by her son John in the burial-ground of Bunhill Fields, London. A marble obelisk to her memory was erected in 1870, in the front of Mr. Wesley's Chapel in the City Road, about two hundred yards from the spot where she is buried. Dr. Adam Clarke, in summing up the incidents of her life, says: "I have been acquainted with many pious females; I have read the lives of others; but such a woman, take her for all in all, I have not heard of, I have not read of, nor with her equal have I been acquainted. In adopting Solomon's words, I can say, 'Many daughters have done virtuously,' but Susanna Wesley has excelled them all." Her son, Charles, wrote his "Hymns for the Lord's Supper" shortly after his mother's death, and he is believed to have had the life of suffering and the peaceful death of his beloved parents in his mind, when he wrote the following lines:—

"Who are these arrayed in white,
Brighter than the noonday sun,
Foremost of the sons of light,
Nearest the eternal throne?

These are they that bore the cross,
Nobly for their Master stood;
Sufferers in his righteous cause,
Followers of the dying God.

"Out of great distress they came,
Washed their robes by faith below,
In the blood of yonder Lamb,
Blood that washes white as snow;
Therefore are they next the throne,
Serve their Maker day and night;
God resides among his own,
God doth in his saints delight."

## HER CHILDREN, TO THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENERATION, RISE UP TO CALL HER BLESSED.

Owing to the burning of the Epworth rectory-house in February, 1709—and with it were destroyed all the parochial registers—the record of the births of their nineteen children was lost. After many years of inquiry and research eighteen out of the nineteen have been found. They are as follows:

### CHILDREN OF THE EPWORTH WESLEYS.

| Name. | Where Born. | When Born. | When Died. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Samuel Wesley, M.A., | London, | Feb., 1690, | Nov., 1739. |
| 2. Susanna Wesley, | So. Ormsby, | Jan., 1691, | April, 1693. |
| 3. Emilia Wesley, | So. Ormsby, | Dec., 1691, | 1771. |
| 4. Annesley Wesley, (Twins, | So. Ormsby, | 1694, | Jan., 1695. |
| 5. Jedediah Wesley, (Twins, | | | |
| 6. Susanna Wesley, | So. Ormsby, | 1695, | Dec., 1764. |
| 7. Mary Wesley, | So. Ormsby, | 1696, | Nov., 1734. |
| 8. Mehetabel Wesley, | Epworth, | 1697, | March, 1750. |
| 9. Infant, | Epworth, | 1698, | 1698. |
| 10. John Wesley, | Epworth, | May, 1699, | 1699. |
| 11. Benjamin Wesley, | Epworth, | 1700, | 1700. |
| 12. Boy, (Twins, | Epworth, | May, 1701, | 1701. |
| 13. Girl, (Twins, | | | |
| 14. Anne Wesley, | Epworth, | 1702, | |
| 15. John Benjamin Wesley, | Epworth, | June, 1703, | March, 1791. |
| 16. Son, smothered, | Epworth, | May, 1705, | May, 1705. |
| 17. Martha Wesley, | Epworth, | 1706, | July, 1791. |
| 18. Charles Wesley, | Epworth, | Dec., 1707, | March, 1788. |
| 19. Kezia Wesley, | Epworth, | March, 1709, | March, 1741. |

To most Methodists, the chief interest in the Wesley family is concentrated in the Epworth Wesleys. For any service of blessing to mankind, all the labors of all the Wesleys for a thousand years past, so far as we know them, are not to be compared with the labors of John and Charles Wesley, numbered respectively 15 and 18, in the family roll as given above. A few words respecting each of the children may be considered interesting.

Samuel Wesley, the first-born of their large family, had this peculiarity, he was dumb till he was five years old, then commenced to talk as perfectly as any child. He was the only child in the family who went to any school apart from home. He was a scholar in Westminster School. In 1711, through the advice of Bishop Atterbury, he became a student at Christ Church, Oxford. He took his M.A. degree, got ordination, then returned to Westminster as an usher, where he remained till January, 1732, when he was appointed head master of Blundell's School, in Tiverton, where he died rather suddenly in November, 1739, about a month before the first Methodist Society was organized. He had strongly opposed his brother John in his evangelistic labors. He married Miss Berry, by whom he had one son and two daughters; the son died young, the daughters married, and became disconnected with the Methodists. He published a volume of poems, in which are several good hymns which have a place in all Methodist Hymn Books.

Susanna, the first of that name, died at the age of a little over two years.

Emilia grew to woman's estate, and, after enduring many hardships and privations, married Robert Harper, a tradesman in Epworth without a trade, whom she had to keep for some years, but from whom she was afterward separated, and her brother John became her protector and friend. He gave her apartments in the house connected with his chapel in West-street, London, where she died in peace in the year 1771, in her

eightieth year. She had an exquisite taste for music and poetry.

Annesley and Jedediah have their names recorded in the registers at South Ormsby, where they were both baptized, and died, and were buried.

Susanna, the second daughter of that name, was taken by her uncle Matthew, in London, after the rectory-house was burned down in 1709. While she was yet a girl and away from home her mother wrote to her a long letter on the chief articles of the Christian faith, based on the Apostles' Creed, which has been printed, and will be preserved to the end of time as a marvelous theological production from the pen of a woman. She afterward married Richard Ellison, of Epworth, but the marriage was not a happy one, and they were separated. She died in full assurance of faith, at the house of her daughter Ann, in London, in 1764, leaving four children—two sons and two daughters. Her descendants are now a numerous host, some scores of whom are named in the "Memorials of the Wesley Family," published by Phillips & Hunt, New York.

Mary Wesley was of a weak constitution, and deformed in body; but this defect was compensated for by a face which was exceedingly beautiful, and by a mind and disposition almost angelic. In 1734 she was married to John Whitelamb, who had been her father's amanuensis; and who became the rector of Wroote, where Mrs. Whitelamb died before she had been married a year. She had been the household drudge at Epworth, and had by her needle added much to the comfort of both John and Charles Wesley.

Mehetabel Wesley was in personal appearance, in accomplishments and genius, the gem of the family. She was the first of the family born at Epworth, and as an infant she gave evidence of that remarkable art and mental power which marked her as possessing a combination of all the excellences of the Wesley character. Possessed of handsome features, graceful form, winning manners, and mental powers far above

her years, her company was the delight of all who knew her. Alas, her career proved to be one of the hardest and most checkered of all the family. Opposed by her father in her early love affairs, she at length threw herself away on a wretched man very much below her in every respect, and after giving birth to several children, who all died in infancy, she at length herself sank into the grave, in 1750, under the weight of accumulated griefs and sorrows; but she has left behind her some few specimens of her poetic genius, which, for tenderness and beauty of sentiment and expression, will live to the end of time. She was a contributor to the pages of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and her own memory is embalmed in that work in some very touching lines. She died happy, and Charles Wesley attended her funeral.

John and Benjamin Wesley were two sons who both died soon after their birth, but around whose memories their mother had entwined such kindly associations that she determined to have both their names united in one if she had another son. When, in June, 1703, she had another son who lived to be baptized, she had him called John Benjamin. This is he who became the founder of Methodism. The second name was never used after infancy, and the register of baptism being destroyed in the Epworth fire, this fact would never have been known but for its preservation as a family tradition.

Twin children, a boy and a girl, were born in May, 1701; they are mentioned in a letter written by their father to the Archbishop of York the day after their birth. They died before any record was made of their names.

Anne Wesley was married to John Lambert, a surveyor of Epworth, in 1725. In 1726 John Wesley was sponsor at the baptism of Mrs. Lambert's first-born, who was named John. The family removed to Hatfield, near London, where all trace of them was lost after the year 1742.

John Wesley, A.M., the Founder of Methodism, was born in June, 1703, but of the place and date of his birth there is

no existing record; these were consumed in the rectory fire in 1709. John was six years old when that fire took place, and the manner in which he was rescued that night makes his escape with life one of the most remarkable deliverances from instant death upon record. He was baptized by his father at Epworth a few hours after his birth, and, by desire of his mother, was named John Benjamin, but the second name was never used by the family, although the fact itself is preserved in documents belonging to other relatives. Till he was eleven his mother was his instructor; but in 1714 he was removed to the Charter-House School, and in 1719 his brother Samuel became his tutor in the Westminster School. In 1720 he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford. He was ordained by Bishop Potter in 1725, at the age of twenty-two, and his excellent scholarship and efficiency as a teacher in the University secured him, in March, 1726, a Fellowship in Lincoln College. In February, 1727, he took his M.A. degree, and in August became his father's curate. September, 1728, he was ordained priest by Bishop Potter, and in November, 1729, the zealous young men he had gathered around him were first called Methodists. Until 1735 his time was chiefly spent as a tutor in the University; he was with his father at Epworth in April, 1735, and in October, the same year, he sailed with General Oglethorpe to Georgia, in America. From February, 1736, to December, 1737, a period of nearly two years, John Wesley was most earnestly and diligently employed in that part of America, conducting religious meetings which correspond to Methodist class-meetings, and in carrying on a Sunday-school there forty years before he thought of such a work in England.

Leaving America December 22, 1737, he arrived in England February 17, and early in the next month he met with Peter Böhler, from whom he began to learn the plan of salvation by faith more perfectly. On May 24, 1738, he experienced that change of heart which completely altered the whole course of his religious teaching; and the simplicity, earnestness, and

courage which he manifested immediately afterward, in preaching salvation by faith alone, was marked by so many demonstrations of spiritual power, that thousands crowded to his ministry, whom he was obliged to address out of doors; and in that way the Methodist, or United Societies, were commenced in December, 1739.

How the work grew and spread till it had reached all the great centers of population in England, history has recorded. Details of that marvelous work will be found recorded in the fourteen separate "Lives of John Wesley," which have been published, all of which are in print.

For more than fifty years John Wesley labored in connection with these Societies, and at the time of his death, March 2, 1791, there were in the world belonging to the Methodist Societies, no less than one hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and forty-nine persons. At the present time, January, 1879, there are probably not less than five millions of persons belonging to the Methodist Societies all over the world, while the total number of worshipers in the various churches and chapels belonging to Methodism is probably not less than fifteen millions of persons every Sabbath day. Truly may we say in the words of Mr. Wesley himself, "What hath God wrought!"

The sixteenth child on the roll of the Epworth Wesleys was a son, who was born May 8, 1705. The registers having been destroyed, we do not know his name; but the Rector has recorded the circumstances of his death in a letter he wrote to the Archbishop of York, in which he says: "On Wednesday, May 30, being the election day, great excitement prevailed, and during the night his nurse overlaid the child, and in the morning she found him dead in bed. He was buried the same evening." This child has not been noticed by any other biographer of the Wesley family.

Martha Wesley was the seventeenth child of that family. The registers being burned, we have only circumstantial evidence by which to determine the time of her birth, which appears to

have taken place in the autumn of the year 1706. From infancy she was deeply attached to her brother John, whom she resembled in person, manners, and handwriting, in the most remarkable way. Dr. Adam Clarke, who knew them both personally, said that in their countenances they could not be distinguished from each other. She spent much time with her uncle Matthew, in London, where she was introduced to a young Oxford student, Westley Hall, one of her brother John's pupils, to whom she was married in the summer of 1735. A more unfortunate marriage was, perhaps, never recorded. The narrative of her married life, as published in "Memorials of the Wesley Family," is one of extreme sadness and suffering. She was left a widow in 1776, after which period her brother John took care of her. She was a woman of considerable learning, deep piety, wonderful patience, and of captivating speech. She was a great favorite with the learned Dr. Samuel Johnson, the leviathan of literature, to whose society she was frequently invited, occasionally with her brother John, and her niece, Miss Sarah Wesley. She had a large family, but all her children died young. She survived her brother John only four months. She was the last survivor of all the nineteen children of her mother. John Wesley left her a legacy of £40, but the Methodists of 1791 were too poor to find so large a sum, and she died without receiving the amount. She was interred in the same vault as her brother John, being in her eighty-fifth year.

Charles Wesley, A.M., the poet of Methodism, was born December 18, 1707. It is a curious fact that he did not know his own age, and his brother John and sister Martha both differed in their opinion concerning his age. It was not till about one hundred and forty years after his birth that a letter was found, written by his father in 1709, by which the age of Charles is satisfactorily determined. He is there by implication said to have been fourteen months old when the rectory-house was burned down in February, 1709. Charles was prematurely born, and he lay wrapped up in wool during several weeks without active con-

sciousness until the exact time when he should have been born; then he began to cry. He was feeble and delicate during all his long life. Educated by his mother till he was nine years old, he was then, in 1716, sent to Westminster School. He was there when Garrett Wesley, Esq., of Dangan Castle, Ireland, wanted to adopt him as his heir. Charles determined, after several years' entreaty, to refuse the adoption; had he accepted, it is more than probable England would have had no Methodists, but the Wesleys might have become rich and great.

Charles Wesley accepted ordination at Oxford in 1735, where he had studied since 1726; the following Sunday he was ordained priest by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. In October of the same year he accompanied General Oglethorpe to Georgia, in the United States of America, as his private secretary. Charles brought dispatches to England from the Governor of the Colony in less than a year after his first arrival, and he did not return to America. He was afflicted with weakness and disease for several years. In May, 1738, while confined to his bed with pleurisy, at the house of T. Bray, in Little Britain, he entered into the liberty of the children of God. His conversion was clear, and it influenced for good in a marvelous manner all his future life. He first became an itinerant evangelist, then poet, then, uniting both vocations, he thus labored on for nearly fifty years, with results for good which are marvelous in every respect. For fifty years after his death his manuscript journals were concealed in a sack; no one knew of their existence. In 1841 they were found and published, since which time we have known something of the variety and extent of his ministerial and pastoral labors. In 1749 he married Miss Sarah Gwynne, a lady who would have been a rich heiress had she not joined herself to the despised Methodists; but she never regretted the choice she made. They had a considerable family of children, but only three of them reached mature years, Charles, Sarah, and Samuel. As the poet of the sanctuary, Charles Wesley stands in the foremost

place in all Christendom. He died in great peace, March 29, 1788, leaving more than six thousand hymns as his legacy to the Church; and quite recently, in 1876, the new street just made by the side of the house where he lived and died, has been named Wesley-street, in honor of his having resided there. He was in his eighty-first year, and was buried in the grave-yard of old Marylebone Church, where also are interred his wife and his two sons, Charles and Samuel. Mrs. Wesley survived her husband thirty-four years, dying in 1822, at the ripe age of ninety-six years.

Keziah Wesley was the nineteenth and last child on the Epworth roll. She was born one month after the burning of the rectory-house, on March 10, 1709, and about fifteen months after her brother Charles. She never was very strong, but was thoroughly educated, and spent the few years of her maturer life as a teacher. Afterward she was much in attendance on her brother Charles during the periods of illness which frequently laid him aside before he was thirty years of age. Her last days were spent under the roof of Mr. and Mrs. Piers, of Bexley, John Wesley allowing them £50 a year for that purpose. She died at Bexley in March, 1741, within a few days after she had completed thirty-two years. She died unmarried. Hers was the last death in the family which their mother lived to know of. Sixteen months afterward Mrs. Wesley herself died in London.

Of the three children of Charles Wesley, the first and second, Charles and Sarah, died in advanced life, both unmarried; Charles was aged seventy-seven years, and Sarah only six months short of seventy years. Their biographies have been recently written for the first time in the "Memorials of the Wesley Family."

Samuel Wesley, the youngest son of Charles and Sarah Wesley, is the only member of the family from whom have descended the numerous families of the Wesleys now living. Samuel was born on St. Matthias's Day, February 24, 1766.

He was born a musical genius. At the age of six years he had mentally composed, and when eight wrote out a complete oratorio, the manuscript of which is still preserved by his daughter, Miss Eliza Wesley.

He was married, first in 1793. Out of many children born to him, there only reached maturity Charles Wesley, D.D., who for many years was sub-dean of the Chapel-Royal, St. James' Palace, and one of the chaplains to the Queen of England, and who died in 1859; Emma Frances, their next child; and the next, John William Wesley. These two died beyond the age of fifty. His second marriage took place about the year 1810 to Sarah Souter. She became the mother of four sons and three daughters, all of whom are now living excepting one, the oldest, the late Dr. Samuel Sebastian Wesley, the eminent organist and composer, who died in April, 1876. Their father, Samuel Wesley, was one of the most accomplished organists and musical composers England has ever known. The story of his life surpasses that of any romance for exciting interest and wonderful genius. He died in 1837, at the age of seventy-one years, and over his grave was sung an anthem by the most skilled choir in the metropolis, combining exquisite music which will never be surpassed. His distinguished son, the accomplished Dr. S. S. Wesley, named above, died at the age of sixty-six years. The other members of the family, all living, are Rosalind Wesley, married first to Robert Glenn, then to Oliver Simmonds; Eliza Wesley, unmarried, residing in Islington, the same age as Queen Victoria; Matthias Erasmus Wesley, a distinguished citizen in London, associate of the institute of civil engineers, and treasurer of the college of organists in England; John Wesley, who was some years a bookseller in Paternoster Row; Thomasine Wesley, married to Richard Alfred Martin; and Robert Glenn Wesley, married in 1858 to Juliana Benson. There are about sixty children and grandchildren living.

# WESLEY AND METHODISM.

THE history of the Church may be divided into three grand epochs, respectively distinguished by certain great men who were each the embodiment of some great religious fact. The first, beginning with the creation and fall, ends with the flood. Its representative men are Abel, Enoch, and Noah. By the offering of blood through faith, Abel attested the need of atonement to obtain forgiveness, and the willingness of God to accept, through that medium, the sacrifice of a broken heart. By his translation—the reward of his holy walk with God through faith—Enoch prefigured the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body. And Noah, by faith in God's threatened judgment, and obedience to the divine command, saved himself, condemned the world, and proved the certainty of the death pronounced against the sinner, and the life promised to the righteous.

The second epoch extends from the flood to the coming of Christ. Its representative men are Abraham, Moses, and Elijah. When, by faith, Abraham left his father's house to sojourn in the land of promise as in a strange country, and afterward offered up his son through whom he received the fulfillment of the promises, he discovered beyond the grave a city which hath foundations, and witnessed to the power of grace to endure the severest trials by which God puts to the test the faith of his people. And when Moses, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, refused a crown, he made evident the power of the same grace to deliver the godly out of the subtlest arts of the tempter; and, as part recompense of the reward, he was made the deliverer of the Hebrews from their bondage in Goshen, the divinely appointed

receiver and expounder of the only code of laws given by Jehovah to man, and the only one of the Old Testament prophets to whom Christ likened himself. The Tishbite raising to life again the dead son of the widow of Sarepta, triumphing over the priests of Baal in the trial by fire, standing upon the mount before the Lord when Jehovah passed by, and ascending to heaven in a chariot of fire borne aloft by horses of fire, demonstrated, as the name of the prophet implies, that *Jehovah is God*, and the fitness of the prophet himself to appear afterward with Moses on Tabor as a witness of the transfiguration of Jesus—the Lord's anointed Prophet, Priest, and King.

These two epochs, embracing the periods of the altar, the tabernacle, and the temple, prepared the way for the third and last. The third—which is the fulfillment of the types and prophecies of the former—proclaimed the grandest of all truths, the culminating fact of all inspiration—"God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." This epoch stretches from the birth of the Baptist until the Lord "come the second time without sin unto salvation." Its representative men, thus far, are John, the Baptist; St. Peter, the great apostle to the Circumcision; St. Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles; Martin Luther, the great Protestant; and John Wesley, the great Methodist Reformer.

Our purpose not allowing us to notice the special work of the representative men of this epoch, except that of the Founder of Methodism, we proceed first to briefly epitomize what chiefly distinguishes the Wesleyan period.

If asked what distinguishes Wesleyan Methodism, we answer: It is a deliverance from the severe dogmas of Calvinism, from antinomianism, from lifeless forms, from the fiction of an unbroken apostolic succession, from pharisaic bigotry and intolerance, and from bondage to the mere letter of ordinances. It restored and sanctioned lay-preaching—saying with Moses, in spirit, "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them." It has organ-

ized an itinerant ministry, constrained by the love of Christ and willing to be all things to all men, if by any means it may save some. It contends for a pure and spiritual worship, believing that all times, all places, and all forms are acceptable to God, being sanctified by the prayers and faith of the worshiper. It has revived, in a restricted form, the ancient *agapæ*, or love-feasts. It has restored, under the name of class-meetings, the meetings in which the early Church spoke often one to another to edify one another, and to provoke unto love and good works. It encourages and promotes revivals of religion as vital to the health and growth of the Church. It preaches a free and full salvation, justification by faith alone, carefulness to maintain good works as the evidence of the genuineness of faith and measure of final reward through grace, the witness of the Spirit to the believer's present acceptance with God, holiness of heart and life, devotedness to Christ, a burning love for souls, missionary zeal, a true catholicity toward all who bear the image of Christ, and an entire reliance upon the Holy Ghost and his gifts as the only source of spiritual power.

Methodism, however, as a system, was not the work of a day; nor did it spring from the brain of Mr. Wesley a perfect system, as the fabled Athene, full-panoplied, from the brain of Jove. It has grown by the teachings of years into the grand system it now is. But to Mr. Wesley pre-eminently belongs the honor of being its heaven-appointed author and genius. Its illustrious founder, however, was not without obligation to others. It is questionable whether he would have met any thing like the unprecedented success that crowned his labors if he had not been seconded, from the first, by those who were specially qualified to push forward the great work to which they were mutually called of God.

It has often been said that the early Methodist preachers in America were unlearned and ignorant men. In the January number of the "North American Review" for 1876, in the

leading article: "Religion in America, 1776–1876," Dr. Diman tells us, that with the sole exception of Coke, none of the preachers who established Methodism in America were educated at college. But this, however true of American, was not true of British Methodism, or of Methodism as a system. The system under which the early preachers in America labored was conceived and set on foot by profound thinkers, wise theologians, and eminent scholars. It is doubtful if an equal array of learning, talent, and genius ever stood sponsors to any other Church since the days of the apostles—certainly never did such a variety of special and appropriate gifts as nurtured Methodism from its very birth. True it is, that its young manhood was tried by the waves of the stormy Atlantic in the ship which bore Wesley, the Moravians, and the Salzburgers, to Georgia, and by the persecutions which befell it in the wilderness on the banks of the Savannah. But its infancy was cradled in the rectory at Epworth and rocked by the hands of Susanna Wesley; and its early youth was nurtured in the classic halls of Oxford. John Wesley, Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, William Morgan, James Hervey, and other scholars at Oxford were its earliest professors. It afterward numbered among its followers John Fletcher, Adam Clarke, Joseph Benson, Richard Watson, and Thomas Coke. And who are these? John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, Presbyter of the Church of England—the eminent scholar, profound logician, with talents for organization and government that would have qualified him, had he been born a prince, to be the greatest monarch that ever sat on the throne of Alfred—to plan and develop the system, and to organize and direct its forces: Charles Wesley—whom Dean Stanley calls "sweet psalmist of the Church of those days," but whom we call the sweetest singer in Israel since David, Israel's great lyric poet, swept the chords of his tuneful harp—to write its songs: George Whitefield—the greatest pulpit orator, living or dead—to preach it to the multitude: John Fletcher of Madeley, prince of polemics—with wit well-tempered and keen as blade of Saladin, and with

logic ponderous and crushing as mace wielded by arm of Cœur de Leon, but with heart as tender and loving as a woman's—to defend its doctrines: Adam Clarke, the great encyclopedic and oriental scholar of his day, and the learned Joseph Benson—to write its Commentaries: Richard Watson, who "soared," said the great Robert Hall, "into regions of thought where no genius but his own can penetrate," and who was "the only systemizer," said Dr. Alexander of Princeton, "who in theology approached the eminence of Turretin, or reasoned like Paley, and descanted like Hall"—to write its Institutes of Theology: and Thomas Coke, of Jesus College, Oxford, doctor of civil laws, and the father of modern missions—to carry Methodism "into the regions beyond." Such were the authors and illustrators of Wesleyan Methodism. Well may it challenge the Churches to present a greater array of various and peculiar gifts!

When these things are considered, it is no wonder that Methodism has made comparatively greater progress than any other evangelical Church. Its effects are seen and felt not only in the millions who have lived and died, and the millions now living in its communion, but in all the evangelical Churches from Wesley's time to the present. Martin Luther delivered the human mind from the bondage and superstition of Rome; John Wesley rescued English Protestantism from the dead formalism and sinful lethargy of national churchmanship. Luther revived the Pauline doctrine of justification; Wesley, the Pauline doctrine of sanctification. Luther showed how we are justified by faith alone; Wesley, how by faith in the blood of the Lamb we are cleansed from all sin. The early English Reformers, wisely separating from the Church of Rome, set up the Church of England, but unwisely held on to certain unscriptural dogmas which distinguished the corrupt Church from which they separated; John Wesley, throttling these dogmas, proved that infallibility is an incommunicable prerogative of the Divine mind; that apostolic succession depends not

upon ordination by bishops claiming unbroken descent from St. Peter, but upon a call to the ministry sanctioned by the baptism of the Spirit, attested by the gifts, grace, and usefulness of him who is called, and confirmed by his presbyters; and that grace, whether the sacraments be administered by men with or without episcopal ordination, is communicated to all who receive them with faith in Christ. The same reformers rescued Englishmen from the civil power of the Pope, but delivered them over to an imperious king; John Wesley gave to this union of Church and State its deadly wound—a wound from which it has never recovered, and from which, sooner or later, it must die, whether its life goes out with the convulsive throes of a final struggle or quietly ebbs away with its latest gasp; a wound which Wesley dealt it when he organized the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, and committed its ordinations and its sacraments to lay-preachers consecrated by the imposition of his own hands and the hands of his co-presbyters.

The Methodism of Wesley is every-where felt outside of itself. Its true mission is acknowledged; its claims undisputed. Chalmers called it "CHRISTIANITY IN EARNEST." Judged by its spiritual power, by its marvelous effects in the awakening and conversion of souls, its scriptural and apostolic authority has received the highest and weightiest sanctions. Nor is its mission ended. Its conquests have been greater in the past twenty-five years than in any other quarter of a century of its history. Its field is still "the world," not only the world of sinners, but its sister Churches, to lead them to a higher life and greater devotedness to Christ. And this will be its mission so long as Methodism is true to the work and genius of its founder, till some greater than Wesley arise, commissioned of God to conduct the Church to higher and nobler things.

The spirit of Mr. Wesley projected itself not only into the millions called by his name, but into all Christians of whatever

name. The great enterprises of the evangelical Churches which have distinguished the last century and a half received their origin and impetus from his labors and zeal. Mr. Wesley was a writer and distributer of tracts long before the Society in Paternoster Row had an existence. John Wesley and Thomas Coke, seventeen years before the Religious Tract Society of London was formed, organized the first Tract Society the world ever had. Methodism gave birth to the Naval and Military Bible Society—the first Bible Society that was ever formed, years before the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The great missionary awakening belongs to the Wesleyan period. The London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society are traced directly to Mr. Wesley and his preachers. At the old Foundery in Moorfields Mr. Wesley projected and started the first Medical Dispensary the world had ever known. John Wesley and Adam Clarke founded the first Strangers' Friend Society, in 1789. Before Bell and Lancaster, Wesley provided day schools for the education of the children of the poor. And children were gathered by Mr. Wesley into a Sabbath-school in Savannah nearly fifty years before Robert Raikes had a Sabbath-school in Gloucester. The leaders of the great revivals of the present day have all drank into his spirit. John Wesley preaches in the lay-sermons of Moody; Charles Wesley sings in the songs of Sankey.

The power of Methodism as a pioneer spiritual force was long ago acknowledged. To awaken and convert sinners hardened in sin; to reach the poor and outcast; to occupy the outposts, or to be thrown out as skirmishers in time of a general engagement with the powers of darkness—these, and things like these, were said to be its mission. But how different the judgment of the world at the close of the centennial of Methodism! Methodism, especially in America, has been the pioneer Church. Its axmen have plunged into the wilderness, and with sturdy strokes felled the trees of its forests. Its plow-

shares have turned up the virgin soil; its husbandmen have not only committed the precious seed to the furrow, watered the tender plant, kept it free from weeds, and watched its growth with sleepless care, but they have thrust in the sharp sickle, reaped down the fields bending to the harvest, gathered the loaded sheaves into barns, and from their great granaries supplied famishing millions with the bread of life. Methodism, in its great revivals, has been to the nations like the river Nile. It has often overflowed its banks and spread itself far and wide. Its fertilizing waters have enriched and softened the hard soil beneath, and prepared it to receive into its yielding bosom the harvest-bearing seed; and, like the same Egyptian river, these overflows, in their results, have been perennial.

Methodism, too, has not only carried the war into the enemy's country, but taken his strongholds, and fortified and held the places it has won. It has not only blasted the rock out of the quarry, but given form and beauty to the shapeless mass. Nor is its elasticity as a working power confined and fettered by forms and precedents. The swaddling-bands of the cradle have long since been laid aside; the *toga-prætexta* of childhood exchanged for the *toga-virilis* of manhood. That man, indeed, but little understands the true genius of Wesleyan Methodism who does not see that the wonderful elasticity by which it adapts itself to times, and places, and circumstances, is one of the chief characteristics which its common-sense founder gave to it from its beginning. Whitefield preaches in the open air and shocks Wesley by his irregularity; Wesley, when driven from the pulpits of the Establishment, follows the example of his Oxford disciple and is soon heard addressing multitudes in Moorfields and on Kennington Common. At the old Foundery Thomas Maxfield, without orders and without imposition of hands, warns sinners to repentance, expounds the word of God to the faithful, and arouses Wesley's indignation; Wesley, acting on his mother's advice, hears Maxfield for himself. Persuaded that the same divine power attends Maxfield's preach-

ing which had attended his own, Wesley from that moment makes lay-preaching a part of the Methodist polity. Methodism, extending its borders, soon numbers, "in the regions beyond," thousands without the sacraments. Wesley, seeing that lay-ordination is a providential need, ordains lay-preachers for America and Scotland. The American colonies separate from the English hierarchy and become politically and ecclesiastically independent; the ordination of Thomas Coke, to be General Superintendent, or Bishop, over the Methodist Societies in the New World, immediately follows. And when these Societies, in General Conference assembled, erect themselves into a distinct and separate Church, John Wesley sanctions the deed, believing that the Methodist Episcopal Church in America is as much a New Testament Church as the apostolic Churches at Philippi and Thessalonica.

All that has been here said about Mr. Wesley and Methodism—and much more—is now confessed. Lord Macaulay long ago sentenced to oblivion those "books called Histories of England, under the reign of George II., in which the rise of Methodism is not even mentioned." To Mr. Wesley a pre-eminent place in history—especially in ecclesiastical and English history—is now well-nigh universally assigned. The literature of the eighteenth century was leavened by the optimism of Pope and Shaftesbury, and the skepticism of Hume and Gibbon. "Its theology," says Mr. Leslie Stephen, "was for the most part almost as deistical as the deists." The picture of English life drawn by Mr. Wesley in his "Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion,"—the irreligion, false-swearing, Sabbath-breaking, corruption, drunkenness, gambling, cheating, disregard of truth among men of every order, and the profligacy of the army and immorality of the clergy—was no over-drawn picture. Leslie Stephen confesses that these things, "described in the language of keen indignation" by the pen of Wesley, "lead to a triumphant estimate of the reformation that has been worked by the Methodists." "The exertions of Wesley,

and their success," he adds, "are of themselves a sufficient proof that a work was to be done of which neither the rationalist nor the orthodox were capable."

The religion of England, from the Revolution till the Methodist movement pervaded the Establishment with its spirit, says Mr. Lecky, in his "England in the Eighteenth Century," "was cold, selfish, and unspiritual." It was, however, as he tells us, "a period not without its distinctive excellences." "To this period," he writes, "belong the 'Alciphron' of Berkeley; the 'Analogy' of Butler; the 'Defense of Natural and Revealed Religion' of Clarke; the 'Credibility of the Gospels' of Lardner; as well as the 'Divine Legation' of Warburton, and the Evidential Writings of Sherlock, Leslie, and Leland." But "the standard of the clergy"—especially outside of the great cities—"was low, and their zeal languid." Mr. Lecky, therefore, does not think it surprising that, at such a time, a movement like that of Methodism should have exercised a great power. "The secret of its success," he says, "was that it satisfied some of the strongest and most enduring wants of our nature, which found no gratification in the popular theology, and revived a large class of religious doctrines which had been long almost wholly neglected." "The utter depravity of human nature," he adds, "the lost condition of every man who is born into the world, the vicarious atonement of Christ, the necessity to salvation of a new birth, of faith, of the constant and sustaining action of the Divine Spirit upon the believer's soul, are doctrines which, in the eyes of the modern evangelical, constitute at once the most vital and the most influential portions of Christianity; but they are doctrines which, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, were seldom heard from a Church of England pulpit. The moral essays, which were the prevailing fashion, however well suited they might be to cultivate the moral taste, or to supply rational motives to virtue, rarely awoke any strong emotions of hope, fear, or love, and were utterly incapable of transforming

the character, and arresting and reclaiming the thoroughly depraved."

Nor was this all. The healthful influence of Wesley upon politics—though not a politician—was no less significant. It was due to him more than to any other, that "the great moral precedent of an appeal to conscience in a political question" was first established. "The religious movement of Wesley," says Leslie Stephen, "was so far removed from any political influence that Wesley himself, and many of his followers, were strongly conservative; and indeed the movement itself was, perhaps, a diversion in favor of the established order. It provided a different channel for dangerous elements." And hence we are sure it was owing, in a great measure, to Wesley's powerfully conservative influence upon the thought of the eighteenth century that England was indebted for her escape from the infidelity, disorders, and horrors of the French Revolution.

"The evangelical movement," says Mr. Lecky, "which directly or indirectly originated with Wesley, produced a general revival of religious feeling, which has incalculably increased the efficiency of almost every religious body in the community, while at the same time it has seriously affected party politics." . . . "The many great philanthropic efforts which arose, or at least derived their importance, from the evangelical movement, soon became prominent topics of parliamentary debate; but they were not the peculiar glory of any political party, and they formed a common ground on which many religious denominations could co-operate."

The writings of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists, the metaphysics of Condillac and Helvetius, and "the wild social dreams" of Rousseau threatened "the very foundations of society and of belief." "A tone of thought and feeling," says Mr. Lecky, "was introduced into European life which could only lead to anarchy, and at length to despotism, and was beyond all others fatal to that measured and ordered freedom which can alone endure. Its chief characteristics were, a hatred

of well-constituted authority, an insatiable appetite for change, a habit of regarding rebellion as the normal as well as the noblest form of political self-sacrifice, a disdain of all compromise, a contempt for all tradition, a desire to level all ranks and subvert all establishments, a determination to seek progress, not by the slow and cautious amelioration of existing institutions, but by sudden, violent, and revolutionary change. Religion, property, civil authority, and domestic life, were all assailed; and doctrines incompatible with the very existence of government were embraced by multitudes with the fervor of a religion. England, on the whole, escaped the contagion. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must, I believe, be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers, and which recoiled with horror from the anti-Christian tenets that were associated with the Revolution in France."

While the revolutionary spirit, which was of foreign birth, was thus menacing the established order, and seeking to introduce political and religious chaos, England was threatened from within by dangers scarcely less portentous. The great mechanical inventions, "which changed with unexampled rapidity the whole course of English industry, and in a little more than a generation created manufacturing centers unequaled in the world," gave rise to an angry contest between capital and labor, between rich and poor, that "brought with it some political and moral dangers of the gravest kind." "But few thinkers of any weight," says Mr. Lecky, "would now deny that these evils and dangers were greatly underrated by most of the economists of the last generation." "The true greatness and welfare of nations," he adds, "depend mainly on the amount of moral force that is generated within them. Society never can continue in a state of tolerable security when there

is no other bond of cohesion than a mere money tie; and it is idle to expect the different classes of the community to join in the self-sacrifice and enthusiasm of patriotism if all unselfish motives are excluded from their several relations. Every change of conditions which widens the chasm and impairs the sympathy between rich and poor cannot fail, however beneficial may be its other effects, to bring with it grave dangers to the State. It is incontestable, that the immense increase of manufacturing industry and of the manufacturing population has had this tendency; and it is, therefore, I conceive, peculiarly fortunate that it should have been preceded by a religious revival which opened a new spring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time gave a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich."

But these benefits, good as they were, were not, in Mr. Lecky's opinion, the greatest triumphs of the Methodist revival. Its chief triumphs, he thinks, "were the consolation it gave to men in the first agonies of bereavement, its support in the extremes of pain and sickness, and, above all, its stay in the hour of death." These results, he remarks, were in some sort effected for the bereaved and dying by the teachings and ceremonies of the priests of Rome. But this was done, he believes, by connecting absolution indissolubly with complete submission to their sacerdotal claims; and, in doing this, the Catholic priests framed what Mr. Lecky calls "the most formidable engine of religious tyranny that has ever been employed to disturb or subjugate the world." The work of Mr. Wesley and the evangelists, he says, was to destroy this engine of priestcraft. It was they who taught that the intervention of no human being, and of no human rite, is necessary in the hour of death. It was they who demonstrated that they could "exercise a soothing influence not less powerful than that of the Catholic priest." "The doctrine of justification by faith," adds Mr. Lecky, "which directs the wandering mind from all painful and perplexing retrospect, concentrates the imagination

on one Sacred Figure, and persuades the sinner that the sins of a life have in a moment been effaced, has enabled thousands to encounter death with perfect calm, or even with vivid joy, and has consoled innumerable mourners at a time when all the commonplaces of philosophy would appear the idlest of sounds."

"This doctrine," continues Mr. Lecky, "had fallen almost wholly into abeyance in England, and had scarcely any place among realized convictions, when it was revived by the evangelical party. It is impossible to say how largely it has contributed to mitigate some of the most acute forms of human misery. Historians, and even ecclesiastical historians, are too apt to regard men simply in classes, or communities, or corporations, and to forget that the keenest of our sufferings as well as the deepest of our joys take place in those periods when we are most isolated from the movements of society. Whatever may be thought of the truth of the doctrine, no man will question its power in the house of mourning and in the house of death. 'The world,' wrote Wesley, 'may not like our Methodists and evangelical people, but the world cannot deny that they die well.'"

Mr. Leslie Stephen says that "Wesleyanism is, in many respects, by far the most important phenomenon of the eighteenth century," and that "its reaction upon other bodies was as important as its direct influence." Mr. Buckle, the skeptical author of the "History of Civilization in England," confidently affirms that the effects of Wesleyanism upon the Church of England were hardly inferior to the effects exerted by Protestantism, in the sixteenth century, upon the Church of Rome. And when he compares the success of Wesley, whom he calls "the first of theological statesmen," with the difficulties which Wesley surmounted, Mr. Buckle is of the opinion that Macaulay's celebrated estimate of the founder of Methodism is hardly an exaggeration, when that great essayist and historian pronounced Wesley's "genius for government

not inferior to that of Richelieu." By the great Methodist theological statesman was effected, "after an interval of two hundred years," what Mr. Buckle calls "England's second spiritual Reformation."

But in this connection we must not fail to notice what Buckle intended as a fling at Methodism. He condemns it for its "mental penury," because it has produced no other equal to John Wesley. This is no reflection on Methodism: it is directly the greatest compliment to Mr. Wesley, and indirectly equally so to Methodism. As well condemn the "mental penury" of Christianity, because it has produced no greater apostle than St. Paul; or the "mental penury" of the Reformation, because it has produced no greater reformer than Martin Luther. The truth is, neither Methodism nor the whole Christian Church has had more than one John Wesley since the days of the apostles. As Mount Everest lifts its tall head not only above every other peak of the Himalayas, but above the tallest peak of every other mountain range in the wide world, so does John Wesley, as a revivalist and reformer, tower not only above the other great men of Methodism, but above the greatest in all the other Churches of Christendom. "Taking him altogether," writes his latest biographer, Mr. Tyerman, "Wesley is *sui generis*. He stands alone: he has had no successor; no one like him went before; no contemporary was a co-equal." "A greater poet," writes Dr. Dobbin, of the Church of England, "may arise than Homer or Milton; a greater theologian than Calvin; a greater philosopher than Bacon; a greater dramatist than any of ancient or modern fame; but a greater revivalist of the Churches than John Wesley—never!"

The time, indeed, is not distant when every historian who regards the truth of history, or respects the judgment of his contemporaries and posterity, will give to Mr. Wesley his true place in both ecclesiastical and English history. High-churchmen, against whose bigotry and intolerance he protested; rationalists and infidels, whose skepticism he refuted; poets,

historians, and essayists, whose irreligion he condemned; and statesmen and philosophers, whose loose morality he assailed; have been slow to acknowledge his powerful influence upon almost every phase of English thought. But the time will come—if it has not already come—when all will say, with Mr. Lecky: "If men may be measured by the work they have accomplished, John Wesley can hardly fail to be regarded as the greatest figure who has appeared in the religious history of the world since the days of the Reformation." With the same great writer, British and American authors will confess the obligation of England and America to those religious teachers who, "while the politicians were doing so much to divide, were doing so much to unite, the two great branches of the English race." With this greatest of English historians since the death of Macaulay they will see—though like him they may think it "a strange thing"—how it was "that, in spite of civil war and of international jealousy, a movement which sprang in an English university should have acquired so firm a hold over the hearts and intellects of the American people." And to this we add, they will further see how it was, that, by a reciprocal influence, the English people, forgetting the same enmities and conflicts, have been drawn so closely to their American cousins.

The most brilliant essayists and historians who, since Wesley's times, have written specifically on English thought and English civilization, have been for the most part rationalists and skeptics. It is not to be expected that they who are such will in all things treat with fairness one with whose religious convictions they have no sympathy; whose enthusiasm they call fanaticism; and whose holy life they denounce as asceticism. What Mr. Wesley magnified as of chiefest importance is foolishness to them. It cannot be understood by them, because it is only spiritually discerned. Wesley's experience in the things of God is a mark for their wit and ridicule. Justification by faith alone, the new birth, the witness of the

Spirit, heaven and hell, the resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment, are with them figments worthy to be classed with the vain delusions of an effete mythology. Having no belief in the eternal verities which with Wesley were convictions, they regarded his writings and teachings, while weighing their influence on English thought and civilization, solely in the light of their own deistical or infidel philosophy, and the language of those who are considered the great masters of English prose. Judged by their standard, Wesley has exerted no beneficial influence on civilization, like Voltaire and Paine, or on literature, like Rousseau and Hume. He added nothing, they tell us, to the philosophy, nor did he add any thing to the literature, of his age. He added nothing to its so-called philosophy, it is true; but he rescued many thousands from its poison and death. And did he add nothing to its civilization? To lead a blameless life in a corrupt age, and by precept and example turn thousands from profligacy and vice to virtue and holiness—did this, and a great deal more that Wesley accomplished in Church and State, add nothing to the civilization of England?

The writings of John Wesley, it is true, have not the splendid diction of the infidel author of "The Decline and Fall," or the classic eloquence of that other infidel historian who traced the history of England from its beginnings down to the close of the reign of James II., last of the Stuart kings. But they have been read by millions now testing, beyond the grave, the realities of the things in which Wesley believed, and by millions more now living whose religion and lives have been molded by the great truths which he preached, and about which he wrote. Judged by this standard, did he not accomplish far more than any other religious writer of his day? Are not his writings even now influencing more minds than the writings of any other uninspired religious teacher since Martin Luther wrote his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans? Wesley, as no one will question, was a master of

English thought and of the English tongue. Few in his day were more skilled in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin. To him, at an early day, the principal languages of the continent of Europe were familiar studies. Excellent grammars, in English, of several of these tongues—the old and the new—were made by Mr. Wesley at a time when, in England, grammars in English of the ancient tongues were things unknown, and philology was an undeveloped science. His translations from three of the languages of modern Europe are among the best hymns of the Wesleyan Hymn Book. He was not only a master of tongues, but a master of logic and rhetoric. His education was classic; his culture all that the oldest English university, severe study, a retentive memory, and great intellectual powers, could bestow. If he had formed his style on the classic model of Tully's Epistles to Pomponius Atticus—if he had copied the best writers of the Augustan age of English literature—who doubts that he might have attained preëminence in the realm of letters? Lord Macaulay says: "He was a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have rendered him eminent in literature." But all mere literary fame John Wesley sacrificed, and he sacrificed it for a purpose. He who would not wear "a fine coat" that he might satisfy the hungry with bread, laid aside "a fine style" that he might make the Gospel of our salvation plain to the miners of Cornwall, the colliers of Kingswood, and the felons of Newgate. His words may not have been, in the judgment of his critics, "with excellency of speech," but they were "in demonstration of the Spirit, and of power." Like St. Paul—whom Wesley more nearly resembled than any other man has resembled that great apostle—Wesley was called a babbler by the Epicurean statesmen and philosophers of his times. The Gospel preached by Mr. Wesley was foolishness to Horace Walpole, but to millions it has been "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God."

But let Mr. Leslie Stephen, the skeptical author of the

"History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," who tells us that Wesley "added nothing to the stores of English rhetorical prose," and that his "writings produced nothing valuable in themselves, either in form or substance," say what he really thinks of Mr. Wesley's literary powers. "It would be difficult," says this writer, "to find any letters more direct, forcible, and pithy in expression. He goes straight to the mark without one superfluous flourish. He writes as a man confined within the narrowest limits of time and space, whose thoughts are so well in hand that he can say every thing needful within those limits. The compression gives emphasis, and never causes confusion. The letters, in other words, are the work of one who for more than half a century was accustomed to turn to account every minute of his eighteen working hours." "Wesley's eloquence," says this same writer, "is in the direct style, which clothes his thoughts with the plainest language. He speaks of what he has seen; he is never beating the air, or slaying the dead, or mechanically repeating thrice-told stories, like most of his contemporaries. His arguments, when most obsolete in their methods and assumptions, still represent real thought upon questions of the deepest interest to himself and his hearers." "We can fancy," he adds, "the venerable old man, his mind enriched by the experience of half a century's active warfare against vice, stained by no selfishness, and liable to no worse accusation than that of a too great love of power, and believe that his plain, nervous language must have carried conviction and challenged the highest respect." After thus writing, Mr. Leslie Stephen asserts that Wesley's "thoughts run so frequently in the same grooves of *obsolete historical speculation*"—the italics are ours—"that he has succeeded in producing no single book satisfactory in a literary sense." And yet we venture to say that Wesley's plain, terse, and direct English had almost as much influence upon what Mr. Buckle calls "the cumbrous language and long-involved sentences" of the times which immediately preceded the great revivalist, as his preaching had

upon a lethargic Church and a sinful world. For it was Wesley's powerful influence—secret, it is true, but none the less powerful—upon the literature of his day, which, more than any thing else, discarded the old, and introduced what Mr. Buckle calls "a lighter and simpler style"—a style "more rapidly understood," adds Mr. Buckle, and "better suited to the exigencies of the age."

But we are further told by Mr. Leslie Stephen that Wesley's writings possess "nothing more than a purely historical interest;" that Wesley's theology, because of its "want of any direct connection with speculative philosophy," is "condemned to barrenness;" that, having "no sound foundation in philosophy," Wesleyanism "has prevented the growth of any elevated theology, and alienated all cultivated thinkers."

The above fairly represents much of the criticism to which Mr. Wesley and Methodism have been subjected. Its author belongs to a class of writers who can be somewhat just to Methodism when it comes into comparison with other forms of evangelical Christian thought. But while their testimony in that respect is invaluable—and we have seen what it is, for we have put them on the stand and heard their witness for Methodism and its founder—these writers see neither in Methodism nor in any other phase of thought which has the plenary inspiration of the Bible as its basis any thing except a weak and blind superstition. The facts of the great revival they affect to describe with the fidelity and accuracy of historians. But to them these facts are mere emotional phenomena, or phenomena which they ascribe to mere natural and secondary causes, and not to any supernatural and divine power.

And has the great revival been "condemned to barrenness?" Have all "cultivated thinkers" been "alienated" from it? Has Wesley left no permanent influence on English thought? Do his writings possess "nothing more than a purely historical interest?" How is it, then, that his followers are numbered

by millions? How is it that these are found all over the Christian world, numbering thousands whom the Christian world regards as "cultivated thinkers?" If it has been "condemned to barrenness," what mean its myriad Christian temples? its many hundred universities, and colleges, and seminaries of learning? its many thousand educated men in the ministry, in law, in medicine, in philosophy, in science, and in government? What will one say of its thousand printing-presses? of its great publishing houses? its newspapers, its magazines, its reviews? its tracts and books? its great benevolent institutions? its orphan asylums? its homes for the poor and outcast? its great missionary and Sunday-school societies? What means the aggressive force which constantly enlarges its borders? How is it that in a little over a hundred years it has accomplished results which are the wonder of the world? How is it that in many parts of the world, the old and the new, it is to-day increasing in a greater ratio than at any period since its beginning? What means its influence upon other Churches, upon their theology and practice? Is Calvinism, or any other phase of Christian theology which Wesley combated, the same it was when Wesley began to write against it? Have they not been greatly modified by Wesley's teachings, by Wesley's spirit, and by Wesley's catholicity? Since Wesley spoke and wrote, and exemplified what he spoke and wrote by his own beautiful life, have not the evangelical Churches been drawing nearer and nearer together? Are they not more sweetly striving together for "the faith once delivered to the saints?" Is there not a more harmonious endeavor to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace?"

And have Wesley's writings "nothing more than a purely historical interest?" How is it that there are over *a hundred thousand* Methodist preachers now living, who have not only read Wesley's sermons, but studied them, prayed over them, and before received into the traveling connection been examined on them? And who will say how many thousand more are now in

heaven who did the same thing? And has this great army of itinerant and local preachers, the living and the dead, exercised no influence upon English thought? And have not millions of pages in newspapers, in magazines, in reviews, and in tracts and books, been written to illustrate, to defend, and to enforce the writings which Wesley left to his followers? The writings of what other religious teacher outside of revelation have been so extensively read, or left a wider and deeper trace on the Anglo-Saxon mind and heart?

But what is English thought, about which we hear so much from a certain class of writers? With them it means not the *old theology* of Moses and St. Paul, nor even that of Socrates and Plato; but it means the *old philosophy* of Leucippus, Democritus, and Lucretius, and of their disciples in skepticism, Hobbes and Hume, Voltaire and Rousseau, Spencer and Darwin. It means whatever is skeptical in thought, whatever its modifications may be, whether atheism, deism, infidelity, rationalism, or whatever is included in what is called the speculative philosophy, and is opposed to the Bible as a written revelation of God and his will. This, with certain writers, is the whole of English thought. The "cultivated thinkers" are all found there, and nowhere else. Every thing else, provided it savor directly or indirectly of revealed religion, is excluded. And yet, perhaps, not all of revealed religion. For if one professing to believe in the sacred Scriptures so interprets them as to exclude the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of human depravity, the necessity of repentance, the new birth, the witness of the spirit, holiness, and the existence of heaven and hell, especially the latter, he may be taken, by an act of philosophic grace, into the number of the "cultivated thinkers." Such an one is admitted into the charmed circle of speculative philosophy because he is only half a religionist at the most. He is not fully in the light of the true philosophy, but he is not altogether in darkness. There is hope that he may emerge out of the dim and shadowy twilight of a semi-philosophy into the

bright and unclouded noon of the philosophy of "cultivated thinkers." Hence, perhaps, Samuel Clarke and Benjamin Hoadley have left some impress upon English thought; upon it can be found no traces of Philip Doddridge and John Wesley. We thank God that these devoted ministers of the Lord Jesus added nothing to English thought, as English thought is interpreted by the skeptics. As already noticed, the only influence John Wesley exerted upon English thought in their sense of it, has been to save millions of the English-speaking race from its blight and its curse. Had it not been for Wesley's burning love of souls for whom Jesus died, and his apostolic zeal to pluck them as brands from the burning; had it not been for his faithful Gospel-preaching in church and chapel, in barns and the open air; and had it not been for the thoroughly evangelical tracts, and treatises, and hymns, and sermons which came trooping from his unresting pen, the so-called English thought would have embraced millions delivered by Wesley's labors from its skepticism and death.

If John Wesley has left no trace upon true English thought —not the English thought of the skeptics—how is it that his name, his life, and his labors are now filling a much larger space in the English literature of the day than those of any other uninspired Christian teacher that has ever lived? How is it that these are so much the theme not only of the religious newspapers, and magazines, and reviews, and books issued from Methodist printing-presses and the printing-presses of other evangelical Churches, but of the secular histories and quarterlies of the times? How is it that there is, at this moment, a revival of thought on his life and work all over the world? How is it that so many, in other evangelical Churches, are emulating one another to do honor to his memory? How is it that even the skeptical historians of English thought and of English life—though they do not give to him the full place to which he is entitled—are yet assigning him, with Mr. Buckle, the chiefest place among "theological statesmen," and,

with them all, the highest rank among Church revivalists and reformers? And how is it that the Established Church of England, from whose pulpits he was so rudely shut out, is now, though late, claiming him as her own—as the one to whom she is most indebted for deliverance from rationalism and French infidelity on the one hand, and a lifeless formalism and an arrogant claim to Popish infallibility on the other?

Witness England's recent tribute to the Wesleys! A sculptured memorial of John and Charles Wesley not long since was unveiled by Dean Stanley in Westminster Abbey. The worthy Dean, who delivered the address on the occasion, spoke of the Wesleys as those whom the Church of England delighted to honor, and hoped that no one would deny to them a place in that venerable mausoleum of England's noble dead. Fitting place for a sculptured memorial of the brothers! For to none of the many eminent dead whose memory that splendid old Abbey perpetuates has England been more indebted than to John Wesley, the great Methodist reformer, and to Charles Wesley, the great Methodist lyric poet. Nor is all acknowledgment of England's indebtedness to the Wesleys a thing of such recent date. When the music of Charles Wesley, Jun., like the effect of David's harp on King Saul, revived the spirit of King George III., the old king, laying a hand on one of the shoulders of the musician, said: "To your uncle, Mr. Wesley, and your father, and to George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon, the Church in this realm is more indebted than to all others."

If the Bible is the inspired word of God; if God out of Christ is a consuming fire; if the Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation; if, without faith in Christ as the only sacrifice for sin, no one can be delivered from its condemnation and guilt; if the blood of Christ alone can cleanse the defiled and polluted heart; if the fruits of the Spirit are the only sure evidence of acceptance with God, and holiness the only fitness for an inheritance with the sanctified; if Christ

is judge of quick and dead; and if believers in Christ are rewarded with the crown of eternal life, and all unbelievers punished with the pains of eternal death—then an impress, greater than that made by any other Englishman, has Wesley made upon the Anglo-Saxon mind and heart. If it be a supreme work to revive a lifeless Church and awake it to its true mission on earth—to be instrumental in saving the greatest number of souls from death, and to exert the greatest and widest influence for good while living, and, when dead, keep it alive by the recollection of a life of perfect consecration to Christ and unselfish devotedness to the best and highest interests of man, —then John Wesley must be regarded the greatest of English revivalists and reformers. And if, after death, to speak to millions of the English-speaking race in the writings which one has left behind him with the same authority with which his utterances in life were received by comparatively a few thousand, be any evidence that one has left an impress upon English thought—then John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, has exercised a more powerful influence upon true English thought than any other Englishman, living or dead. Finally, if John Wesley, claiming the world as his parish, with no spirit of a sectarian and with no thought of founding a Church, has founded a great Church which has been instrumental in winning more trophies to the Cross of Christ than any other—if he has infused his own apostolic spirit into the other evangelical Churches and made them better witnesses for Jesus and the resurrection—then John Wesley is not only "the greatest figure who has apppeared in the religious history of the world since the days of the Reformation," but since the apostles. And such will be the deliberate judgment which the ages will pronounce upon the life and labors of John Wesley, "who devoted," says Lord Macaulay, "all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered the highest good of his species."

# WESLEY AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE Methodism of to-day will never be understood until the history of its founder is rightly understood; and neither the history of Wesley himself, nor the character of his life-work, can ever be understood, until it is recognized that his life was divided into two distinct, and in many respects sharply-contrasted, periods—the period preceding, and the period following the spring of 1738. Much confusion and error have arisen from failing to recognize the critical changes and the momentous developments which have marked the course of certain statesmen, who have been unjustly accused of treachery, of holding at one and the same time a medley of conflicting opinions, and of having no honest and real principles at all. Similar confusion has arisen as to Wesley's opinions and principles from failing to observe the fact to which I have referred. The opinions of his earlier years have often been attributed to him as his permanent convictions and principles, although he had abandoned them fifty years before his death, while the real principles which guided all his course as the founder of Methodism have apparently never been apprehended at all by many who have undertaken to pronounce on the subject both of Wesley himself and of the community which he founded. It is my present purpose to exhibit, as clearly as I can, what Wesley was after his High-Church views were abandoned in 1738, and to indicate also, at least in part, how the Methodism which he founded was molded by the principles which he then adopted, and which became ever afterward the controlling principles of his life and work.

Let 1738 be well marked. Wesley's inner and essential High Churchmanship belongs to the period preceding that date. His

Churchmanship in after-life, and through the space of half a century, included neither high sacramentarian doctrine nor servile veneration for rubrics, nor any belief in either the virtue or the reality of what is commonly called "the apostolical succession."

Wesleyan writers take their stand here. None have shown so distinctly and fully the rigid and excessive Churchmanship of Wesley up to the date 1738. But they insist that from that date every thing was essentially different, and that the essential difference very swiftly developed into striking results.

The High Churchman, they argue, makes salvation to be directly dependent on sacramental grace and apostolical succession. Whereas the Evangelical Believer—the man who has received the doctrine of salvation by faith as it was taught by Peter Böhler, and as it is understood by the Reformed Churches in general, learns from St. Paul that "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God." Hence, according to his conviction, the Christian salvation—justification, regeneration, and sanctification—must be realized by means of the "truth as it is in Jesus." Truth and life are for him indissolubly associated. He cannot forget the words of the Word Himself: "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth;" and again, "I am the way, the truth, and the life;" nor the words of St. Paul, when he speaks of himself and his fellow-workers as "by manifestation of the truth commending" themselves "to every man's conscience in the sight of God." It is the truth in the sacraments, according to his view, which fills them with blessing to those who receive them with faith; they are "signs and seals"—eloquent symbols and most sacred pledges—but they are not in and of themselves saturated with grace and life; they are not the only organ and vehicle through which grace flows to the members of Christ's mystical body, altogether irrespective of any divine truth apprehended and embraced by the mind and heart of the believer.

They admit that, up to 1738, Wesley had been a High-Church

Ritualist, but they insist that all his life afterward he taught the Evangelical doctrine of salvation by faith; that he very soon, and once for all, discarded the "fable," as he called it, of "apostolical succession;" and that he presently gave up all that is now understood to belong to the system, whether theological or ecclesiastical, of High-Church Anglo-Catholicism. "The grave-clothes of ritualistic superstition," they say, "still hung about him for awhile, even after he had come forth from the sepulcher, and had, in his heart and soul, been set loose and free; and he only cast them off gradually. But the new principle he had embraced led," as they affirm, "before long to his complete emancipation from the principles and prejudices of High-Church ecclesiasticism."

Such language as this may seem to High Churchmen harsh, and perhaps uncharitable, but the one question really is, how far it is warranted by the history and recorded sentiments of Wesley himself after the year 1738. Modern Wesleyans cannot be expected to be more High-Church than their founder. I propose, accordingly, to show now, in some detail, what Wesley did actually claim and hold as to matters ecclesiastical during the half-century which followed his "conversion." Ecclesiastical claims and theories are founded on theological dogmas. We shall see how the newly-received doctrines of grace and of faith gave color and form to the ecclesiastical principles of the founder of Methodism.

It is hard to conceive views as to the public ministry of the word, and the government and discipline of the Church, more hazardous and untenable, according to the standard of High Churchmen, than those which were maintained by John Wesley.

He held, as I will presently show, after the year 1745, that the office of presbyter or priest and that of bishop being originally and essentially one, he, as a presbyter, had the abstract and essential right to ordain presbyters, in a new sphere—a sphere of his own creation, so to speak—if by his so doing

neither he nor they whom he ordained became intruders into other communions, or trespassers within other jurisdictions. Acting on this principle, he ordained "presbyters," and even "superintendents," * or bishops, for America; he ordained presbyters for Scotland; and eventually even conceived himself to be constrained to ordain presbyters to assist him in administering the sacraments to his own Societies in England, one of his strong pleas being, that the clergy, in many instances, would not admit his people to the Lord's Supper. Indeed, there is high authority—the authority of Samuel Bradburn, one of his ablest and most eminent preachers—for saying that Wesley went so far, at the Conference of 1788, as to consecrate one of his English preachers as "superintendent," or bishop. The Methodist Conference did but extend this principle to its obvious consequences when, a few years after his death, those of them whom Wesley had already ordained were presumed to have the power to share their prerogatives with their brethren and partners in common charge of the Societies, so that all the Societies which desired it might receive the sacraments from their own preachers.

Quite as radical, indeed, as any opinion of a modern Methodist on these points, and far more startling, as coming from John Wesley, is the following passage contained in the Minutes of Conference for the year already noted, 1745:

*Q.* 1. Can he be a spiritual governor of the Church who is not a believer nor member of it?

*A.* It seems not: though he may be a governor in outward things by a power derived from the King.

*Q.* 2. What are properly the laws of the Church of England?

*A.* The rubrics; and to those we submit as the ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake.

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* In Wesley's time, the senior preacher in charge was called "assistant," not, as now, "superintendent," and the junior preachers, "helpers." "Superintendent," in Wesley's ecclesiastical nomenclature, meant "bishop;" he held, of course, that his "superintendents," or "bishops," were not in order, but only in office, distinguished from presbyters.

*Q.* 3. But is not the will of our governors a law?

*A.* No; not of any governor, temporal or spiritual. Therefore, if any bishop wills that I should not preach the Gospel, his will is no law to me.

*Q.* 4. But what if he produce a law against your preaching?

*A.* I am to obey God rather than man.

*Q.* 5. Is Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent church government most agreeable to reason?

*A.* The plain origin of Church government seems to be this. Christ sends forth a preacher of the Gospel. Some who hear him, repent and believe the Gospel. They then desire him to watch over them, to build them up in the faith, and to guide their souls in the paths of righteousness.

Here, then, is an *independent* congregation—subject to no pastor but their own; neither liable to be controlled in things spiritual by any other man or body of men whatsoever.

But soon after, some from other parts, who are occasionally present while he speaks in the name of Him that sent him, beseech him to come over to help them also. Knowing it to be the will of God, he consents, yet not till he has conferred with the wisest and holiest of his congregation, and, with their advice, appointed one or more who have gifts and grace to watch over the flock till his return.

If it pleases God to raise another flock in the new place, before he leaves them he does the same thing, appointing one whom God has fitted for the work to watch over these souls also. In like manner, in every place where it pleases God to gather a little flock by His Word, he appoints one in his absence to take the oversight of the rest, and to assist them of the abilities which God giveth. These are *deacons*, or servants of the Church, and look on the first pastor as their common father. And all these congregations regard him in the same light, and esteem him still as the shepherd of their souls.

These congregations are not absolutely *independent;* they depend on one pastor, though not on each other.

As these congregations increase, and as their deacons grow in years and grace, they need other subordinate deacons or helpers, in respect of whom they may be called *presbyters* or elders, as their father in the Lord may be called the bishop or overseer of them all.

*Q.* 6. Is mutual consent absolutely necessary between the pastor and his flock?

*A.* No question. I cannot guide any soul unless he consent to be

guided by me. Neither can any soul force me to guide him if I consent not.

*Q.* 7. Does the ceasing of this consent on either side dissolve that relation?

*A.* It must, in the very nature of things. If a man no longer consent to be guided by me, I am no longer his guide: I am free. If one will not guide me any longer, I am free to seek one who will.

This remarkable extract contains implicitly the whole theory of Methodist government and discipline, regarded as an organization created and controlled by Wesley for the purpose of converting souls and of watching over his converts. Wesley regarded himself as a sort of bishop, his "assistants" or chief preachers in charge as quasi-presbyters, and the junior or probationary "helpers" as a sort of deacons. If he never carried out this conception thoroughly in practice, and especially never conceded to his chief preachers generally the distinct *status* of presbyters, it was because he cherished, more or less, though with heavy doubts and misgivings, the hope that the bishops of his Church might be brought to give virtual effect to his desires, and that Methodism might become an affiliated branch of the Church of England.

It is true, indeed, and it is very singular, that even at the time he penned the remarkable extract just given, Wesley still retained some relics of his ecclesiastical High Churchmanship. The date of the minute is August, 1745. On December 27, of the same year, he prints in his journal a letter to his brother-in-law, Hall—a letter well-known and often quoted by Churchmen —in which he upholds the doctrines of apostolical succession, and of the three-fold order of the ministry. On the very next page of his journal, however, under date January 20, 1746—and no doubt the juxtaposition was calculated and intended by the journalist—he declares and publishes his definitive renunciation of these self-same views, as the result of reading Lord (Chancellor) King's "Account of the Primitive Church." From this conclusion he never afterward swerved. "It is well

known that in a letter to his brother Charles many years afterward, (1785,) he spoke of "the uninterrupted succession" as "knowing it to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove."

During his subsequent course he repeatedly speaks of himself as "a Scriptural Episcopos;" and, as we have seen, he acted on this persuasion.

In the "Disciplinary Minutes" for 1746, it is said, that the Wesleys and their helpers may, "perhaps, be regarded as extraordinary messengers, designed of God to provoke the others to jealousy." The following suggestive question and answer are also given in the same Minutes:

*Q.* Why do we not use more form and solemnity in the receiving of a new laborer?

*A.* We purposely decline it: first, because there is something of stateliness in it; second, because we would not make haste. We desire to follow Providence as it gradually opens.

The Minutes for 1747 contain the following decisive series of questions and answers:—

*Q.* 6. Does a church in the New Testament always mean a single congregation?

*A.* We believe it does. We do not recollect any instance to the contrary.

*Q.* 7. What instance or ground is there, then, in the New Testament, for a NATIONAL Church?

*A.* We know none at all. We apprehend it to be a merely political institution.

*Q.* 8. Are the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons plainly described in the New Testament?

*A.* We think they are; and believe they generally obtained in the Churches of the apostolic age.

*Q.* 9. But are you assured that God designed the same plan should obtain in all Churches throughout all ages?

*A.* We are not assured of this; because we do not know that it is asserted in Holy Writ.

*Q.* 10. If this plan were essential to a Christian Church, what would become of all the foreign Reformed Churches?

*A.* It would follow they are no parts of the Church of Christ; a consequence full of shocking absurdity.

*Q.* 11. In what age was the divine right of Episcopacy first asserted in England?

*A.* About the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Till then all the bishops and clergy in England continually allowed and joined in the ministration of those who were not episcopally ordained.

*Q.* 12. Must there not be numberless accidental varieties in the government of various Churches?

*A.* There must, in the nature of things. For as God variously dispenses his gifts of nature, providence, and grace, both the offices themselves and the officers in each ought to be varied from time to time.

*Q.* 13. Why is it that there is no determinate plan of church-government appointed in Scripture?

*A.* Without doubt, because the wisdom of God had a regard to this necessary variety.

*Q.* 14. Was there any thought of uniformity in the government of all Churches until the time of Constantine?

*A.* It is certain there was not, and would not have been then had men consulted the Word of God only.

So far Wesley had traveled since 1738; so thoroughly different were his views in 1747 from what they had been in 1735; so profound was the contradiction between the principles of the Oxford Methodist, and of the founder of the Methodist Connection of Societies. The former was a priest and pastor among "the schools of the prophets," devoted to the rubrics and order of his Church; the latter was an itinerant evangelist for his nation and the world, loving his National Church, indeed, but regarding it as a "political institution," and always prepared to sacrifice, if it were necessary, his Churchmanship to what he regarded as his higher and wider mission as a preacher and teacher of the Gospel to all men. Nearly forty years later, in 1785, in the letter to his brother Charles, lately referred to, Wesley re-affirms all that he had said in the "Minutes" I have quoted, and even speaks more decisively as to the

definition and character of the Church of England. It is true that one of his latest sermons, that on "The Ministerial Office," preached in 1790, flames with indignation against unauthorized intruders into the office of the "priesthood," whom he compares to Korah and his fellows. But it must be remembered that he regarded ordination by himself, conferred on one of his preachers, as equally valid with any that might have been bestowed by the hands of any bishop of whatever Church. What he objected to in some of his preachers was, that they had presumed to administer the sacraments when he had not appointed them. "Did we ever appoint you," he asks in this sermon, "to administer sacraments, to exercise the priestly office? Where did I appoint you to do this? Nowhere at all!"

Nevertheless, in 1775, writing to a Tory statesman, Wesley described himself as "a High Churchman, the son of a High Churchman;" and this fact is sometimes brought forward as evidence that he retained through life, substantially unchanged, the principles of his Oxford Ritualistic Churchmanship. The more, however, the question is investigated, the more untenable will any such view appear. Wesley was never a political Low Churchman. He had no Dissenting predilections, or Puritan punctilios, or latitudinarian laxity. He was a Tory in Church and State. But during the last forty or fifty years of his life he altogether abandoned the positive principles of High Churchmanship, both in theology and in relation to ecclesiastical government. The letter to which I have referred was, however, one in which he put prominently forward his Toryism, as regarded from a political point of view, in order that he might the better commend the argument of his letter to the attention of a Tory statesman. He was writing to Lord North on behalf of the revolted American colonists, urging counsels to which it would have been well if the Government had listened. He was writing on a political question to a politician. Accordingly he says, "Here all my prejudices are

against the Americans; for I am a High Churchman, the son of a High Churchman, bred up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance." These words indicate the scope and bearing of the High Churchmanship of which he speaks. And yet it is curious how he goes on to illustrate, even in the political sphere, the independence and liberal tone of his Toryism. He proceeds thus: "And yet, in spite of all my long-rooted prejudices, I cannot avoid thinking, if I think at all, these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow."

His actual position in regard to High Church and Low Church—to Anglicanism and Nonconformity—is very clearly indicated in the following passages. In his journal, under date of Friday, March 13, 1747, he writes: "In some of the following days I snatched a few hours to read 'The History of the Puritans.' I stand in amaze; first, at the execrable spirit of persecution which drove those venerable men out of the Church, and with which Queen Elizabeth's clergy were as deeply tinctured as ever Queen Mary's were; secondly, at the weakness of those holy confessors, many of whom spent so much of their time and strength in disputing about surplices and hoods, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper." In April, 1754, again he writes: "I read Dr. Calamy's 'Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life.' In spite of all the prejudices of education, I could not but see that the poor Nonconformists had been used without justice or mercy, and that many of the Protestant bishops of King Charles (the Second) had neither more religion nor humanity than the Popish bishops of Queen Mary." But still more decisive, perhaps, as to the limited and modified sense in which alone Wesley could be regarded as a High Churchman, even when he described himself as such, is the following passage, written two years later than his letter to Lord North, namely, in 1777. In it he is, notwithstanding

his letter of 1775, appealing to Dissenters to show loyalty to the King in the struggle then going on with the revolted colonies; and he exclaims: "Do you imagine there are no High Churchmen left? Did they all die with Dr. Sacheverell? Alas! how little you know of mankind! Were the present restraint taken off, you would see them swarming on every side, and gnashing upon you with their teeth. . . . If other Bonners and Gardiners did not arise, other Lauds and Sheldons would, who would either rule over you with a rod of iron, or drive you out of the land."

We have seen how far Wesley had traveled since 1738. The investigation which we have thus far conducted is fundamental to any correct view of the relations of Methodism to the Church of England. There are some who still hope that a violent and entire breach between Methodism and the Church of England may yet be averted. But of this there can be no hope, if the position and the principles of Wesley himself are forever to be misunderstood. Those who at the same time summon Methodists, on the authority of their founder, to return to the fold of the Church of England, and deny to their pastors and preachers the *status* of ministers, both mistake the facts of the case, so far as Wesley himself was concerned, and do all that lies in their power, so far as modern Methodism is concerned, to widen separation into alienation, to harden and provoke independence into animosity and antagonism. Wesley had plans—dreams, many may think them—by which he conceived that the Methodist organization, as such, might in great part have been attached to the Church of England, might have been the means of largely reviving that Church, of absorbing not a little of explicit and professed Dissent, of making the Church living and national throughout the land. He feared that, if this did not come to pass, if nothing were done by the rulers of the Church toward meeting his views, his people would, after his death, become a separate people. In his independent organization of American Methodism, he embodied in general his own ideal of an independent

Methodist Church. He knew full well the mind of many of his leading preachers, headed by Dr. Coke, as to the high benefit and desirableness, if not the necessity, of Methodism in England becoming an independent organization. But he desired to postpone such a consummation as long as possible, and to prevent it if possible. He was bent upon securing for his own Church the utmost space and opportunity for effecting an organic union with his Societies, and he endeavored so to use his influence to the last as to keep as many of his people attached to the Church as possible, and at least to preclude a separation on dissenting principles. It is wonderful how long and how far his influence has extended. Even such a policy as that represented in the pastorals of the Bishop of Lincoln, and exemplified in the outrage recently inflicted by the Vicar of Owston Ferry, has not fully availed to drive Methodism to make a breach with the Church of England. It may yet be possible, by a wise and generous policy, to retain many friends in the Methodist Connection who hold that it is well, apart from all voluntary communions, to have a liberal Protestant Established Church; or who, at all events, are opposed to a disestablishment agitation. But it is no more possible, by quoting the authority of Wesley, on the one hand to win back, than it is by petty persecutions on the other to drive back, any appreciable number of Methodists into the ranks of the Church. All that such conduct can do is to irritate and alienate at large.

In fact, the principles which Wesley embraced in 1738 determined all his future course, and every step he afterward took looked toward separation and independence, unless, in good time, Methodism could somehow be taken up into organic union with the Church of England, and yet left as a system in its substantial integrity. It is evident from the terms of the Deed Poll, by which, in 1784, he legally constituted the Conference, that Wesley contemplated the possibility of the chief ministers in some of his circuits being stationary ordained clergymen of

the Church of England, with and under whom itinerant Methodist Evangelists might do the work of the "circuits." The limitation of a preacher's labors in connection with the same chapel to a period of three years as provided by that Deed does not apply, according to the terms of the Deed Poll itself, in the case of an ordained clergyman. Wesley's dream, probably, was, that a number—an increasing number as years passed on—of Methodist preachers might be appointed to benefices situated respectively at the head place, or in the center, of the "circuits" of Methodism, and that, living there, they might act as the chief ministers of such circuits, having unordained itinerants as their subordinate colleagues and coadjutors. The celebrated Mr. Grimshaw, Vicar of Haworth, and the still more celebrated Fletcher, of Madeley, did thus act as the chief ministers of Methodist circuits, and had their names as such upon the "Minutes of Conference." If this process had gone on, these ordained Methodist clergy being members of the Conference, there might conceivably have been a Methodist order and organization within the Church of England, of which the members, distinguished by zeal and activity, might have been extending their lines and labors in all directions. I can see no necessary reason why something like this might not have taken place: the orders of the Church of Rome have done a work somewhat analogous; have had their own assemblies, their special organization and discipline the generals. Wesley had early studied closely, and has left on record his admiration of, the genius and discipline of Loyola. And it was, perhaps, his highest desire to do, in a frank and evangelical sense and spirit, for the Church of England a work somewhat resembling what Loyola had organized with such marvelous success for the Church of Rome. Whatever, however, might have been his ideas in regard to this matter, they were not to be fulfilled; and, apart from such fulfillment, the steps he successively took were directly bent, as I have said, toward one goal—the goal of separation, of organized independency.

When, in 1739, Wesley organized a system of religious Societies, altogether independent of the parochial clergy and of Episcopal control, but dependent absolutely on himself, he took a step toward raising up a separate communion, especially as the "rules" of his Societies contained no requirement of allegiance to the Established Church. When, in 1740, he built meeting-houses, which were settled on trustees for his own use, and began, with his brother, to administer the sacraments in these houses, a further step was taken in the same direction. Calling out, in 1741, lay preachers wholly devoted to the work of preaching and visitation, was still a step in advance toward the same issue. The yearly Conferences, begun in 1744, tended obviously in the same direction. The legal constitution of the Conference in 1784, and the provision for vesting in it, for the use of the "People called Methodists," all the preaching-places and trust property of the Connection, was a most important measure, giving to the Union of the Societies a legally corporate character and large property-rights. The ordination of ministers, even for America, as Charles Wesley forcibly pointed out at the time, could hardly fail to conduct toward the result which Wesley had so long striven to avert, namely, the general ordination of his preachers in Great Britain. If it was necessary to ordain for America, they would plead that it was highly expedient to ordain for England. The principle was conceded that the only question was one of time and fitness as to its more extended application. The ordinations for Scotland were refused by Wesley so long as he could refuse them with either safety or consistency. Without them, his people would, in very many cases, have been left quite without the sacraments, as the Calvinistic controversy had become imbittered, and Wesley and his followers were accounted heretics by the Orthodox in Scotland. Nevertheless, ordaining for Scotland could not but hasten the day when preachers must be ordained for England. It was hard to require that Mr. Taylor should administer in Scotland, and should hold himself

forbidden and unable to administer in England. And when, at length, Wesley was compelled to ordain a few ministers for England, it could not but be seen that what had been done in the case of the few could not always be refused as respected their brethren at large. As little could it be expected that while, for various reasons, in addition to London and Bristol, which had enjoyed this "privilege" from the beginning, more and more places were allowed to enjoy the privilege of preaching in church hours, the concession of the same privilege to other places which might desire it could be permanently denied.

In weighing this summary of facts, Churchmen are also bound in justice to remember that it was the continued refusal of the clergy in Bristol to administer the Lord's Supper to the Methodists, and even to the Wesleys themselves, which drove them to administer it to their Societies in their own meeting-house. Similar conduct constrained Wesley to allow separate services in more and more places, and, in the end, to ordain some of his own preachers to assist him in administering the sacraments to his Societies even in England.

Much is made by many of the clergy of the injunctions which Wesley so often gave to his people down to his last days, not to separate from the Church of England. There can be no doubt that he had a passionate desire to keep them as long as possible, and as many of them as possible, within that fold; but no injunctions or entreaties on his part could change the logic of facts, or alter the necessary consequences of the course he himself pursued so steadily for fifty years. Besides, his sayings on the other side were sharp and strong, and cannot but have the more weight as having been wrung from him in spite of himself—in spite of the strongest bias in the other direction. Writing to his brother Charles, Wesley says, in 1755: "Joseph Cownley says, 'For such and such reasons I dare not hear a drunkard preach or read prayers.' I answer, I *dare*, but I cannot answer his reasons." And again, writing still to his brother thirty years later, in 1786, he says: "The last time I was at

Scarborough I earnestly exhorted our people to go to Church, and I went myself. But the wretched minister preached such a sermon that I could not in conscience advise them to hear him any more."

It is truly said, and much stress is laid upon it, that Wesley urged his preachers and people not to hold their services in church hours. This was his rule; but it is equally true that in London and Bristol, his chief centers, the services had almost from the beginning been held in church hours; that he sanctioned many other exceptions to the rule; and that the number of exceptions increased as the years went on, until at length, in 1788, general liberty was given to hold such services wherever the people did not object, except only on sacrament Sunday. This exception was absolutely necessary, because, as a rule, Methodists could only obtain the sacrament at church. As yet but few of the preachers were ordained. Wesley and Coke, Wesley's lieutenant after his brother Charles ceased to itinerate, could rarely visit any given place, and they never visited some places. Local preachers supplied the pulpit, leaders met the classes; but neither could administer the sacraments.

Wesley's views as to the Established Church were very lax. Regarded as a national Church we have seen that he defined it to be merely a political institution. He seems to have considered that every one who believed the main doctrines of the Church of England, and lived a Christian life, according to his best lights and opportunities, so long as he did not consciously or deliberately dissent from that Church, was to be regarded as a member of it. We must bear this in mind if we would understand how it was that Wesley, at the same time, earnestly desired and entreated his people generally to remain as closely as possible attached to the Church of England, and yet, whenever any usage, or customary right, or even law of that Church, seemed to come into conflict with what he regarded as the spread of evangelical truth and life, he was prepared to make an entire and unhesitating sacrifice of it. He regarded the

Church of England, indeed, and all belonging to it, as only a means to an end. Hence, in 1755, when his brother Charles was trembling and indignant in the prospect, as he foreboded, of a speedy and organic separation of many of the preachers and of the Societies from the Church, Wesley wrote to him thus:—

"Wherever I have been in England the Societies are far more firmly and rationally attached to the Church than ever they were before. I have no fear about this matter. I only fear the preachers' or the peoples' leaving, not the Church, but the love of God, and inward or outward holiness. To this I press them forward continually. I dare not, in conscience, spend my time and strength on externals. If, as my Lady Huntingdon says, all outward Establishments are Babel, so is this Establishment. Let it stand for me. I neither set it up nor pull it down. But let you and I build up the city of God."

Again, still more notable are his words which follow:—

"My conclusion, which I cannot yet give up—that it is lawful to continue in the Church—stands, I know not how, without any premises to bear its weight. I know the original doctrines of the Church are sound: I know her worship is, in the main, pure and Scriptural. But if the 'essence of the Church of England, considered as such, consists in her orders and laws (many of which I can myself say nothing for) and not in her worship and doctrines,' those who separate from her have a far stronger plea than I was ever sensible of."

Again, in 1786, writing to his brother, Wesley said: "As you observe, one may leave *a* Church (which I would advise in some cases) without leaving *the* Church. Here we may remain in spite of all wicked or Calvinistic preachers." In the same year, a month earlier, he had written, also to his brother, "Indeed, I love the Church as sincerely as ever I did; and I tell our Societies every-where, 'The Methodists will not leave the Church, at least while I live.'"

The limitation intimated in the last clause quoted is not

without significance. But there were occasions on which Wesley contemplated the possibility of actual Dissent, even on his own part, although assuredly no alternative, no extremity, could well have been more repugnant to all his tastes and feelings. The Bishop of London having excommunicated a clergyman for preaching without a license, Wesley wrote respecting this, "It is probable the point will be now determined concerning the Church, for if we must either dissent or be silent, *actum est.*" "Church or no Church," again he wrote, "we must attend to the work of saving souls."

It was at last brought to the sharp issue which Wesley dreaded, so far as many, and in the end all, of his congregations were concerned. They were obliged either to *dissent or be silent.* One of Wesley's latest letters, addressed to a bishop, relates to this subject. The Methodists found themselves forced either to register their meeting-houses as "Protestant Dissenting" places of worship, or else forego all the protection and benefits of the Toleration Act. I give the Methodist patriarch's letter entire. He was eighty-six years old when he wrote it:

MY LORD: It may seem strange that one who is not acquainted with your lordship should trouble you with a letter. But I am constrained to do it; I believe it is my duty both to God and your lordship. And I must speak plain, having nothing to hope or fear in this world, which I am on the point of leaving.

The Methodists, in general, my lord, are members of the Church of England. They hold all her doctrines, attend her service, and partake of her sacraments. They do not willingly do harm to any one, but do what good they can to all. To encourage each other herein, they frequently spend an hour together in prayer and exhortation. Permit me, then, to ask, *Cui bono?* For what reasonable end would your lordship drive these people out of the Church? Are they not as quiet, as inoffensive, nay, as pious as any of their neighbors, except perhaps here and there a hare-brained man who knows not what he is about?

Do you ask, Who drives them out of the Church? Your lordship does, and that in the most cruel manner, yea, and the most disingenuous manner. They desire a license to worship God after their own conscience. Your lordship refuses it, and then punishes them for not hav-

ing a license! So your lordship leaves them only this alternative, "Leave the Church or starve." And it is a Christian, yea, a Protestant bishop that so persecutes his own flock. I say persecutes, for it is a persecution to all intents and purposes. You do not burn them, indeed, but you starve them, and how small is the difference! And your lordship does this under color of a vile, exeerable law, not a whit better than that *De Hæretico Comburendo*. So persecution, which is banished out of France, is again countenanced in England.

O my lord, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, for pity's sake, suffer the poor people to enjoy their religious as well as civil liberty. I am on the brink of eternity. Perhaps so is your lordship, too. How soon may you also be called to give an account of your stewardship to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls! May he enable both you and me to do it with joy! So prays, my lord,

Your lordship's dutiful son and servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

Thus were the Methodists compelled, against their own will, as well as sorely against the will of their founder, to become in legal construction Protestant Dissenters.

Nevertheless, it is remarkable how slowly the process of actual separation proceeded. The date of the letter just quoted was June 26, 1790, a few weeks before the last Conference at which Wesley presided. What effect the new condition of things might have produced on his views or conduct if he had been a younger man, and had lived a few years longer, it is impossible to conjecture. He was still hoping for relief from this stringent and impolitic application of the Conventicle Act up to the date of his death. But it is certain that the dissenting party within the Conference and among the Societies (by no means a small or feeble party) must have been stimulated and strengthened by finding themselves forced into the legal position of Dissenters. Nevertheless, the spirit of Wesley prevailed in the councils of his followers after his death to a degree which, all things considered, is really surprising.

In 1787 Wesley had said, "When the Methodists leave the Church of England, God will leave them;" in 1788, that the "glory" of the Methodists had been "not to be a separate body,"

and that "the more he reflected the more he was convinced that the Methodists ought not to leave the Church;" in 1789, that they would "not be a distinct body;" in 1790, that "none who regarded his judgment or advice would separate from the Church of England." And as a matter of fact, notwithstanding the enforcement of the Conventicle Act, the Conference after Mr. Wesley's death did not "separate from the Church of England."

What Wesley dreaded first and most in separation was its want of charity, its schismatic temper and tendency. Many passages might be quoted to prove this. His whole soul revolted from the thought of his people deliberately, for reasons assigned and upon a manifesto of dissent and separation, severing themselves from the Church. If there were to be a separation, his determination through life was, that the separation should be imposed and forced upon, not sought or determined by, the Methodists. He could not but be aware, moreover, that the conscious and deliberate organization of his people into a separate Church would be in many ways a hazardous and precarious experiment. He was persuaded that the express adoption of the *status* and principles of a Dissenting sect would bring disorganization and ruin to Methodism.

The Conference, as I have said, after Wesley's death, acted in harmony with the spirit of their founder. Even the enforcement of the Conventicle Act, the hardships of which were not removed till 1812, when Parliament, under the ministry of Lord Liverpool, passed an act repealing the obnoxious and oppressive restrictions on the liberty of preaching, did not drive them into any extreme course. They suffered, indeed, between 1791 and 1795, the peace of the Connection to be most seriously embroiled, and allowed many of their churches to be brought to the verge of dissolution, before they consented to permit even the gradual extension of separate services in church hours, and of sacramental administration by their own preachers for the members of their Societies. In giving

this guarded permission they still did but follow the precedent of Wesley, and act in conformity with his spirit and principles. They never, at any time, decreed a separation of Methodism from the Church of England; that separation was effected by the particular Societies distributively and the individual members personally, not at all by the action, or on the suggestion, but only by the permission, of the Conference. The Wesleyan Conference did not, in fact, recognize and provide for the actual condition of ecclesiastical independency into which the Connection had been brought, until that condition had long existed; and Methodist preachers abstained from using the style and title appropriate to ordained ministers, and from assuming in any way collectively, the language of complete pastoral responsibility, until by the universal action of the Connection their people had, of their own will, practically separated themselves from the Church of England, and forced their preachers into the full position and relations of pastors—pastors in common of a common flock, who recognized them alone as their ministers, and among whom they itinerated by mutual arrangement.

Looking at the whole evidence, it appears to be undeniable that, as it has been said, so far as respects the separate development of Methodism, "Wesley not only pointed but paved the way to all that has since been done, and that the utmost divergence of Methodism from the Church of England at this day is but the prolongation of a line the beginning of which was traced by Wesley's own hand." It is idle to attempt to purge Wesley of the sin of schism in order to cast the guilt upon his followers.

It is manifestly now too late to think of the re-absorption of Methodism into the Church of England, for English Methodism is not only itself a large and consolidated communion, but it has been the fruitful mother of many other communions; of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, by far the largest Protestant Church in America, perhaps in the

world; of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; of the Colonial Methodist Churches; and of Mission Churches almost without end—not to mention other Methodist Churches in both hemispheres. With such a family of Churches derived from itself, that parent stock of Methodism which claims direct descent from John Wesley, is never likely to consent to merge its own identity or annul its historical position.

# WESLEY'S INFLUENCE

ON THE

## SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE ENGLISH MASSES.*

IN dealing with the character and career of John Wesley, as our allotted space forbids all introductory, rhetorical, or eloquent vaporing, we shall only premise by saying that Wesley differed essentially from all previous religious reformers, including Wiclif, Luther, Calvin, Zwinglius, Cranmer, Knox, and all the great and good men of the Puritan age. When Wesley looked upon the ruins of an old abbey in Scotland, he said, "God deliver us from reforming mobs. . . . He does not, cannot need the work of the devil to forward reform." Wesley's reforms were quite of another stamp. He saw that people's hearts and lives needed reforming, and he had the sagacity to go back to the ages of the apostles and those immediately succeeding, for his examples of Christian life and work. No one knew better than he that the Reformers of the sixteenth century merely struck at the outworks of a gigantic system of corruption and fraud, while they left the heart of the great evil still living and beating. They lit a great fire which consumed huge masses of refuse, but it sometimes burned *too fast* and even *too much*, and, in most instances, soon burned itself *out*. Wesley aimed to light a fire in men's hearts rather than in their passions, and hence we now see the

* In this paper every fact or incident may be verified by reference to the following works: Watson's "Life of Wesley;" Everett's "Life of Adam Clarke;" Southey's "Life of Wesley;" Tyerman's "Life and Times of Reverend S. Wesley;" "The Oxford Methodists;" "John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century," by Julia Wedgwood; "John Wesley's Place in Church History," by R. Denny Urlin; and above all, Tyerman's "Life and Times of John Wesley."

results in the religious decadence of the work of the old Reformers, and in the permanence and ever-increasing growth of the spiritual light and heat which he kindled. The old Reformers set the mind of Europe free from a religious and political bondage unequaled in the history of mankind, and so far laid the world under undying obligations; but Wesley came to do another and still higher work: to awaken the inner and spiritual life, and call men's attention to the great fact, every-where lost or overlooked, that there is something worth the attention of rational beings beyond the physical and material, or even the intellectual; that in fact there are spiritual laws which govern the universe, and which take cognizance of men and human affairs. Wesley started with a fixed and immovable resolve to reawaken mankind to the dread reality and pressing importance of these great truths, and to inspire in them a higher spiritual life.

John Wesley was an eminent example of English *manliness* and disinterested *love of truth*. When he set out on his unpromising mission there was no place in the Church not fairly open to him, and, with his fine natural abilities and attainments as a scholar, there would have been no undue ambition had he aimed at its highest dignities. The Epworth parsonage for him had no charms, nor was the possible gain of the primacy to be put in competition with the glory of awakening his fellow-countrymen to a sense of the importance and value of a new spiritual life. Ambitious prospects of promotion, Church friends and associations, emoluments and allurements promised by a life of comparatively quiet repose, were freely sacrificed to this one great purpose. No man more sincerely and devoutly loved the Church of England than John Wesley, but when it stood in the way of saving men's souls he could not long hesitate as to his duty. Field-preaching seemed "disorderly," and excited the Church prejudices of himself and others, but when the church doors were closed against him he took to the fields; when the work required "helpers," and

the clergy gave none, he called men from their trades; when the sacrament was denied his followers, he provided for its administration in his "preaching-houses;" when "ordination" was denied by the English bishops and became a necessity, he ordained for himself; and when his brothers and friends frowned upon him for his "irregularities" and "innovations" he perseveringly and manfully kept to his work.

Once the time came to act for himself—for he was slow in assuming a spirit of self-dependence—he went on with giant strides. His mother, a woman of unusually strong common sense, was then the only person who could exercise authority over him; but she did little to restrain him, and the organization and consolidation of his Societies went on rapidly, aided by a host of men striving, with all their powers, for the same ends. His discipline was severe and decisive, but he had the eyes to see that it was necessary, the sagacity to understand the times in which he lived, and the fortitude to meet with justice and promptitude all the needs which sprang up around him. Besides, if his rule was necessarily severe, it was not oppressive, and bred up no craven or cringing spirits. The Methodists cheerfully submitted to his rule; but where are the traces of slavishness? The very carriage of their leader could hardly fail to teach them a genuine English manliness. At the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy there was evidence enough that John Wesley trained up no men of cowardly or mean spirit. There, on those bloody fields, a small band of Methodists were the pride and flower of the English forces. Every rogue and reprobate who joined that little knot of John Wesley's followers was quickly made into a new man. The thief, who had often risked his neck—the drunkard, who had besotted himself—the swearer, who only knew oaths—the Sabbath-breaker and the unclean—were transformed into honest, orderly soldiers, many of them praying privates, who, on the battle-day, knowing no fear, were the true Methodist Ironsides of King George, and before whose onset the enemy quailed. On those

memorable fields the model men for manliness and fortitude were those whose courage and spirit John Wesley had inspired.

John Wesley fearlessly faced a fierce turbulence, brutal as was ever let loose amid the confusion of mob lawlessness and riot. When he aimed his blows at the prejudices, diversions, and vices of society, society rose in passionate resentment that threatened his life. The very social and national instincts of the time naturally poured out the vials of their wrath on any object they could find, as a mere diversion to gratify their love of riot and cruelty; mere brutality was a popular pastime, a social sensational sport which delighted in nothing so much as daily disquiet and uproar. Public morals were so bad as hardly to admit of description, and the man who daily hurled thunderbolts at them in the form of religious truths was sure to come in for abuse. The clergy, too, in the background, annoyed at the success and angered at the rivalry of Wesley, at first encouraged the national instincts, and animated into outbreaks the wild and lawless mobs of the streets. But who ever heard of Wesley being cowed by threatened popular outbreaks, or turning his back, or slinking away in fear of a tumultuous rabble?

Wesley was a plain, honest, unartificial Englishman, who detested all flash and sham, and had the courage to say so. His love of the natural and simple had made him almost despise that which was chiefly embellishment. He was a man who hated all pretense and tinsel; plain in his dress, his habits, his style, his speech, his food, his furniture, his tastes; and he loved plain truth and plain people. In Lady Huntingdon's mansion he never felt much at home, nor did he relish Charles Wesley's frequent visits there. Yet he was no democrat in the English sense; no bigot, no leveler; but a lover of order, and loyal to the core. Had the king been a tyrant or an incorrigible despot, with all his deference to "the powers that be," he would easily have found his way to the conclusion—as did his ances-

tor under James II.—that he was in his wrong place on the throne of England. The two brothers generally acted in concert, though John was the controlling and directing spirit in all enterprises. Sometimes Charles forgot this. Not only was John the elder, but he had always been the originator, the mover, and the ruler; and he fairly claimed the right of keeping the reins in his own hands. Had he not done so, Charles, with his unyielding "High"-Churchmanship, would have wrecked Methodism fifty times over during his life. Like all wise governors, John knew *when* to keep the bridle tight, and when to slacken it; but Charles did not. John reined Charles in when he got restive. "As to advice," he wrote to Charles, "you are far from asking it; and yet I may say without vanity, I am a better judge of this matter than either Lady Huntingdon, Sally, [his brother's wife,] Jones, or any other. . . . In making the alteration (as to the sacrament) you never consulted *me*." And then to Lord Dartmouth, with whom he was on the best terms, he wrote, "I can truly say that I neither fear nor desire any thing from your lordship; to speak a rough truth, I do not desire any intercourse with any person of quality in England. I mean for my own sake. They do me no good, and I fear I can do them none." . . . "Have you a person in all England who speaks to your lordship so plain and downright as I do? who considers not the *peer*, but the *man?* who is jealous over you with a godly jealousy, lest you should be less a *Christian* by being a *nobleman?*" Yet Wesley was tractable and teachable beyond most men. No man would take reproof more meekly, nor acknowledge faults more manfully. He pleaded guilty to a charge of over-strong language used to a controversial opponent, and wept while he said, "The words you mention were *too strong;* they will no more drop from my mouth." He had not only the wisdom of a leader, but the soul of an Englishman. Before the magnates of Oxford he said, in his sermon before the University, "In the presence of the great God, you that are in authority over us, and whom I reverence

for your office' sake. . . . in the name of the Lord God Almighty, I ask, what religion you are of!"

But, with matchless manliness, Wesley was neither proud nor self-sufficient. Whoever wants a pattern of docility and willingness to learn, may go to the early history of the Oxford leader of the "Holy Club." A vulgar error prevails, even among Dissenters, that he was merely a controversial revivalist. All that is true of this is, that he was always being pestered by petty cavilers. As to controversy, he detested it, and whenever he could he shunned it, and often forbade his "preachers" the practice. Though he disputed with a master mind, and made all opponents quail before his sterling common sense and irresistible logic, he never sought nor encouraged disputation, except with the vice and depravity with which he was surrounded. In the Calvinian controversy he was not the aggressor, but was dragged and *driven* into it. All his followers were again and again warned not to touch it; and but that he was abused and badgered into conflict by a set of fierce fanatics, John Wesley would never have appeared in the history of the Church of his country as the chief of those who drove Calvinism from British pulpits. As a revivalist, for over half a century he traversed the country without fee or pay, and sought to revive primitive Christianity in the hearts and lives of the people. His preaching usually was quiet as a Quaker's, and stately as the lectures of a professor. For years his inquiring and teachable spirit was the most striking and distinguishing feature of his character. Long and long, while he was yearning to understand "the truth as it is in Jesus," he sought light and guidance from his strong-minded and well-informed mother, a woman quite competent to discuss religious questions with any bishop then on the bench. A man himself of uncommon parts, and, in those days, of uncommon culture, he did not seek after the truth by seeking, like many sharp-witted men, to pick it up incidentally as it might drop from others; but he went like a learner, with all the simplicity of a child, to

be taught. Among the Moravians he thought he saw the pure Gospel, and seemed never at rest but when in their company. He joined their Society at "Fetter Lane" simply because he thought he had found the true "followers of the Lamb." To the Continent he went, and spent weeks with these people at their head-quarters, listening to the teaching of men whose chief characteristic appears to have been a large amount of general ignorance, simply because he thought they understood better than others the "plan of salvation;" and he submitted in England to an amount of personal catechising and impertinent dogmatism that can only be accounted for by the fact that he had resolved nothing should stand in the way of his finding the truth. He soon found, however, that, with a little truth, there was among the "United Brethren" of that day (we do not think it applies to the present) a great deal of fanatical fooling, which did not do for the man who had about the clearest head and the most practical and logical mind in the country. In the same anxious and teachable spirit he went to the celebrated William Law, than whom no man was better qualified to direct and instruct in questions of practical religion. Law's teaching had much weight with Wesley. But when he subsequently found that Law had led him wrong on a vital point, the shock and revulsion were so violent that he wrote an angry and pettish letter to Law, making strong and unwarrantable charges against him for having misled him so seriously in his search for truth. This was a grave mistake, one of the *two* mistakes of a busy life of nearly ninety years, and for which Wesley suffered the penalty by a well-merited rebuke administered by Law for what he rightly considered an unjustifiable impertinence. Still Wesley was young and inexperienced; but his earnestness, sincerity, and manliness are transparent through the whole of this unfortunate indiscretion. He was so intent on his work thus early that any sensible person might have taught Wesley, provided the teaching had any thing in it worth learning. Amid

a rude, vicious, and materialized age, he was in a sacred hurry to get a vivid sense of all that related to the unseen and spiritual; and it was too much for his anxious spirit to bear, when he found he had been led into darkness by one he thought pre-eminently qualified to lead him into light. An error it doubtless was, but it was born of the same spirit and temper which led Wesley, above all other men, into a yearning desire to awaken a depraved nation to a new life—a life founded on the ideas of an ever-present God, and of an all-sufficient Saviour ever nigh at hand.

Wesley was a man who cared much for his friends, but he ever loved truth more than persons. Where was love ever seen more deep and fervent than that between Wesley and his great and large-hearted fellow-worker, George Whitefield? But, though Wesley avoided all cause of offense, and resolved never to come in collision with him, and though they mutually agreed not to dispute with each other on the Calvinian question, and though Whitefield, in his zeal and natural impetuosity of temper, violated his pledge by a violent attack on Wesley, the latter never retaliated, and declared he *never would*, however much he might be provoked. Indeed, when Whitefield decided to violate this mutual covenant, and showed Wesley his manuscript prior to printing, to save him from gross mistakes in matters of fact and to protect him from ridicule on account of his ignorance, Wesley suggested certain omissions. Whitefield, urged on by his Calvinistic friends, published, and preached, too, against Wesley in no measured terms; but Wesley kept his word not to avenge himself, and left open the way to a reconciliation, which, later on, led to a renewal of the friendship, which was never again disturbed. This we call manliness, scarcely to be paralleled in the history of English literature, especially when we remember Wesley's advantage over his antagonist in culture, logical acumen, and intellectual force.

But during the Calvinian controversy, in which both sides were

hotly engaged for many years, their usual friendly intercourse for some time was interrupted. Wesley, however, engaged his opponents elsewhere. He would not dispute with his friend, but no friendship, however sacred, could close his mouth or restrain his pen against what he regarded deadly error. His vigorous and logical mind could see nothing but a horrible cruelty in Whitefield's notion that a large portion of his fellow-Christians were condemned to a fate the mere thought of which should make every serious man shudder; nor could he see any thing much better in Whitefield's views of slavery. About vital truths like these Wesley could make no compromise. Whitefield, it is true, pleaded with the planters of Georgia for kindness toward the negroes, but at the same time he helped on the institution of slavery by his evidence before the House of Commons. Thus this apostolic man, whose glowing eloquence brought from the eyes of the rough Kingswood colliers "tears which made gutters down their black cheeks," by showing sympathy on the one hand and a willingness to enslave on the other, well vindicated the spirit and temper of Calvinism, and ran counter to the deep feelings and equally deep convictions of Wesley. It is well, perhaps, that Wesley and Whitefield parted company for a season, because he who at the same time could extol the loving-kindness of the Creator and make him chargeable with "reprobation"—who could seek with one hand to lessen the evils, and with the other to enlarge the area, of slavery—was hardly the man to work harmoniously with John Wesley, who could only see infinite love in the great Father, and whose whole life was an incessant yearning for the salvation of the whole race.

John Wesley showed his countrymen the true methods of rousing into *intellectual activity* an uneducated and ignorant populace. There were, indeed, no lack of men of talent and genius; of men, too, who saw and regretted the gross ignorance of the times; but no one seemed to know how to reach the evil; *how* to teach, and *what* to teach. There were men

who made efforts to mend matters by parliamentary inquiries and resolutions, but their best efforts were fitful, feeble, and futile. The better disposed and most capable *aimed* badly, for they shot right over the heads of the people, with the effect of blank cartridge fired over the heads of a mob, to be ridiculed and mocked. Pope wrote inimitable poetry; Garrick on the stage did his brilliant mimicry; Bolingbroke flourished proudly his false and fatal philosophy; Johnson, with unrivaled diction, discussed etymologies, politics, poetry, and public morals; Doddridge wrote seriously and well on the "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," but died early; Warburton descanted learnedly on the "Divine Legation of Moses," and found that the Jewish system knew nothing of a future or an immortal life; David Hume, with sullen sarcasm and a stoic's indifference, canted about the "Natural History of Religion," which made Warburton call him "that low fellow, Hume;" Swift devoted himself to what he thought good joking, and was an expert in ridicule and raillery; Priestley, enamored of Socinianism and philosophical necessity, discovered that there was no such entity as an immaterial spirit; Berkeley, that in the whole universe there was no such thing as matter; Tindal proclaimed "Christianity as Old as the Creation;" Chatham electrified the "Upper House," and made its name the symbol of finished oratory; Chesterfield, if not a dancing-master, made excellent dandies; North laid foolish taxes on the colonies; Wilkes, spite of his hideous squint the most popular man of his day, was professor of lewdness, and expositor-general of unbridled license and vulgar clap-trap; Defoe taught boys not to run away from home, lest they should get separated with some good man Friday from civilization; Burke, in rounded periods and rolling eloquence never since equaled, taught the science of politics and statesmanship with a wisdom not excelled by ancient tribunal or modern senator; and the clergy, Episcopal and Dissenting, see-sawed in the pulpits on the "sovereign decrees" and the obligations of morality, till

the people laughed at their theology, and left them to preach it to the pews. How was all this to raise an ignorant and besotted populace to intellectual and spiritual life and activity? A man was required to take a sensible and practical view of the real condition and urgent wants of the country, and that man was John Wesley.

To his powerful and rousing preaching Wesley superadded attention to the education of the young. From the first he saw that where he could he must begin with the children; so that, the pulpit working from above and the schools from below, he might permeate the social mass, quicken into life and activity the national mental torpor, and infuse spiritual vitality into that which had been little less than a body of mental and moral death. In his "early Oxford days" he was soon with the children; such members of the "Holy Club" as he saw fit being appointed to do the work at the little school of ragged urchins. At the work-house and prisons they attended on the same errand, and many a poor child and many a gray-headed thief and vagabond, who entered these places blind as moles, came out able to read the Bible, write a letter, and "cast simple accounts." None in those days saw so clearly as Wesley that to teach the heart you must go through the understanding. At Bristol, at Kingswood among the colliers, and at the "Foundery," Wesley early established schools. Wherever in his earlier and later travels an opportunity offered, he provided the means of initiation into intellectual life. Easy and natural as this may appear in our day, it was the reverse in Wesley's days. In this respect modern thought and sentiment are a complete inversion of the thought and sentiment of the early Hanoverian period, and no man did so much in the start of this "turning up side down" as John Wesley. It was not popular then to have ragged-schools; it would have been deemed mistaken meddling, or a modified madness. It was then deemed an unmitigated folly to educate the vulgar poor, and Wesley was among the very first public men of that age to teach, by precept and practice, that it was

consummate wisdom. True, there was in Germany some recognition of the principle during Luther's struggle, and in England during that of Cranmer and Cromwell, but the question was buried in a Romish rubbish-heap, pertaining not to a "new birth," "a clean heart," and a Christian deportment, but to images and relics, doctrines and discipline, fast days and saint days, monkery, moonshine, and silly asceticism. In England, Henry, in his zeal for Protestantism and haste to get rid of his wives and the Pope, declared every man should be able "to read the Bible," and actually chained one to the pulpit in most parish churches, that any body might go and practice. But he was ambitious to be pope himself in England, and there is very little doubt that Henry's motives were pure hatred to Rome—which he rightly thought the Bible would foster—rather than any love of popular education. When Wesley appeared on the stage the general opinion was, that educating the common people was the readiest road to revolution and ruin. The seats of learning, even, were centers of frivolity, idleness, and luxury. The "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge" had, indeed, come into being, and in the face of popular opinion had set up a "charity-school;" but the most formidable obstacle it met with was the general objection that "charity-schools bred up children in *ignorance* and *pride*," which it tried, in very delicate terms, to coax rather than reason the public into believing was, *perhaps*, not quite and *wholly* true.

Wesley's school at Kingswood has a noble history. The higher-class school for preachers' sons, and for the children of such parents as could afford to pay, still exists, but on a different site; and there are now hundreds who venerate the memory of the old institution, grateful for the influence it has exerted on their characters and lives. Since the days of Wesley the eyes of Englishmen have gradually opened to the importance of popular education; till now we find those who would force it gratis down the throats of both ill and well-to-do people, at the expense of others whose means are barely sufficient to meet

their own educational requirements. Zealots are they, who, to gain the suffrages of the ignorant, improvident, and lazy, have run into the *extremes* of the educational mania, and attempted to bring odium on that which in itself is priceless! If it is wrong to force the ignorant, extravagant, and thriftless to pay for their own children, it can hardly be right to force the sober, industrious, and thrifty poor—who are unable to educate their own—to pay for the education of the children of others.

The clergy of the day were quite incapable of coping with the low mental condition of the country. If they tried they signally failed; and incompetency was intensified by misfortune. Since the Restoration a deplorable reaction had set in against Puritanism, and it reached its climax about the time of Wesley, the major part of the clergy imbibing and encouraging the general feeling. Every thing was done to cover the men and movement of that age with contempt and scorn. It was systematically attempted to invert all that was peculiar to the time of the Puritans. Even Puritanical extremes were answered, paid back, with their opposites; hence ignorance and its consequents, crime and its social impurity, floated like a thick fetid scum on the surface of society. With this, too, the clergy had lost their social standing; and with this, again, their intellectual hold of the people—only the natural and inevitable result of their own folly. Every-where they were objects of dislike; and many were drunken, lazy, ignorant, and worse. The lower clergy in good society were treated as menials, and the poor and uneducated were not likely to respect them. Besides, though there were many good and clever men among them, yet commonly their education was scanty, and their ignorance so gross that they were not the people to set up as intellectual leaders. In their churches they failed to preserve decent order and decorum. As a rule, fashionable people went to a fashionable church; but they went, not to be instructed, but to whisper scandal, to use a fan handsomely, appear flashily arrayed in satins and bedecked with diamonds, and to peep at

each other through an opera-glass. A ministry that could not mend this was not likely to mend the midnight darkness out of doors. Besides, when the flock loses its respect for the shepherd the shepherd cannot control the flock.

But Wesley's chief means of awakening the intellectual life of the nation was the pulpit. No sooner had he discovered his mistake in joining the Moravians than he retired from "Fetter Lane," taking as many as chose to follow to the "old Foundery," where he formed a Society of his own, and drew up a set of rules for its direction and government. The *Unitas Fratrum* thus thrown off, Wesley had thrown a millstone from about his neck which eventually would have drowned him in that sea of mysticism and mud in which the United Brethren were then floundering. Unfettered, he was now ready for his great work of awakenment by preaching. He declared he could not do with these "silent" people and their "sublime divinity," "brimful," as Charles said, "of proud wrath and fierceness;" who "love preëminence, and make their proselytes twofold more the children of the devil than they were before;" who believed that to obtain faith "we must wait for Christ and be *still*, without the use of the means of grace;" not "go to church;" "not take the sacrament;" "not read the Scriptures;" not "use private prayer;" and not "do temporal," or attempt "to get spiritual, good." Besides, Wesley saw that Moravianism was not *aggressive*, and could never convert the world, a work he had set his heart to accomplish. "Stand ye in the way; ask for the old paths," was his text soon after he got loose from "Fetter Lane."

Separated from the Moravians, the London church doors closed against him, and having found "the truth as it is in Jesus," Wesley had the world fairly before him, and began again his preaching career with redoubled energy. But he seemed thrust outside, and as if his path were blocked. The thought of preaching on "unconsecrated ground" shocked his prejudice. Every inch of him a Churchman, he recoiled from

the idea of "unauthorized" and "irregular preaching." But the people were "perishing for lack of knowledge," and he could not answer for the stupidity of the Church in turning the key on him, nor wait the slow movements of the Bishops, who might or might not turn the key back. Whitefield, thus early, was preaching to congregated thousands in the fields at Kingswood; the great Teacher had given his unrivalled "Sermon" out of doors, and even "on the Mount;" he had also consecrated fields and lanes by his beautiful parables and miracles, and John Wesley, at once and forever, had done with this "Church scruple." When Whitefield had to return to America Wesley stepped into his place at Bristol and Kingswood, where he took to the broad fields as his sanctuary, consecrated, not by a Bishop, but by the example of his great Master. There he stood, amid a huge multitude, assembled round a small mount, scattering the bread of life to inquiring men and women. Here was an "innovation;" but it was now Wesley's chosen method of awakening the indolent and ignorant of his countrymen. For half a century he continued the "unauthorized" practice with a constant, continuous success hitherto unknown in the history of Great Britain. The blessed results are now known in all lands. The mental torpor of all classes was roused, the intellect of the masses of the country began to show signs of life, and from that day to the present we have had no popular mental slumber such as that which overshadowed the land in the time of the first and second Georges. A significant fact this; not a swagger, or an oratorical flourish, for Wesley not only did his own grand work, but sent life, and energy, and intellectual activity into every pulpit in the three kingdoms. Look at his successors at work to-day in the Methodist world; not a couple of men as then, but we see them in 21,000 itinerant ministers, and at least 60,000 local preachers—nearly 100,000 men training and guiding the intellect, and hammering away at the ignorance, of the world, in a spirit which was born of the boy who used to play about

and was taken from the window of the blazing Epworth parsonage.

Wesley's successful preaching, however, soon led him into another difficulty. He required fellow-laborers, for the fields were ripe for reaping; but whence were they to come? The Bishops refused, as before intimated, to "ordain" and set apart men for such a work. The world was "in the arms of the wicked one," and Wesley, with a word of encouragement from his clear-headed mother, could not wait. Spiritual instruction and guidance, as well as intellectual awakening, were required, and in the face of this pressing need "ordination was a flea-bite." All the help he could obtain from the clergy he appropriated, but this was utterly inadequate. Then he called out the most active, pious, and strong-minded of his converts, and all over the country organized his Societies and his preaching staff. Here was another great work thrown upon his hands—the preparation and training of a band of uneducated but earnest, zealous, and devout men for the work of the ministry. Good, robust, hard-headed, wide-awake Englishmen were Wesley's first "helpers," "preachers," or "expounders." A new machine was this, of Wesley's own construction, but when set in motion it worked well. The clever machinist stopped the slight creaking now and again with the hand of a genius, by adjusting an unsteady wheel, changing an ill-adapted piston or crank, or by inserting a new valve. For nearly a century and a half the machine has rolled on, and has not been superseded by any improved mechanism; and it promises to work with its vast energies against ignorance and vice for centuries yet to come. Wesley, indeed, has been blamed for keeping the management of his ecclesiastical machinery exclusively in his own hands; but these objectors know not what they say. It was quite new, and John Wesley knew best what to do with his own invention, and did wisely and well in acting as sole engineer. He originated it, and while he lived had the right to manage it; nor was he likely to allow any tinkering of his

handiwork, because he saw unskillful hands might soon break it to pieces. To make, to manage, to modify, and to mend his own machine was the legitimate work of Wesley, who knew all its strong and weak places; nor was it reasonable to expect him to transfer it till called upon by that Providence by which he was constituted constructor and governor.

In the management of his "Itinerancy," Wesley displayed masterly skill. There was no sentimental delicacy which impelled him to overlook serious faults. He knew his men were called to the solemn and serious work, and he resolved to have the work done in an earnest and serious way. And though he could not *sharply* check important mistakes and shortcomings, he would allow no one to tread on the rights of his "preachers." They were all his brethren, and as such were treated with tender regard; but in a subordinate sense they were his servants and he was their master. Had it not been so, Wesley could never have trained up such an earnest body of successful laborers. He alone was responsible for their selection, and he rightly felt himself responsible for the results. It is idle to speak of his course as arbitrary while the whole weight of the vast movement was on his own shoulders. His tremendous responsibility demanded the display of extraordinary energy and the force of all his authority, and his course finds ample justification in its triumphant issues. With the skill of a born ruler he ruled his assistants; and with a rule which won, not simply their esteem, but their reverence. When his followers multiplied, and his "helpers" in equal ratio, and when the general awakening of interest and thought followed, Wesley at once saw the necessity of raising the intellectual standard of his men. As this pressed itself on his attention (1746) Dr. Doddridge, the most eminent man among the Dissenters of the day—famed far and near as a trainer of young men for the ministry—was applied to for advice and direction. Wesley asked him for a list of the best books as a course of study for preachers. A rather formidable programme was supplied, and Wesley set to work.

We find a number of these recommended books in the form of "extracts" and "abridgments" in his fifty volumes entitled the "Christian Library," printed and published by the energy and enterprise of this one man, without money and without patronage. It was a common practice with Wesley when books were too costly, to go to work and cheapen them by publishing cheap editions, or by abridging and publishing them so as to lower their cost. When his men stood in need of intellectual pabulum he was not the man to leave them to starve.

But again, John Wesley showed his countrymen, better than ever they had been shown before, the true methods of raising the *social* and *domestic life* of the lower classes of the community. To the objector we need only answer, If it *had* been done before, by *whom? where?* and *when?* If we ask the last eighteen hundred years of history, it only re-echoes these questions. It is not down in the annals. It is not even whispered in tradition. There is no impress on the old and by-gone societies. There are no traces in the vast relics of the past. There are no music and rhythms of the same thrill and cadence; no deep harmonies of the same spiritual life in the songs, and ballads, and hymns of any of our forefathers; and all we want is, to know "by whom?" "where?" and "when?"

At the opening of Wesley's career the social condition of England was more deplorable even than its intellectual lifelessness. The Puritan reaction on the morals of the people was patent every-where, and the hatred of Puritanism was quite lively and fresh, and more earnest and keen, in the reign of George II. than it was at the Restoration. The rule of Puritanism was often severe and even rigorous, and it naturally bred up many bitter enemies. This bitterness had lived on for generations, and indulged itself in peculiar modes of thought, and speech, and habits, as well as in extreme and opposite developments of social and political institutions, until it had stamped a very ugly impress on the national features. Where Puritanism had sought to suppress vice by penal laws, the anti-

Puritans had replied to this by substituting unbridled license. Vice and immorality of the coarsest kinds had thus become national and ingrained. This was bewailed, too, by men of all parties, and it was proposed to correct its more hideous features by act of Parliament. The political plots since Cromwell's time were only too true an index of the condition of the country. Oates, Bedloe, Dugdale, Dangerfield, Judge Jeffreys, and other similar ruffians, truly symbolized the social and moral state of England, and little or nothing was being done to stem the torrent of vice and crime. Addison and the "Essayists" certainly satirized public vices, but it was like shooting squibs at an impregnable fortress, for the vicious simply laughed at and despised them. Hogarth tried to paint them out of countenance by his powerful pictures, but Hogarth might as well have been beating the wind with his paint-brush. There was really no virtue in the colors of the painter's palette, nor in the stately moralizing of the "Essayists," to reach the hard heart and feculent morality of that age. The people had diversions, but the most admired and cherished ones were, "bull-baiting," "bear-baiting," "badger-baiting," "cock-fighting," and "cock-throwing." The amusements and the temper of the sight-seers were much after the Dahoman fashion, minus the human victims. To any but a savage ear the coarse jesting, which cannot be repeated, was shocking. If by some sad accident a man lost his life, it became a subject of vulgar joke. Among poor and rich drunkenness was nearly universal; nearly every body sold gin, till Government imposed a heavy license on its sale, and then numbers of men *lived* by turning informers. Every-where men sold their votes just as they would sell eggs or shoes. Public immorality was a crying scandal, and Walpole declared that an "enemy in the field" might "buy the country," and that every member of the Commons "had his price." Private life was fouled at its fountains, and the upper classes were specially distinguished for their licentiousness, the relation of the details of which modern taste

does not permit. Things of shame or of pride were so inverted that "fashionable gentlemen" blushed crimson when accused of purity. Petty thieving, shop-lifting, house-breaking, highway-robbery, and murder, were well represented in the age which managed to capture and hang Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard. But instead of the "whip," the "stocks," and the "wheel," the courts imitated the barbarity of the "Road," and used the rope and the gallows for thefts of a few shillings; that is, the spirit of the laws had much of the spirit of the lawless. The crowd would gladly stone a culprit in the pillory, not because they respected public rights, or the penal code, but from sheer delight in barbarity. Altogether, social morality stank like a cess-pool, and those sunk deepest in the mass of impurity were the people John Wesley set himself to regenerate.

Through a life of over fifty-three years of ceaseless toil Wesley pursued his one object, with results that then amazed the civilized world, and which are regarded as among the grandest achievements in history. The secret of his loud and earnest denunciations of vice and crime may be read in the condition of society, which is the amplest justification of his strongest language. To aim at the manners merely of such an age would have been fruitless, and, therefore, John Wesley aimed at the hearts of the people, and in his earnest preaching constantly urged the necessity of an inward spiritual life. To his success his schools much helped, and he provided a very considerable literature, both original and reprint. The Methodist Book Room in England is one of the results, whence issue annually between four and five million publications; another result is the twenty millions issued by the various sections of Methodists in America. Sunday-schools, too, were largely the result of John Wesley's labors, for children were taught by members of his Society years before Raikes collected them in the parish church of Gloucester. These institutions, true safeguards of the country, are strongly redolent of the benevolent scheming

of Wesley. All appliances were pressed into the service; the first "Bible Society," the "London Missionary Society," and the "Church Missionary Society" came of Methodism; also the first "Tract Society," seventeen years in advance of the present "Religious Tract Society." Good, wholesome, cheap school-books were then scarce, and Wesley wrote a whole batch for his own schools, while he did the same for his "preachers" and people in his "Christian Library," and other publications. He had at first some difficulty in keeping up the moral tone at Kingswood school, but he drew up rules, too strong, perhaps, but right in principle, which at this day would work wonders in many a limping establishment, where not the teacher but parents and children govern. Some of the bitterest wails of families issue from the follies which Wesley tried to correct. "The children of *tender* parents, so-called," he writes, "who are indeed offering up their sons and daughters to devils, have no business here, [at Kingswood,] for the rules will not be broken in favor of any person." He also started the first public medical dispensary, and as soon as Franklin discovered that electricity and lightning were identical, he set up an electrical machine for the public cure of diseases, even before "wise men" had done laughing at Franklin.

The fruits of Wesley's labors on the social and domestic life of the people were immense, though his own domestic relations were most unfortunate. Here was the *second* of the two mistakes in his long life. Wesley was too much in earnest to understand the philosophy and frivolities of courtship, or he would not have allowed either silly flirts or fiery vixens to dupe him. His marriage was the great mistake and cloud of his life. No man, however, could have borne it with more meekness and resignation. It was, indeed, a thirty years' gloom, and stands as an impressive warning against ill-considered and ill-assorted marriages. A good congenial wife is an angel in any man's house. But Wesley's wife, though the widow of a most respectable merchant, was a scold and a termagant, who

did her utmost to make the good and great man miserable; an ill-bred and worse-disposed virago, who purloined her husband's letters from his pockets, interlined them to give spiritual expressions a bad meaning, and then gave them to his enemies to publish. She took special care that Wesley had no home; but he took special care that this did not interfere with the regular progress of his labors. He made the sites and scenes of his spiritual triumphs his home, his carriage his almost constant parlor, and the chapels, churches, fields and lanes of the three kingdoms his temple.

On the vices of the times Wesley spoke with no uncertain sound. His pamphlet, "The Manners of the Age," was a sledge-hammer all round. The fashionable, the idle, the drunken, the gluttonous, the lewd, the licentious, those addicted to finery in furniture or dress, are all unmercifully battered with the strokes of a giant; and in the same vigorous spirit he ferreted out, denounced, and rooted up all traces of immorality in his Societies. No man could hide his vices by union with the Methodists of John Wesley. For opinions he declared he would expel none, so long as they were peaceably held, and here he gave the widest latitude; but for immoralities he had no tolerance after earnest warning and rebuke. Incorrigible debtors, drunkards, the untruthful, bribers and bribe-takers, the impure, and all who indulged in vicious practices, were allowed no resting-place with him. An age like that we have just glanced at made it impossible to keep the Societies irreproachable, but every visitation was celebrated by a vigilant scrutiny, when it was perfectly understood that he meant what he said—he "would *mend* or *end* them." He thrust out the immoral with a promptness that told observers, Christ's kingdom is not of this world. This, too, was an "innovation" on church usage, and chapel usage too, for discipline had well-nigh ceased to distinguish between the virtuous and vicious. This strict scrutiny told a tale on social habits and usages, and on the domestic decencies and comforts of families. Before his death the brutal public games

had much abated, tens of thousands of householders were raised from the gutters of society to comparative respectability and home happiness, and his societies were known every-where as a renovated and God-fearing race. The theaters, however, failed to be purged of their dirt and impurities, and there was still more than sufficient refuse left to support them; for only four years before his death Wesley declared them "sinks of all iniquity and debauchery." As to business-accommodation-bills he says about the same time: "I expel any one out of Society (in London) who has any thing to do with the execrable bill-trade." To "Sammy" Bradburn he wrote: "You must stop local preachers who are loaded with debt." "Expel all guilty of bribery." "Extirpate smuggling;" "smuggling is robbery;" "a smuggler is a thief of the first order, a pickpocket of the worst sort;" "expel all who will not leave off smuggling."

But Wesley carried his teaching directly into the homes of the people, though ever scrupulously careful to avoid interference with private family affairs, and not to place families at variance. "Spiritous liquors," he told the people, "were liquid fire." "They drive men to hell like sheep." "A drunkard is worse than a beast." At that time almost every other house in some districts was a gin-shop. Idleness he denounced with all the force of his tongue and pen, and, when that worked no cure, he had recourse to expulsion. Some preachers had become "nervous," and contracted the capability of enduring a good deal of rest. He learns "they sometimes sit still a whole day; this can never consist with health. They are not drunkards, nor gluttons, but they take more food than nature requires." The best physicians of to-day know all about this now, though they rarely trouble their patients with the knowledge; but Wesley knew it one hundred years ago. About certain ridiculous fineries in dress, which were common even among the comparatively indigent, and which he strings together in a few lines, he speaks in strong language, and finishes by the exhortation, "Throw them away; let them drop with-

out another word." His love of cleanliness was especially conspicuous, and could not fail to influence all with whom he had to do. A layman may perhaps be allowed to say that a minister, dressed in unprofessional or slovenly clothes, loses half his due influence. Both Southey and Sir Walter Scott, when boys, appear to have been forcibly struck with Wesley's appearance, and while the former repeated Wesley's anecdotes more than forty years after, the latter declared that he felt as if he had never lost the influence of his blessing, conferred by Wesley as he stroked his hand over his boyish head. Here we have a glimpse of the force of the man's character on people not specially and religiously influenced. And hence the invariable neatness and trimness of Wesley, as a matter of example, must have been influential on his own people. But Wesley did not trust to example; he taught constantly, both by voice and pen, the necessity of both inward and outward purity. His eyes and ears were open to every source of vice and immorality, which he followed into the homes and haunts of the poor. Besides his influence on general society, which was not small, he changed the whole habits and deportment of his converts. Of all the men of the eighteenth century, there was no mind so generally influential as Wesley's; and none before or since has been any thing like so successful in raising the social and domestic condition of the poor.

But further, John Wesley stands pre-eminent in the history of his country for his skill and wisdom in the *politics* of *religion*. With the politics of the State he meddled little, over a career of sixty-three busy years, yet sufficient to show that he was thoroughly loyal to the House of Hanover, a genuine and enlightened patriot, and withal a warm friend of the people. But the influence of his name and teachings in this sphere has been scarcely less beneficent and marked on the position and character of his country. Unlike the Reformers of a previous age, his controversy was not with the State and Government, but with vice and irreligion, because he saw there the source and fount-

ain of all useful progress. He went in to convert men's souls to that which was virtuous and pure, and never fouled his tongue or his pen with that which was the blotch and bane of some previous reforms—the temper and mutterings of incipient treason. Against "the powers that be" Wesley had no ravings and stormings, though he did not close his mouth, or decline to use his pen against oppression and injustice. That passionate virulence, that venomous malice, which paralyzes the head and the heart, withers the affections and destroys all patriotic sympathies, found no place in Wesley's breast. He was not to be blinded by other people's political rant and rancor. It is true Wesley and his men were charged with "sedition" and every thing else that was bad at the time, and every crowd that gathered to stone and worry the Methodists in their peaceful work was foully laid on their shoulders; but this was in default of a better cry. They simply went forth to arouse the people to a sense of the importance of spiritual things, and, as Hutton says, they went "among thieves, prostitutes, fools, people of every class, some of distinction, a few of the learned, merchants, and numbers of poor people, who had never entered a place of worship—these assembled in crowds and became godly." This was sedition in the eyes of the fierce and envious, and in a printed sermon Dr. Stebbing—who was only one among scores of his class—declared that Wesley "was gathering tumultuous assemblies," and "setting aside all authority and rule."

"There is the closest connection," said Wesley, late in life, "between my religion and my *political* conduct; the self-same authority enjoins me to 'fear God, and to honor the king,'" . . . "It is my religion which obliges me to put men in mind to be subject to 'principalities and powers.' Loyalty is, with me, an essential point of religion." But no man could hurry Wesley into the feuds and turmoils of political parties. Once he joined the great Dr. Johnson; and the giant of literature, Tory though he was, the pride and glory of the eighteenth century, was proud of his help. Writing to Wesley he said,

"That now," with such aid, "I have no reason to be discouraged;" and then, with his own inimical classical expertness, he concludes, "The lecturer was surely in the right who, though he saw his audience slinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato stayed." Dr. Johnson was not the man to bandy compliments such as this except where they were well-deserved. Had Wesley devoted himself to politics he must have ranked among the foremost statesmen of the age. Macaulay well knew—as every man of sense may learn, if he will take the trouble—that Wesley had every element necessary to a distinguished political position and a commanding statesmanship; but he knew he was called to a higher statesmanship—one linked to the skies, and which would last when that of Lord North, Sir Robert Walpole, and William Pitt, had decayed and grown obsolete. And we have only to look round us to see that Wesley was right. The State lost something in losing the man of strong common sense, of quick mental vision, of logical acuteness, of unwonted intellectual activity, of transparent honesty of purpose, of manly self-confidence, of iron will, of robust physical stamina, of unrivaled power in disentangling intricate complications, of extraordinary popular talking and reasoning faculties, of aptness for minute details and yet keeping a firm grasp of great principles, of persuasive eloquence and masterly discussion, of command of temper and tongue so necessary in important political crises, and of that indefinable and mysterious, almost magnetic influence, which wins over, draws, and rules large masses of people; but the State gained more, by Wesley's laying deep in the hearts of the people the foundations of good government, and by the social, mental, and moral regeneration he worked among every class of the community. To Wesley's teachings is owing, chiefly, that moderation in the aggregate politics of the English people which has made political anarchy and revolution forever impossible. It put, as between two fiercely contending parties, a moderating and modifying element which, like a huge fly-wheel, steadied and kept from

violent friction the whole political engine, and reduced "wear and tear" to a minimum. Since that day, discontented and turbulent extremes on one side and the other have been kept in check. In moments of excitement to this day, the extreme votaries of both political parties in the hour of failure hurl their rebukes and revenge at the Methodists, whose moderation and wisdom have done more than any thing else to keep England firm on her legs, the admiration, sometimes the envy, of civilized governments almost the world over.

Of Wesley's religious politics it would be vain to attempt any thing like an analysis or even a sketch. Suffice it to say, that the same practical wisdom distinguished his system of Church government as marked his State politics. With slight modification it has stood the test of experience, and as yet shows no traces of decay. In the history of the Church Wesley stands first and foremost as organizer of a Church rule which provides for freedom without license, discipline without laxity or undue severity, and Christian fellowship without servitude; a system of government which has drawn and bound together multitudes of opposite tastes, habits, and sympathies, and at the same time so effectually excluded all forms of immorality that it has long been a public surprise and shock when a Methodist is punished penally. By Wesley a wide berth was given to liberty as to *opinions*, and many of his more radical disciples might learn a lesson; but he had no liberty for sin. To the day of his death Charles Wesley remained a "High"-Churchman, and refused to be buried out of "consecrated ground." John Wesley, too, in his early years, was a "High"-Churchman in name, but as light came, and as circumstances pressed, he became a Dissenter in *fact*, and told his friends in his last hours, with his usual simplicity, to wrap his body in woolen and place it in the soil at City Road Chapel; ground now "consecrated" enough in the repose of the bones of the man who accomplished more Christian work than any other laborer in the history of the Church; and mingling with a soil which deserves a veneration

not less devout than that which holds the sacred ashes of the great apostle of the Gentiles.

But, finally and briefly, John Wesley is the most illustrious example in the history of his country of the certain *success* which follows an *earnest life* of *honest labor*. It is now too late to recount his labors, or even to sketch an outline. Our space is gone before we have touched the finest feature of his character.

But if Wesley's life was one of unceasing toil, it was one of unparalleled success. His teachings as to a new spiritual life, and the rules which regulate it, being sown broadcast over the country by an organized system of perpetual preaching, were backed by an ever-present example, careful pastoral oversight, kindly, but if necessary, severe discipline, and by the omnipotent power of the printing-press. The beneficent labors of Whitefield, of Berridge, of Howell Harris in Wales, and of other similar men—only snippings from the original Wesley tree—and their results, were fairly Methodistic. Before Wesley had been at his work half his time, say within twenty-five years after he started for Savannah, he had planted Methodism in every large town in England and Ireland, and in many a hundred hamlets and villages; while his teaching had ever been followed up by church guidance and private counsel in families. In the very middle of his career he had done, without money, without patronage, and in the face of the most rancorous enemies, what no other man ever did before, nor has ever done since, coupled with his ceaseless traveling and preaching. Thus early, while he had above a quarter of a century to work, he had printed and sent over the country one hundred and thirty vigorously written pamphlets, nine parts of his "Journal," and nearly seventy full sized books, besides twelve volumes and thirty pamphlets produced jointly by himself and Charles. Lord Holland, Mr. Pitt, Sir R. Walpole, and the whole bench of Bishops in at the bargain, could show nothing approaching such results; and results, too, which were pat-

ent in the improved social and educational condition, and in the renovated lives, of tens of thousands. And what if we look at the subsequent growth of this Methodist power? It roused all the slumbering Churches in the land to renewed energy—an energy which still clings to them—notably in the Establishment, where we have seen ever since earnest labor and constant success. But look at the world of Methodism, with its about five millions in Church-fellowship, and over twenty millions under the sway of its religious teaching; and look again, and see it daily adding to its victories and multiplying its conquests.

When Wesley reached the last year of his life, all over the Three Kingdoms he saw the fruit of his labors, and the sight gladdened his eyes and heart. His one hundred and fifteen circuits, two hundred and ninety-four preachers, and seventy-one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight Church members, besides seventeen missionaries in foreign lands, and nearly equal results in America, were enough to cheer his great spirit, and make him "thank God for his mercies." He had not "converted the world," but he had made such a beginning as England had never witnessed before. His old enemies had nearly died out, or had repented and turned friends. One half the kingdom admired, and the other revered him. The nobility now thought it a privilege to hear him talk or preach. Tens of thousands still rushed to his ministrations, and looked upon him as the boast and glory of England; and thousands at this day are proud and glad that they have seen and talked with men and women who knew and conversed with the venerable apostle of Methodism. The clergy every-where unlocked their church and pulpit doors to him, delighted with his simple eloquence and saintly character. "The tide is turned," he wrote; "I have now more invitations to preach in churches than I can accept." When Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, *would* sit below him at table and Wesley remonstrated, the Bishop expressed a pretty general feeling when he said: "Mr. Wesley, may I be found at your feet in another world."

He was, we say, an example unequaled of the certain success which follows an earnest life of honest labor. That is all. Rhetorical ornament or eloquent peroration would only dim the dignity and besmear the beauty of one of the very closest transcripts of the character of Him who "went about doing good."

# WESLEY AND PERSONAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

GOD'S way of making any truth powerful among men has always been to translate it into the vernacular of this world by incarnating it. He puts it into a human soul, and there fans it into a steady flame whose glow kindles other souls. The unspoken language of profound conviction is the one language which needs no interpreter.

There is no danger that Chillingworth's grand postulate will ever be forgotten: "The Bible, the Bible, the religion of Protestants." But it is not merely the Bible written or printed which is mighty for the salvation of the world. Men may and do refuse to read this; and often when they read it they get but the faintest possible conception, or even an utter misconception, of its meaning. It is the Bible incarnated, lived, wrought into the fabric of human souls, clearly expounded and brilliantly illustrated by transformed lives, which extends the borders of Christ's kingdom. The epistles of Paul and Peter and John are within easy reach of many a hand that never opens them, and pass under many an eye that never discerns their glories; but no eye can be utterly blind to the shining characters with which a once pierced hand is now perpetually tracing "living epistles" to be "known and read of all men."

This thought is in itself so important, and, moreover, is so essential as the very key to the theme of this dissertation, that I wish at the outset to unfold it with sufficient fullness and particularity to secure a vivid impression of it on the mind of every reader. Of course the supreme illustration of it is to be sought in the method of the incomparable Teacher. And how did he teach? Not chiefly by what he said or did, but by

what he was. I derogate nothing from the splendor of his sayings, the divineness of his doings, or the magnificence of his miracles, when I declare that his chief teaching was Himself. He spoke, he did, more yet he was, *the Truth*. The eternal Word—the revealer of God—the one only medium for the manifestation of God to the universe of intelligent creatures—"*The Word*, was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." With his own lips and by the pens of his amanuenses he completed the system of religious teaching; and on the last page of the Apocalypse he set this solemn seal: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book."

Since that time almost eighteen hundred years of anxious, earnest, profound thinking have passed away, and no man singly, nor all men together, have added one iota to the religious teaching of Jesus. And yet religious truth is understood better to-day than in the first century, or the tenth, or the eighteenth. How, if there has been no added revelation? There has been the ever-new exposition furnished by many a fresh incarnation of the truth. John Robinson, of Leyden, in his farewell to the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, nobly said: "If God should reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am very confident the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word." And Bishop Butler, in his immortal "Analogy of Religion," with kindred insight declared: "Nor is it at all incredible that a book which has been so long in the possession of mankind should contain many truths as yet undiscovered." "More truth and light?" Whence? "To break forth out of

his holy word." How? He will "reveal" it by some "instrument of his." "Truths as yet undiscovered?" Where? In "the book."

Such revelations God has been pleased to make in all the Christian centuries. His universal plan for securing any marked and substantial advance of Christianity has been to incarnate in some one man some grand, fundamental, but neglected truth. The era of the Protestant Reformation well illustrates this. The world has gone down into the chill and darkness of a thousand years' night. God has thoughts of mercy toward it. How will he bring in the day? No new Bible is given; there is no new flight of angels; there are no new tongues of fire. A man is the herald of the dawn; a man with great faults, (else his example had been of less value for our encouragement,) yet a man whom God taught that "the just shall live by faith," and he taught it to the world. But his great work was incomplete, and his tempest-tossed soul had hardly reached its happy home before the Dark Ages crept back again. Ritualism spread its upas blight; infidelity and iniquity were rampant, and even in Protestant England, at the close of the seventeenth century, evangelical Christianity had almost perished from the earth. Again God honors his ancient plan. Not by angels, not by an added revelation, not by a new Pentecost, does he bring in that revival of evangelical doctrine and life which has had no serious back-set for more than a century and a third, and which, when fairly considered in its relation to the grand outmarch of modern evangelistic effort, really seems to be the dawn of the Millennium. God introduces this transcendent era by a man; a man born of that woman concerning whom Adam Clarke wrote, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but Susannah Wesley has excelled them all." This man was at once a Moses, a Paul, and a John. He led out God's people from a worse than Egyptian bondage; he preached the Gospel with surpassing power to men of more than Athenian refinement and to the most degraded outcasts;

and he was the very apostle of love, for he proclaimed as one of the chief articles of his creed that "perfect love" which "casteth out fear;" and he was enabled so to emphasize God's universal offer of rescue for the ruined, that the world might understand it better than ever before. I soberly believe that since it was first uttered no other man has done so much to simplify and propagate that divinest of all divine utterances, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

The fullest and most severely dispassionate of Mr. Wesley's biographers, Mr. Tyerman, elaborately justifies his characterization of Methodism as "the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ;" and says, "Let the reader think of twelve millions of people at present enjoying the benefits of Methodist instruction; let him think of Methodism's twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five ordained ministers, and of its tens of thousands of lay preachers; let him think of the immense amount of its church property, and of the well-nigh countless number of its church publications; let him think of the millions of young people in its schools, and of its missionary agents almost all the wide world over; let him think of its incalculable influence upon other Churches, and of the unsectarian institutions to which it has given rise; and then let him say whether the bold suggestion already made is not strictly true, namely, that '*Methodism is the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ.*'"

Now no religious movement ever sprang more directly out of the mind and heart of its founder, and received its mold and inspiration more immediately from him, than Methodism from Wesley. It cannot be understood apart from him, nor he apart from it. And what is Methodism? This volume, which presents Wesley in well-nigh every possible phase, abundantly answers that question; this particular article has to do with but a single characteristic of Methodism, and yet that characteristic

is its grand formative principle; its central, uniting, explaining idea, without which it would not have been. What is that idea? PERSONAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

Go into any Methodist church (worthy the name) in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, or any island of the sea, (there are twenty thousand of them in the United States alone,) and listen to the hymns, the readings, the prayers, the sermons. You must perceive that, according to the Methodistic idea, religion is no mere code of ethics or dogmas, no empty parade of ceremonies, no matter for rapt contemplation and antinomian quietism; but a deep, conscious, all-pervading, triumphant spiritual life. A very simple teaching of the Holy Scriptures, you may say. Yes, but vastly more simple because of John Wesley. When he, a brilliant young tutor in Lincoln College, Oxford, was groping his way to the full light of gospel day, Methodism was germinating. He found the light, and took it into one of the clearest and strongest of intellects, and also into "one of the most marvelous hearts which ever the hand of the Creator fashioned, or the spirit of the Redeemer warmed." That masterful intellect was hungrily striving after more and more of the knowledge of God, through all the years from its first dawn in the pious Epworth rector's home till, after eighty-eight years, the eternal sun-burst flashed upon it. But no such mere intellectual seeking, however successful, could have produced that immense result called Methodism; and so, at the age of thirty-five, that great heart saw God, transmuted doctrine into life, and created Methodism.

The question is often asked, What is the secret of the power of Methodism? That secret I conceive lies partly in its ecclesiastical polity, more in its doctrinal teaching, and most of all in its religious experience. On the last of these every thing turns. This it is which gave birth to the polity of Methodism and molded its beliefs. Its doctrinal system is not new, though the manner of its proclamation is. From the beginning until now, the Methodists, we think, have been less inclined than any

other branch of the Church to forget the inspired apostolic anathema against novelties in doctrine, "Though we, or an angel in heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have heard, let him be accursed."

In the course of the ages the old doctrines of the Bible had been buried beneath the rubbish of forgetfulness and sacerdotalism. Wesley seized them, lifted them up, shook from them the dust of ages which covered them, rekindled them at the altar of God, and then rushed forth and held them up as blazing torches before the eyes of the people.

He taught that sin was not a peccadillo, not merely a misfortune, but a dark, guilty, damning fact. He taught that salvation was not a proposal of help, restricted to a certain part of the human race, to be conferred at some time no man can tell when; but to every guilty penitent it was a proclamation that he might now be saved—fully saved—saved to the uttermost, and have the witness of the Holy Ghost to the fact of this salvation. No wonder the people listened, for at that time these truths came with the force of a new revelation to the masses of men.

I think I shall not be accused of an unjust criticism on our Christian brethren not of our faith if I cite an old-fashioned Methodist's sarcastic representation of the teaching prevailing in the communities in which he moved. It was this: "Religion—if you seek it, you wont find it; if you find it, you wont know it; if you know it, you haven't got it; if you get it, you can't lose it; if you lose it, you never had it." The Methodists reversed every clause of this description, and made it run: Religion—if you seek it, you will find it; if you find it, you will know it; if you know it, you have got it; if you get it, you may lose it; if you lose it, you must have had it.

All the doctrines our fathers asserted were old, but they made them new, fresh, vivid, and powerful. This effect is especially manifest in their teaching of that most experimental doctrine of the witness of the Spirit. God has given Method-

ism the honor of making millions of men understand it. This doctrine was almost a dead letter in God's holy book when John Wesley arose. Yet the teaching lay plainly on the very surface of the Bible. Enoch "had this testimony, that he pleased God." David had his feet taken "out of a horrible pit and out of the miry clay," and a new song put into his mouth. Paul and Peter and John told the same blessed story. Yet I doubt if a thousand men in all England, one hundred and fifty years ago, could have said that they knew their sins forgiven. But after fifteen years' such service of God as has rarely been equaled, John Wesley became consciously a son of God. While listening one evening, in a Moravian meeting, to the reading of one of Luther's commentaries, he felt his heart "strangely warmed;" and then he knew, and was able to teach, the meaning of that inspired declaration, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God." The glorious doctrine of the witness of the Spirit was incarnated in him, and revealed through him to millions more. In that hour Methodism was born.

So manifest and vital is the connection between Wesley's personal experience of saving grace and the success of the religious movement he inaugurated, that we must trace the successive steps of that marvelous experience. From infancy he was surrounded by the fragrance of a most sincere, if somewhat austere, ancestral piety. He was descended from a royal line of God's faithful witnesses. Daily prayers and Scripture readings were warp and woof of his childhood. Like most men who have been both great and good, he had one of the best of mothers, one from whom he manifestly inherited his talent for logic as well as for saintship. Who can tell how much the world owed to that devout and devoted mother-love which breathed out in this concluding sentence of many a letter, "Dear Jackey, I beseech Almighty God to bless thee!" He gave early evidence of sincere piety, and was admitted by his strict father to the communion at the age of eight. Until

he left home to attend the Charter-house school, in his eleventh year, he seems to have been an unusually thoughtful and consistent child-Christian. There, Mr. Tyerman tells us, "he lost the religion which had marked his character from the days of infancy;" and adds: "Terrible is the danger when a child leaves a pious home for a public school. John Wesley entered the Charter-house a saint and left it a sinner." He supports this startling indictment by citing Wesley's own words: "I was negligent of outward duties, and continually guilty of inward sins." But the self-accuser adds that these "sins" were "such as are not scandalous in the eye of the world;" and sums up this period thus: "However, I still read the Scriptures, and said my prayers morning and evening. And what I now hoped to be saved by was: 1. Not being so bad as other people; 2. Having still a kindness for religion; and, 3. Reading the Bible, going to church, and saying my prayers." So the "saint" of ten had not become so very grievous a "sinner" at seventeen after all; albeit there was a touch of Pharisaism in his piety.

Mr. Tyerman paints Wesley's undergraduate life at Oxford in similarly dark colors, thus: "When we say that from the age of eleven to the age of twenty-two Wesley made no pretensions to be religious, and, except on rare occasions, habitually lived in the practice of known sin, we only say what is equally true of many of the greatest, wisest, and most godly men that have ever lived. The fact is humiliating and ought to be deplored, but why hide it in one case more than in another? Wesley soon became one of the holiest and most useful men living; but except the first ten years of his childhood, he was, up to the age of twenty-two, by his own confession, an habitual, if not profane and flagrant sinner." "He thoughtlessly contracted debts greater than he had means to pay." "His letters are without religious sentiments, and his life was without a religious aim." "He had need to repent as in dust and ashes." The same biographer adds, however, within a dozen lines,

"Wesley was far too noble and too high-principled to seek admission into so sacred an office as the Christian ministry merely to secure for himself a crust of bread." Another very able and appreciative student of Mr. Wesley's character, Dr. Rigg, insists that these comments of Mr. Tyerman are "altogether in an exaggerated tone of austerity; and adds, "He writes as if such letters cast shadows on the character of young Wesley; he declares quite unwarrantably that from the age of eleven to twenty-two, Wesley was 'by his own confession an habitual, if not profane and flagrant, sinner,' and that he 'thoughtlessly contracted debts greater than he had means to pay!' We must say that there is no evidence whatever to justify such language as this. Wesley seems always to have kept at a remote distance from any thing like 'profane and flagrant sin;' he was 'a sinner' as moral and virtuous youths are sinners, but only so; and if he could not make ends meet on forty pounds a year, there is no evidence whatever that he 'thoughtlessly contracted debts.'"

Mr. Badcock, in the "Westminster Magazine," gives this picture of Wesley after he had taken his degree at the age of twenty-one: "He appeared the very sensible and acute collegian; a young fellow of the finest classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments."

Then came one great crisis of his life; let me rather say, then began *the one critical epoch*, which lasted thirteen years, and terminated only when the intensely laborious, heroically faithful, despairingly weary "servant" became consciously a rejoicing "son" of God. He had finished his collegiate course, a thorough and elegant scholar. What should he do? In those days, when so little was thought about a divine call to the ministry, it would have been strange if any young man born, bred, and educated as he was, and with such a moral and religious character, had not at least considered the question of entering that sacred office. He had such thoughts, and wrote of them to his parents. They encouraged his incipient plan, and his mother,

especially, gave him excellent advice. He immediately began a most painstaking, conscientious, but blindly ascetic preparation for holy orders. His characteristic account of it runs thus: "When I was about twenty-two my father pressed me to enter into holy orders. At the same time the providence of God directing me to Kempis' 'Christian's Pattern,' I began to see that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions. I was, however, angry at Kempis for being too strict; though I read him only in Dean Stanhope's translation. Yet I had frequently much sensible comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before. Meeting likewise with a religious friend, which I never had till now, I began to alter the whole form of my conversation, and to set in earnest upon a new life. I set apart an hour or two a day for religious retirement; I communicated every week; I watched against all sin, whether in word or deed; I began to aim at, and to pray for, inward holiness; so that now, doing so much and living so good a life, I doubted not that I was a good Christian."

It is well for sound doctrine and evangelical religion that the seed of truth thus sown in this eminently honest, earnest, and capacious soul, did not by a miraculous operation of grace burst forth into sudden flower and fruit. The slow germination, growth, unfolding, and maturing of the precious seed in Wesley's heart and life have made the way of salvation easy to millions of men. The divine method is "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." We are reminded of Israel's forty years' schooling in the wilderness; of the apostles who needed, (for our sakes no less that for their own,) three years under the Saviour's personal tuition, and ten days' waiting for the Pentecost after that; of Paul's theological course in Arabia, and of Bunyan's thrilling experiences recorded in his "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners." God's great soldiers are wont to undergo a severe course of drill and discipline before achieving those victories which astonish men and angels.

In the thirteen years from the age of twenty-two to that of thirty-five Wesley met and vanquished, not in bitter and beclouding controversy with other men, but on the battle-field of his own soul, all the chief errors concerning the subject of personal religious experience. For years of such devout religiousness and such strenuous activity in doing good as have never been excelled, he was by turns a legalist, a mystic, an ascetic, and a ritualist, with scarcely a glimmering of that personal, simple, saving, triumphant faith which these Egypt and wilderness years were preparing him to teach. The downright sincerity and quaintness with which he recorded these experiences give his Journal and his letters a romantic charm.

The writers whom he providentially fell in with at this period, and whose works had most to do with forming his opinions, partly by their direct teaching and partly by the stern antagonism they provoked, were Thomas à Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, and William Law. They were always too somber for him, and he recoiled from the morbid tinge of their teachings; and yet they taught him. He promptly drew back from Jeremy Taylor's mournful representations as to the necessity of perpetual, sorrowful uncertainty on the point of the penitent sinner's pardon and acceptance. As early as 1725 he obtained a clear glimpse, doctrinally, of what he did not fully know experimentally until 1738—the feasibility of a conscious salvation. This is manifest in his writing thus to his mother: "If we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, (which he will not do unless we are regenerate,) certainly we must be sensible of it. If we can never have any certainty of our being in a state of salvation, good reason it is that every moment should be spent, not in joy, but in fear and trembling; and then, undoubtedly, we are in this life of all men most miserable. God deliver us from such a fearful expectation as this!"

To Thomas à Kempis' "Christian's Pattern" and to Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying" he is manifestly indebted, among other things, for some of the clearest early conceptions

which he afterward formulated in his teaching concerning Christian Perfection. He says, "I saw that simplicity of intention and purity of affection—one design in all we speak and do, and one desire ruling all our tempers—are indeed the wings of the soul, without which she can never ascend to God. I sought after this from that hour." The "Pattern" taught him this. And after reading the "Holy Living and Dying"—devouring, I may rather say, for no words can well set forth the intensity of his hunger for the truth—he wrote, "Instantly I resolved to dedicate my life to God—all my thoughts and words and actions—being thoroughly convinced there was no medium, but that every part of my life (not some only) must either be a sacrifice to God or myself, that is, the devil."

In September, 1725, Wesley was ordained deacon by Bishop Potter, whom he always held in high esteem, calling him "a great and good man," and recording in a sermon written more than half a century later an advice given him by the Bishop at the time of his ordination, and for which he had often thanked Almighty God, namely, that "if he wished to be extensively useful, he must not spend his time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against notorious vice, and in promoting real and essential holiness." In March, 1726, he was elected Fellow of Lincoln College; and eight months later he was appointed Lecturer and Moderator of the classes. "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another," he wrote; "I propose to be busy as long as I live." In his plan of study, which he closely followed, he devoted Mondays and Tuesdays to the Greek and Roman classics; Wednesdays to logic and ethics; Thursdays to Hebrew and Arabic; Fridays to metaphysics and natural philosophy; Saturdays to oratory and poetry; and Sundays to divinity; filling up the interstices of time with French, optics, and mathematics. In order to prosecute such studies and to lead a life of such strenuous religious devotion, he reckoned minutes of time as more precious than rubies. He therefore deliberately resolved to rid himself

of all unprofitable associates. He says: "When it pleased God to give me a settled resolution to be not a *nominal* but a real Christian, . . . I resolved to have no acquaintance by chance, but by choice; and to choose such only as would help me on my way to heaven."

The influence of William Law upon him at about this time is very manifest. He writes: "I began to see more and more the value of time. I applied myself closer to study. I watched more carefully against actual sins. I advised others to be religious according to that scheme of religion by which I modeled my own life. But meeting now with Mr. Law's 'Christian Perfection' and 'Serious Call,' although I was much offended at many parts of both, yet they convinced me more than ever of the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the law of God. The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul that every thing appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help; resolved, as I had never done before, not to prolong the time of obeying him. And by my continued endeavor to keep his whole law, inward and outward, to the utmost of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of him, and that I was even then in a state of salvation."

His bondage to legalism is very evident. He must grope in the wilderness for weary years in order that he may be able to point out to hosts of weary pilgrims the short road to Canaan. The austerities, the self-denying charities, and the heroic home-mission work of the "Holy Club," of which he was the head, did not satisfy his ideal nor relieve his perturbed spirit. No man on earth studied religion more earnestly, nor practiced it more zealously. And at the time, it seems never to have occurred to him that he was wearing a garment of self-righteousness. He saw his error later, and said: "In this refined way of trusting to my own works and my own righteousness, (so zealously inculcated by the mystic writers,) I dragged on heavily, finding no comfort or help therein, till the time of my leaving England." He had not forsaken "this refined way" of try-

ing to establish a righteousness of his own when he went out to Georgia as a missionary. Before going he wrote a letter stating his reasons, the chief being these: "My chief motive is the hope of saving my own soul. . . . I cannot hope to attain the same degree of holiness here which I may there." But besides such personal motives, he was moved by the brilliant picture his fancy painted of the native Indians flocking round him and eagerly accepting the Gospel. When he reaches Georgia, however, we find him not the grand Pauline missionary, flying everywhere as the flaming herald of an impartial salvation, offered freely to all by a God who is "no respecter of persons." We must confess rather to beholding a strait-laced, exclusive High-Churchman, who did but little good and some manifest harm, and retired from the scene of his humiliating defeat in two years — as Mr. Tyerman styles him, "in point of fact a Puseyite, a hundred years before Dr. Pusey flourished." Dr. Rigg says, "The resemblance of his practices to those of modern High-Anglicans is, in most points, exceedingly striking. He had early, and also forenoon, service every day; he divided the morning service, taking the litany as a separate service; he inculcated fasting (real hard fasting, his was) and confession and weekly communion; he refused the Lord's Supper to all who had not been episcopally baptized; he insisted on baptism by immersion; he rebaptized the children of Dissenters; and he refused to bury all who had not received episcopalian baptism." The same author, whose estimate of Wesley is exceedingly high, and who zealously, and, as I think, ably and justly defends him against some of Mr. Tyerman's severe animadversions, is constrained to characterize him at this period as an "ascetic Ritualist of the strictest and most advanced class."

Mr. Wesley's own retrospect of his experiences in Georgia is full of thrilling interest. In all the range of autobiography I know nothing more searching, instructive, and pathetic, than the merciless self-dissection of this great, earnest, honest soul. The full impression of it cannot be felt except by approaching

it gradually, and then reading it entire in a sympathetic mood. The whole passage is quite too long for insertion here; but we must solemnly pause over the most impressive paragraphs:—

"It is now two years and almost four months since I left my native country in order to teach the Georgian Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned myself in the meantime? Why, (what I least of all expected,) that I, who went out to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God. 'I am not mad,' though I thus speak; but 'I speak the words of truth and soberness;' if haply some of those who still dream may awake, and see that as I am so are they. . . .

"Are they read in philosophy? So was I. In ancient or modern tongues? So was I also. Are they versed in the science of divinity? I, too, have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently upon spiritual things? The very same could I do. Are they plenteous in alms? Behold, I gave all my goods to feed the poor. Do they give of their labor as well as of their substance? I have labored more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country; I have put my life in my hand, wandering into strange lands; I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched up with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatever God should please to bring upon me. But does all this (be it more or less it matters not) make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did or can know, say, give, do, or suffer, justify me in his sight? Yea, or the constant use of all the means of grace? (which, nevertheless, is meet, right, and our bounden duty.) Or that I know nothing of myself; that I am, as touching outward moral righteousness, blameless? Or, to come closer yet, the having a rational conviction of all the truths of Christianity? Does all this give me a claim to the holy, heavenly, divine character of a Christian? By no means. . . .

"This, then, have I learned in the ends of the earth, that I

'am fallen short of the glory of God;' that my whole heart is 'altogether corrupt and abominable;' and consequently my whole life. . . .

"If it be said that I have faith, (for many such things have I heard from many miserable comforters,) I answer, So have the devils—a sort of faith; but still they are strangers to the covenants of promise. . . . The faith I want is, 'A sure trust and confidence in God that through the merits of Christ my sins are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favor of God.' . . .

"I went to America to convert the Indians; but O! who shall convert me? Who, what, is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer religion. I can talk well; nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near; but let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, 'To die is gain!'

> "I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
> My last thread, I shall perish on the shore!"

Surely the day of full redemption draweth nigh. Such a spirit cannot much longer pant after God in vain. Six days after he landed in England, on February 7, 1738, he fell in with Böhler. In his Journal he notes this day as "a day much to be remembered."

During the three months which elapsed before Böhler's departure to America, Wesley lost no opportunity to sit at the feet of this pious Moravian, who was almost ten years his junior. His intercourse with the Moravians on ship-board, and with Spangenburg in Georgia, had impressed his mind with the conviction that "the secret of the Lord" was with these simple-hearted people. Böhler told him true faith in Christ was inseparably attended by (1) dominion over sin, and (2) constant peace, arising from a sense of forgiveness. Wesley thought this a new gospel, and stoutly disputed it. Böhler said, "*Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua philosophia!*" And "purged out" this "philosophy" speedily was. Before

many days Wesley declared himself "clearly convinced of unbelief—of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved." But lest any one should put a meaning into these words such as his maturer experience would not approve, let it be remembered that his own note at this place in the revised edition of his early Journals is, "with the full Christian salvation."

The legalist is now dead; the High-Churchman must die also. A month later, having been "more and more amazed" by Böhler's "account of the fruits of living faith," and having tested this strange teaching by critically comparing it with the Greek Testament, he writes, "Being at Mr. Fox's Society, my heart was so full that I could not confine myself to the forms of prayer that we were accustomed to use there. Neither do I purpose to be confined to them any more, but to pray indifferently with a form or without, as I may find suitable to particular occasions." Surely, "the new wine" was working mightily in "the old bottles."

Driven from every other refuge, Wesley now doubted about salvation in the present tense. But again his sagacious and God-taught teacher sent him to the Scriptures and to experience. The now thoroughly docile pupil, to his "utter astonishment, found scarce any instances there of other than instantaneous conversions," and was presently confronted by "several living witnesses." "Here ended my disputing," he writes; "I could now only cry out, 'Lord, help thou my unbelief?' I was now thoroughly convinced; and, by the grace of God, I resolved to seek this faith unto the end."

This diligent search continued another month, and then came the day of all days to this "chosen vessel of the Lord." At the mature age of thirty-five, after thirteen intensely religious but most unsatisfactory years, he entered into the heaven on earth of a conscious salvation. "On May 24, 1738, at five in the morning he opened his Testament on these words: 'There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature.' On

leaving home he opened on the text, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.' In the afternoon he went to St. Paul's Cathedral, where the anthem was full of comfort. At night he went to a society-meeting in Aldersgate-street, where a person read Luther's "Preface to the Epistle to the Romans," in which Luther teaches what faith is, and also that faith alone justifies. Possessed of it, the heart is "cheered, elevated, excited and transported with sweet affections toward God. Receiving the Holy Ghost, through faith, the man is renewed and made spiritual," and he is impelled to fulfill the law "by the vital energy in himself." While this preface was being read, Wesley experienced an amazing change. He writes, "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death; and I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart."

I have detailed thus fully the process of experience through which this pioneer mind and heart were divinely led, because I believe the very experience itself of John Wesley is far richer in lessons of permanent value than any didactic statements concerning it can be. Facts are God's great teachers.

But this article would be incomplete without a rapid survey of the chief channels through which this hard-won experience of John Wesley has poured itself around the globe, and especially has richly fructified the religious life of the two foremost of the nations. I need not dwell upon those published works which will ever hold the first place among the standards of Methodist doctrine; nor on his hymns, which still better enshrine his very heart; nor on the still more precious sacred lyrics of the David of modern psalmody, his brother Charles. Nor need I now refer to the immense influence of Wesley's experience on his preaching and on the preaching of tens of thousands of his successors, and indeed on very much of the teaching on the subject of experimental religion beyond the

pale of Methodism. All these topics, so immediately germane to mine, are amply treated elsewhere in this volume.

My final office is rather to call attention to the chief of the means of grace by which Methodism has always promoted personal religious experience—the love-feast and the class-meeting. It would be very interesting, if the limits assigned me would permit it, fully to trace the rise and progress, the methods and results, of these peculiar institutions of Methodism. These topics are, however, very familiar, and must now be passed with a rapid glance.

Methodism, from its very beginning, recognized and largely employed the social principle as an agency of grace. It is true that the chief of its methods for doing this, the class-meeting, was no contrivance of Mr. Wesley's, but a providential fact. He had it before he knew it. He was thinking of "quite another thing," viz., paying the debts of the Society at Bristol. The proposition to raise a penny a week from each member was opposed, as being burdensome to the poor. One said, "Then put eleven of the poorest with me; and if they can give any thing, well, I will call on them weekly; and if they can give nothing, I will give for them as well as for myself; and each of you call on eleven of your neighbors weekly, receive what they give, and make up what is wanting." It was done; this purely financial plan could not fail, in the care of godly leaders, speedily to take on a spiritual character also. Wesley's quick discernment saw the jewels God had thrown into his lap while he was looking for pennies, and said, "It struck me immediately, This is the thing, the very thing we have wanted so long. I called together all the leaders of the classes—so we used to term them and their companies—and desired that each would make a particular inquiry into the behavior of those he saw weekly. They did so. Many disorderly walkers were detected. Some turned from the evil of their ways. Some were put away from us. Many saw it with fear, and rejoiced unto God with reverence." Soon after he

made a similar arrangement in London, and thus concluded his account of it: "This was the origin of our classes, for which I can never sufficiently praise God; the unspeakable usefulness of the institution having ever since been more and more manifest."

But if the class-meeting might almost be termed a happy accident, not so with Wesley's early and careful recognition of its chief underlying principle, the need of Christian fellowship. Three years before the first class-meeting was held he had instituted *society-meetings*, of which he was the leader, and which were very like the modern inquiry meetings. In the same spirit he revived the ancient *agapé* in the quarterly love-feast, admission to which could be secured only by means of a ticket furnished by the pastor.

These social means of grace were immensely important to Methodism. They were the altars on which the sparks of grace were kept alive, and the glowing brands fanned into intenser flame. It may well be doubted whether Methodism would have survived fifty years, or traveled a hundred miles beyond its birth-place, without them. Methodism must "*go.*" Its evangelists felt the burning inspiration of the Great Commission in their hearts evermore. But they could not "go" unless there were faithful men to stay and keep the flock together, and gather the lambs into the fold, and go after the stragglers. Unless when they returned they could find that they were doing a work in its nature permanent, they would have no heart to go on. An itinerant ministry must be supplemented by an abiding local sub-pastorate.

Earnest Methodists cannot, therefore, observe the partial decay of the distinctively Methodistic means of grace without deep concern. God has highly honored those means. They have led to the conversion, the reclamation, and the sanctification of myriads of souls. In times of revivals the attendance on them is much increased. Other denominations have found great advantage in imitations of them in their inquiry meet-

ings, conference meetings, and experience meetings. To all eternity millions of happy spirits will praise God because on earth they "spake often one to another" in Methodist love-feasts and class-meetings.

Many of the most spiritual ministers and laymen among us feel sure that they discern a close connection between a faithful attendance of these means of grace and a distinct, glowing, zealous, personal experience; and lament the too-prevalent, half-and-half, Church-and-world style of religious profession, as the normal result of vacant class-rooms and infrequent and sparsely attended love-feasts. If a young convert is promptly assigned to a suitable class, in charge of a competent and faithful leader, and will regularly attend it—if he finds himself encouraged weekly by glowing experiences, fed by wise counsels, and inspired by hearty singing—there is little probability that he will ever backslide, and great probability that if God whispers into his soul a call to the ministry, or to some grand form of lay activity, he will hear and heed it.

It is one glory of Methodism that it has always been elastic, and adaptable to varied and varying conditions. It is no reproach to it that its methods in England and America are different. The Methodism of a strong self-supporting Church in China in A.D. 1900 may differ widely in non-essentials from that of its mother Church. The forms by which the ends aimed at in the love-feast and in the class-meeting shall be achieved may be gradually changed; but those ends must be achieved somehow, or the glory of Methodism will have departed, and its very name will perish from the earth.

# WESLEY AS A REVIVALIST.

THE history of the Church in its evolution through the ages is a perpetual attestation to the immensity of the divine resources, not only in ordaining and rendering all events subservient to its interests, but in bringing forward at the appointed time those types of mental and moral manhood, as instrumental agencies, which its ever-advancing necessities may require. How does history authenticate the fact that God not only appoints men gifted with plenary inspiration, but men uninspired, to accomplish his purpose in the regeneration of the world? When in the post-apostolic period it became necessary to formulate and vindicate the fundamental truths of Christianity against the Gnostic and Arian heresies, Athanasius and Cyril appear, whose searching and subtle intellects confronted the wondrous problems of Deity, and gave those definitions of the person of Christ and the Trinity which have commanded the homage of the universal Church.

Early in the history of Christian life and worship, the demand arose for the enthusiasm of song. Gifted with devout and poetic skill, John of Damascus, and in later times Bernard, penned their hymns, while Gregory, and Ambrose of Milan, in their chants and cantatas voiced these noble hymns in all the melodies of music.

Long before a sacred literature was born, we find that genius consecrated its powers, and became an educating force by which the multitudes were familiarized with religious thought. In the cartoons and statuary of Raphael and Angelo, incarnated in fresco and stone, there was an ever-open gospel in which were recorded, in tinted and glowing colors, the leading events of Christianity. It was in the mediæval times, when the inner

life of the Church had gone down to zero, that the schools of the Mystics were originated, and the writings of Thomas à Kempis, Molinos, and Fénélon, attest how deep was the spiritual life which God had commissioned them to awaken. At length papacy, insolent as in the times of Hildebrand, avenging in its cruelty and abject in its corruption, became a burden intolerable to the nations, when Luther, Zwingli, and Melanchthon arose, renounced the yoke of Rome, and led the way in the Reformation of the fifteenth century. Never, in the history of the Church, did a great leader appear more essential than in the period immediately preceding the great Methodist revival.

The early part of the eighteenth century is one of the darkest pages in the religious history of England. The Restoration witnessed a complete reaction from the stringencies which marked society under the puritanic rule of Cromwell. It gave rise to a libertine literature, which found its expression in the nameless degradation of its dramatists, and the social corruption which abounded in the higher life of the nation. The infidelity of Lord Herbert had alienated the aristocracy from the Church, while that of Tyndal and Wolston had taken hold of the popular mind, so that the press abounded with the most gross and ribald attacks on all that was noble and virtuous in man. The clergy of the Establishment were intolerant in the extreme, and with but few exceptions made no pretensions to piety, and in some instances not even to morality itself. The Non-conformist successors of Doddridge had inclined toward the principles of Socinianism, while the poorer classes were steeped in ignorance, and had descended to a depravity well-nigh beyond conception. The impartial historian frankly admits that all language fails to adequately picture the deterioration which rested alike on all classes, from titled nobles to barbarous toilers in the grim and dismal mines of the North.

In the obscure rectory of Epworth, amid the marshy fens of Lincolnshire, a child was born to one of the noblest mothers

that God ever gave to counsel and inspire a son; a son who, in the allotment of Heaven, was to become the modern apostle to revive the Church and regenerate society; a son whose line was destined to go out into all the earth, and his words unto the ends of the world. The name of Wesley will gather strength with the years; and already he stands as one of the most prominent and remarkable agents whom Providence has ever brought forward for the accomplishment of a great work. Feeble in its beginnings, the ages only will tell the grandeur of its consummation. In briefly sketching the elements which conspire to render Wesley foremost of all revivalists whom the Church has ever witnessed, we propose to notice the System of Truth which he accepted, the Character of his Spiritual Life, the Style of his Preaching, and his Power of Organization as seen in the means which he employed to give permanence to his work.

## His Theology.

As a first and fundamental point, we notice that system of theological truth which he formulated and has given as a heritage to the Church. It has seldom fallen to the lot of man to be endowed with a mind so full, so many-sided, as that which was intrusted to Wesley. While it would be untrue to claim for him the inductive power of Bacon; or to assert that he could walk the inner sanctuary of the soul with the stately tread of Shakspeare, who flashed the torch-light of his genius into the remotest corners of the heart; or that he could wield the philosophic argument of Butler;—yet the more profoundly we study his natural endowments the more we are impressed with their remarkable character. He was gifted with a breadth of understanding and a logical acumen which enabled him to grasp any subject which came within the limits of human thought. In him there was reverence for authority, and yet a mental daring which led him into new fields of investigation; an impartiality which refused to be biased, but calmly weighed the claims of rival systems. He had a spiritual insight which truly

belongs to higher souls, by which they discern the affinities and relations of things spiritual. In addition to these natural endowments, he enjoyed that wide scholarship and rare culture which the then first university in the world could supply. Thus furnished, he early in his career laid the foundations of that theological system which, it is not too much to say, is at once the most comprehensive, scriptural, and best adapted for evangelistic work which the schools have ever given to the Church;—a system which is ever-widening in its influence, modifying other types of religious thought, and which gives promise of becoming the theology of the Church of the future. Thus gifted by nature and cultured by art, he seems to have contemplated every system which had been propounded to the Church. Eliminating what was false, he retained what was scriptural, and combined them with matchless skill. How manifestly does this appear! He accepted the Augustinian doctrine of sin, but rejected its theory of decrees. He accepted the Pelagian doctrine of the will, but repudiated that teaching which denied the depravity of man and the necessity of spiritual aid. He accepted the spectacular theory of Abelard, and the substitutional theory of Anselm, relative to the work of Christ, but utterly rejected the rationalism of the one, and the commercial theory of the atonement of the other. He accepted the perfectionist. theory and deep spirituality taught by Pascal and the Port Royalists, but rejected their quietist teachings, which destroy all the benevolent activities of Christian life. He accepted the doctrine of universal redemption as taught by the early Arminians, but was careful to denounce the semi-Pelagian laxity which marked the teachings of the later schools of Remonstrants. He joined with the several Socinian schools in exalting the benevolence and mercy of God, but never faltered in his declaration of the perpetuity of punishment. Magnifying the efficiency of divine grace with the most earnest of Calvinists, he at the same time asserted that salvation was dependent on the volitions of a will that was radically free.

It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of the theology of Wesley. If we accept the terms employed in modern theological science, its anthropology confronted and modified to an extent that has been under-estimated the sensuous philosophy of Locke, which, running its downward course, degenerated into the materialism of France, and all the degradation of the positive philosophy of Comte. By asserting the liberty of the moral agent, it vindicated the spiritual nature and essential royalty of man. Its soteriology modified and softened that ultra-Calvinism which overlooked the necessity of personal holiness by a misconception of the nature of Christ's atoning work and the office and work of the Spirit; while its eschatology rejects the wild and dreamy vagaries of millenarianism, and that monstrous assumption that untainted innocency and desperado villainy will be congregated forever in that state where retribution is unknown. How grandly comprehensive, how profoundly scriptural, and how intensely practical is this system of theology! It is pre-eminently the theology of the evangelist who seeks to revive and extend spiritual religion.

It contemplates man as utterly lost, and with the knife of the moral anatomist reveals the deep and festering depravity of the human heart. Generous as God's own sunlight, it looks every man in the face and says, "Christ died for you." Vindicating the reality of supernatural communication to the spirit of man, it publishes the glad evangel that the invited Spirit will throne himself as a witness of sonship and a comforter divine in every willing heart. It holds out the possibilities of a victory over the apostate nature by asserting a sanctification which is entire, and a perfection in love which is not ultimate and final, but progressive in its development forever. Such was the system of religious truth with which Wesley started on his mighty career of evangelistic labor. The world has never seen a formula which has more practically unfolded the spirit of the Gospel, and given it an adaptation to the average intelligence of man. Though scholastic in its origin, yet as he and his coadjutors

rang it out over the land, it became a power imperial to sway human hearts and sweep them into the kingdom of God. And this theology, because of its intense loyalty to the Scriptures, is gathering strength with the years. It is molding the method of all Churches, and is the right arm of power to every man who aspires to lift up and save the race. Its character is written on every page of the history of the mightiest revival which the Church has ever known.

### ITS SPIRITUAL LIFE.

From the theology of Wesley we come to a consideration of its influence over his own mind as seen in his experimental life. We have already referred to the rare mental endowments with which God had intrusted Wesley. Not inferior were those qualities which conspired to build up that Christian manhood which made him preëminent as a minister of God.

Foremost among those qualities was a will-power which would have made him eminent in any sphere. Meteors flash and darken again, but planets burn steadily in their orbits. Wesley swung the round of his earthly orbit with unfaltering purpose and ever-increasing brilliance. There is an heroic grandeur in that constancy which carried him directly forward in the accomplishment of his great life-work. With this power of will there was a native integrity and sympathy with the spiritual which is constantly evident throughout his career. Several agencies conspired to fit him for his great work. The first was a sympathy with mediæval asceticism. The lives of Lopez, Lawrence, and François Xavier had early arrested his attention. Accordingly, we find that the history of the Oxford Methodists very clearly brings out the ascetic mold in which the piety of Wesley was cast. The whole of their life assumed the form of monastic order. Their time was divided by seasons of fasting and solitude. Restrictions were placed upon their social intercourse, habits of thought, and daily action. This period was a sort of moral gymnasium in which his spirit

was trained and toned, in which his conscience was educated, and in which his duty became the pole-star of his life. Like another Ignatius Loyola, though in the spirit of a servant rather than of a son, he was ready to cross seas and continents at what he believed to be the call of duty. Wesley never forgot the moral discipline and advantage of this period of his life. Indeed, he regretfully declares that an observance of these rules would have been helpful throughout his entire career. It may be safely doubted whether any man ever accomplished much for God who was not subjected to a like discipline. The lives of Luther, Spener, and Knox give marked indications of that self-abnegation which gave fiber and power to their manhood, and, under God, made them mighty for the accomplishment of his purposes.

But while the ascetic principles which shaped his early religious life induced a habit of introspection and developed a certain thoroughness and depth in his inner life, it must not be overlooked that Wesley stands forever a debtor to that Moravian type of piety which so largely influenced the entire of his subsequent career.

The distinguishing attributes of Moravian piety were its vivid realization of spiritual truth, its demand for an inner consciousness of the divine favor wrought out by the Spirit of God, its joyous aggressiveness, its unquestioning faith, and its loyalty to the divine word. There are, doubtless, some features of Moravian teaching, as propounded by Zinzendorf, that must be questioned; but the tone of piety is sweet and beautiful in the extreme. Its impelling power is seen in the fact that a comparatively feeble Church has lifted its banner in mission stations over all the earth to an extent unequaled by any Church of similar strength. No sooner had Wesley come under the experimental teachings of Moravians like Böhler than he beheld the ways of God more perfectly, and from the night when he felt his heart strangely warmed while reading on the atonement in the Epistle to the Romans, a new power

possessed him. Fired by the enthusiasm of divine love, he henceforth more fully gave his entire being to evangelistic labors. But the full power of Wesley's spiritual life stands inseparably connected with his acceptance of the doctrine of Christian Perfection. In his "Plain Account" of this doctrine we find that from the very beginning of his spiritual life his mind had been divinely drawn in this direction. Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ" and Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living" first kindled aspirations for this grace.

Evidence of his early soul-yearnings is found in the fact that, when at Savannah, he penned the lines,

"Is there a thing beneath the sun,
That strives with thee my heart to share?
Ah, tear it thence, and reign alone,
The Lord of every motion there."

And on his return voyage he wrote:—

"O grant that nothing in my soul
May dwell, but thy pure love alone!
O may thy love possess me whole,
My joy, my treasure, and my crown:
Strange flames far from my heart remove;
My every act, word, thought, be love!"

If there be one master-passion which above all others absorbed the soul of Wesley, it was his intense admiration of the exquisite beauty of holiness which permeates and robes the character with the radiance of heaven. His ever-abiding desire was, that it should crown his own life and constitute the beatitude of others. As the mariner's needle points to the pole, so his heart turned to those who glorified this truth.

The estimate which he set upon this experience of entire sanctification is shown in his repeated declarations that it constitutes the great power of the Church, and that wherever it was preached clearly and definitely, as a present experience, the work of God revived. Wherever Christians rose to its attainment, they became invested with a new power, which made

them potential agents in the work of God; and he does not hesitate to declare, that if this truth should become obsolete in the Methodist Church, its glory, as a revival Church, would forever pass away. Holiness unto the Lord was, he declared, the great *depositum* intrusted to Methodism, distinguishing it from every other section of the Church of Christ.

In the three stages which mark the spiritual life of Wesley there is a remarkable preparation for his great work as the revivalist of the eighteenth century. The ascetic period gave him the mastery of the human heart, and armed him with power to search the conscience. The attainment of the Moravian type of piety led him out in the line of immediate conversion and spiritual attestation to the heart, while the acceptance of Christian perfection enabled him to guide the Church into that consecration which would make its members collaborators in the work of spreading scriptural holiness throughout the land.

### Style of Preaching.

But from his inner life we may pass on to notice that style of preaching which he employed in accomplishing his great work. The history of the pulpit is in a sense the history of the Church, reflecting, as it does, the spirit of the age. Thus in the apostolic times we have the age of direct statement, as found in Justin Martyr; the age of allegory, which found its exponent in Origen; the age of superstition, as expressed in the Montanists; the age of ecclesiasticism, in Gregory the Great; the age of doctrine, in the times of the Reformation; the age of polemics, in the sixteenth century; and the age of exposition, which found its expression in the great productions of Owen and Howe. It was reserved for Wesley to inaugurate a new method of preaching, which, divested of scholastic forms, should at once command the homage of intellect and the heart of untutored simplicity.

The eighteenth century has given us only two names illustrious for pulpit eloquence: Wesley and Whitefield. If one

was the Demosthenes of the age, the other was the Seneca. The one was bold, impassioned, full of declamatory power and emotional force; the other was calm, cultured, searching, clear, and powerful in appeal. While the grandeur of Whitefield's pulpit eloquence swayed for the time, the convincing and heart-searching appeals of Wesley left a more permanent impression on the age. Stars were they both of the first magnitude; binary stars, that revolve around each other and shed the refulgence of their light on the darkness of their times; but while the luster of the one is dimming with the years, that of the other is ever increasing in the growing magnitude and permanence of that work which he began. It is conceded by the historians of Wesley, that, while his printed sermons indicate the theology of his preaching, they furnish but an imperfect conception of that popular power which he wielded. Sir Walter Scott heard him in his early life, and bears testimony to his great versatility, employing argument and anecdote, the simplicity of conversational address and yet an all-pervading and incisive earnestness which was potent to arrest all who heard it. The preaching of Wesley had always for its object the accomplishment of definite results. Recognizing man as exposed to an eternal penalty on account of sin, and yet unconscious of his peril, he proclaimed the law in all its conscience-searching significance, and uncovered that dark immortality to which unsaved men were hastening with a vividness and power that awoke the guilty sinner, and prompted him to flee from the wrath to come.

It is a complaint throughout the Churches that the spirit of deep conviction and thorough repentance is seldom witnessed as in the past. May this not arise from the want of that tremendous and searching appeal in the modern pulpit which marked the ministry of Wesley and his coadjutors? To the truly awakened man he brought the fullness of the Gospel, offered an immediate pardon, and insisted upon the attainment of a witnessing Spirit, as authenticating the reality of the gift

conferred. With the sharpness of definition he kept ever reiterating the privilege of sonship, and never ceased to urge on those who had received the marks of sonship the necessity of perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord.

The preaching of Wesley presents a marked contrast to that class who decry all dogmatic teaching, and would emasculate the Gospel of those great distinctive truths which constitute the bones and sinews and fibers of our Christianity. What gave strength to his teaching was the perpetual presentation of doctrine in its practical relation to the experimental life of man. It was thus an educating force, and, being surcharged with that divine influence which flowed out from his personal consecration and union with God, it became mightily transforming, making the moral wilderness to rejoice and blossom as a rose.

Nothing more fully reveals the grand possibilities which inhere in man than the magnitude of those forces which belong to one who is called, commissioned, and anointed to proclaim the Gospel. We admire the power and skill of the artist who evokes from the instrument of music its many voices, weaving them into harmonies and planting them in the soul so that they live in the memory along the years; but what is this to the achievement of the preacher who wakes the silent souls of thousands into melodies divine, and sends them singing through the great forever, waking in turn music in other hearts as they go to the mountains of myrrh and frankincense, where the day breaks and the shadows flee away! Such was the power of Wesley. From his lips came words that moved the spirits of multitudes toward God, and from that center there has gone out a power which is ever accumulating with the march of time, working out the regeneration of mighty militant hosts on earth and lifting uncounted millions to the skies.

### Power of Organization.

With a theology such as we have described, wielded by an agent so consecrated, and in a manner so adapted to produce

immediate results, we cannot wonder that over all the land the flame of revival was kindled to an extent such as the Church had never witnessed. The success which crowned the ministry of Wesley brought into play what must be regarded as one of the crowning attributes of his character—his power of organization. Nothing so distinguishes the essential greatness of a man, and gives to him such historic pre-eminence, as the power to organize. The names that stand peerless in government, in war, and in the annals of the Church, were, perhaps, more distinguished in this particular than in any other. This talent for government Wesley possessed in an extraordinary degree. He had, says Macaulay, the genius of a Richelieu in directing and controlling men. The first outcome of this power was seen in his ability to read the character of men, and select his agents to co-operate with him in his work. It was no ordinary soul that could choose his agents from every class, fling over them the spell of his inspiration, and hold them in line with a precision that well-nigh approached the rigidity of military discipline. Yet this was the sublime spectacle which was witnessed in the last century. Men throughout the isles and over the seas responded to his call, and loyally toiled at his bidding for the evangelization of the world.

The genius of Wesley for organization was further seen in the adjustment to the nature of man of that economy which he has given to the Church. The Protestant Church had hitherto resolved itself into two historic forms, the elaborate ritualism of Episcopacy, and the rigid baldness of Presbyterianism; in the one, the worship assumed a sensuous form, appealing to the senses; in the other, there was a certain cold and unattractive formalism. The quick intelligence of Wesley at once grasped the situation; he recognized the power of social influence, and, as a first step, established those class-meetings and modern *agapæ*, or love-feasts, which have developed the spirit of testimony, and generated a warmth of Christian affection that largely constitutes the distinguishing bond of Methodism.

With this provision for Christian fellowship he organized a system of accurate supervision, by the appointment of an order of sub-pastors, or leaders, whose mission it should be to watch over the individuals intrusted to their care to an extent beyond the power of the ordained pastorate. The wisdom of this appointment all must acknowledge who are familiar with the tendencies of human nature to recede from that position into which they have been brought in times of religious revival, and to renounce their allegiance to God. An eminent prelate has well said, that nothing in Methodism more evinces the far-seeing sagacity of Wesley than his expedient to supply to his followers at once the opportunities for fellowship with the minutest oversight of individual interests.

It may well be doubted whether the social economy of Methodism could have been sustained without those wondrous spiritual songs which form the liturgy of the Methodist Church. The hymns of the Wesleys are undeniably the finest exponents of every phase of inner life that uninspired genius has ever given to enrich the psalmody of the Church. They strike every note in the possible of human experience from despairing penitence up to ecstatic assurance, from tremulous doubt to an exultant faith that smiles serenely amid the wreck of earthly hopes, and sings its jubilate in anticipation of the coming inheritance. The hymns of the Wesleys have shaped the experimental life of the Church, they have given it an impress of joy, and for the last century have made it the singing Church of Christendom, to witness before the world that Christianity is not to walk the ages robed in mourning, but with the light of heaven sparkling in her eye. Clad in garments of praise, with thanksgiving and the voice of melody, she is to testify that "happy is that people that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord."

No statement of Wesley's power to organize would be complete without marking the comprehensiveness of his aims, which gave him an elevation that seemed to overlook the ages, and

anticipate the demands of an advancing civilization. Long before Methodism had built a school or college Wesley had provided a series of elementary books to aid his untutored converts in the attainment of an adequate education. Recognizing the forces that slumber in cheap literature, he let loose these forces in tracts, pamphlets, and magazines, ere yet men had dreamed of organizing tract societies. He thundered with strong invective against the liquor traffic a hundred years prior to the birth of prohibition, and sought to educate his followers to just conceptions of the political issues of their times. Whatever would give strength, endurance, and beauty to the Church; whatever would fit its members in the highest and noblest sense to make the best of both worlds, this great master-builder pressed into service and consecrated to God. Every type of Methodism over all the earth is at the present instinct with the organizing genius of Wesley. This has given to it permanence and power, and must project its influence along the line of its entire history.

Manifold are the lessons which the history of John Wesley as a revivalist suggests. Let none suppose that the highest culture unfits for the revival work of the Church. The finest scholarship may be associated with the most enthusiastic zeal for the salvation of men.

Let none suppose that ministerial power must decline when the freshness and buoyancy of early manhood depart. With advancing years the influence and usefulness of Wesley's ministry increased, and the splendor of its even-tide far surpassed the glory of its dawn.

Whoever aspires to fill the horizon of this life with highest benediction to his race, and gather glory to himself that shall be enduring as the Eternal, let him emulate the spirit of Wesley and the grandeur of his consecration.

Sun of the morning, that openest the gates of the day, and comes blushing o'er the land and the sea, why marchest thou to thy throne in the heavens, filling the firmament with splen-

dor? Why, but to symbolize the coming glory of the spiritually wise. "They that be wise shall shine as the firmament."

Star of the midnight hour, that has shone on patriarch and prophet, waking the wonder and admiration of ages and generations, why thy ceaseless burning? Why, but to show the abiding brilliance of the soul-winner. "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever."

# WESLEY THE FOUNDER OF METHODISM.

FOUNDER! How may this word, so human, be applied to any thing so divine as the Church of God?

No man nor set of men can create a Christian Church. Its underlying principles and its sacraments are of God. Its ends, its sanctions, its authority and its power, are all divine. God made the Church; it is his.

But God made men also, and uses them as ministers in his Church, and when there is need, as reformers. This divine institution has a providential relation to times and places. Its truths change not, but they may be rescued from oblivion or perversion. Its ordained agencies may be conformed to new conditions of operation. This adaptation is committed under Providence to *men*—to men who have "understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do." These chosen instruments seldom discern the full force of their measures. They are led by a way they know not; "they build wiser than they know." The providential man is prepared and also *prepared for*. The occasion comes; he responds to its demands and does more than he is aware of. History magnifies him and posterity thinks more of him than did his own generation.

Without irreverence or derogating from the honor of the Head of the Church this providential man may be called a *founder*. Such instruments has God raised up all along the ages. They make eras in ecclesiastical history.

Martin Luther was a founder. See the Lutheran Church, whose strength in Europe can hardly be conceived of from what we see of it in America. Like all providential work, the moral forces put in operation overflowed the limits of the

Church founded by him. The influence of Luther is not to be measured by Lutheranism.

Other branches of the Church, though the nomenclature may not point to them, can be traced to founders. Knox and his collaborators formulated the polity and creed of the Presbyterians; Robinson, of the Congregationalists, of whom the Puritans of New England came; Zinzendorf and his zealous company, of the Moravians.

On account of its relations to the State the Church of England may be traced to coördinate founders, Henry VIII. representing the secular and Cranmer the spiritual. Without these two men, it might be said the Church of England would not have been at all, or it would have been different from what it is. To an Anglican or American high Churchman who, in ignorance of history, should taunt me because John Wesley was the founder of Methodism, my answer would be: Considering John Wesley and Henry Tudor as providential instruments in founding Churches, I prefer John to Henry.

Now and then a great thinker arises who is not an organizer. He develops and defines a system of doctrine negatively, by eliminating and rejecting certain accepted opinions; positively, by bringing forward into clearer light and stronger position certain other opinions logically related. But there is not formed, as there may not be needed, any ecclesiastical organism for embodying and promoting this system. Such a man is not the founder of a Church, but of a school of thought in the Church. Of this kind were Augustine, Calvin, Arminius, Edwards, Hopkins, and Newman.

Even the four Gospels bear the individual impress of their inspired authors. The style of the man is seen and felt in the deliverances of the apostle. So we shall see in their work something of the character of the men who are instrumental in shaping the outward form of a Church, and by whose labors its membership is built up. This admission of the *human* element and influence is consistent with the divine origin and

authority of the Church. Its truths abide, its principles change not, because they are of God. But the providential adaptation by which they are brought to bear on the world, in accordance with providential circumstances, *these* are of human devising. Bible doctrines cannot be increased or diminished; but they may be presented, and systematically arranged, more or less clearly and consistently. Be not startled, then, or offended at the use of this word *founder*. Those who most object to it, as applied to *their* branch of the Church, furnish in their history the strongest examples of its presence and power. Laud founded high Churchism; Pusey, the later and equally-marked Tractarian school in the Church of England. To these systems they stand related as father and child. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, as founded by Bishop White, underwent a transformation by Hobart and those of his following, even while books and standards remained the same.

One may trace the hand of Hall, of Carson, of Spurgeon, of Broadus among the Baptists. Passing through the Annual Conferences governed by the same book of Discipline, one may discern the types of influential men—dead or living—impressed upon them. The Conferences are marked in their individuality from this source in spite of connectionalism. Strong men—strongly willing and thinking and acting—*must* be seen in whatever they touch; they cannot help it. God makes them and has use for them. We may not glory in them, but we may magnify the grace of God in them.

We accept the phrase "Methodism and its *founders*." These founders originated no new principles, but continued and emphasized old ones; they discovered no new truths, but rescued and stressed old ones that had gone out of fashion; they created no new moral forces, but, following providential openings, they took advantage of those that had been unused, or misused, or disused.

In the second quarter of the last century appeared John

Wesley and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield and John Fletcher, with a band of men whose hearts God had touched. They were the founders of Methodism, which has come to be accepted as the religious movement of the eighteenth century. A writer in the *North American Review*, (January, 1876,) presenting the religious history of the United States for the one hundred years then closing, says: "The rise of this great and influential body must be viewed as the most signal religious fact which the past century presents."

The four names given show a remarkable combination. Fletcher was the dialectician; not loving controversy, but doing it sweetly and sharply and wonderfully well, and forging weapons for the defense of the Methodist doctrines that have won many a victory in humbler hands. Whitefield was the orator; he arrested and conciliated public attention, gathered crowds that no roof could shelter, and took to field-preaching, in which his example was followed, for reaching the people. Charles Wesley furnished songs, and put the Methodist experience and precepts into meter. He was the poet. Of these several gifts John Wesley had a large share. He was all these and more. He was the organizer, the spiritual governor. *He was the founder.*

# METHODIST DOCTRINE.

THE term Methodism was, some hundred years since, a watch-word of contempt for a body of fanatics supposed to hold some new religious doctrines, to profess some strange experiences, and to arrogate to themselves a peculiar commission from Heaven. To many it is a watch-word of reproach still. But it has, nevertheless, rooted itself firmly in the nomenclature of the Christian Church. Evangelical Christendom generally agrees with those who bear it to accept the term as a human designation of a system of thought and action which it has pleased the Head of the Church to take into his plans for the spread of his kingdom in these later days. Its history has produced a very general conviction that the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life ecclesiastical, has added this to the corporate bodies of our common Christianity. Meanwhile, not solicitous about the judgments of men, it is commending itself to God by doing faithfully the work appointed for it in the world. Its sound—or rather, the sound of the Gospel by its lips—has gone out into all the earth. It is slowly diffusing its leaven through almost every form of corrupt Christianity; it is silently impressing its influence, acknowledged or unacknowledged, upon the uncorrupt Churches of Christendom; while, as an independent and self-contained organization, it is erecting its firm superstructure in many lands.

This last fact implies that the system has its varieties of form. Methodism is a genus of many species. The central term has gathered round it various adjectives or predicates which express more or less important differences. But the term itself remains a bond of union among all these; a bond which will be, as it has been hitherto, permanent and indestructible, if the type of doctrine of which it is the symbol shall be maintained in its integ-

rity. For, though Methodism began as a life, that life was quickened and nourished by its teaching; its teaching has sustained it in vigor; and to its teaching is mainly committed its destiny in the future. The object of the following pages will be to indicate briefly, but sharply, that type of doctrine. It must be premised, however, that there will be no systematic exhibition of its tenets illustrated by definitions, quotations, and historical developments generally. The scope assigned to this paper in the programme of the present volume allows only of a few general remarks.

The subject takes us back to the beginning of the great movement. There are two errors which we have at once to confront: that of assigning a doctrinal origin to the system, and that of making its origin entirely independent of doctrine.

The founders of Methodism—*sit venia verbo*—did not, like the Reformers of the sixteenth century, find themselves face to face with a Christianity penetrated through and through by error. They accepted the doctrinal standards of the English Church; and the subscription both of their hands and of their hearts they never revoked. What is more, they adhered to the emphatic interpretation of these standards as contained in liturgical and other formularies. Nothing was further from their thought than to amend either the one or the other in the dogmatic sense. Though they clearly perceived that certain truths and certain aspects of truth had been kept too much in the background, and therefore gave them special prominence, they never erected these revived doctrines into a new confession. They did not isolate the truths they so vehemently preached; but preached them as necessary to the integrity of the Christian faith. The strength of their incessant contention was this, that men had ceased to see and feel what they nevertheless professed to believe. It was a widespread delusion concerning the Revival in the last century, and it is not quite exploded in this century, that its promoters pretended to be the recipients and organs of a new dispensation: modern Montanists, as it were,

deeming themselves the special instruments of the Holy Ghost, charged to revive apostolic doctrines and usages which had been lost through intervening ages. Neither earlier nor later Methodism has ever constructed a creed or confession of faith. It never believed that any cardinal doctrine has been lost; still less, that its own commission was to restore such forgotten tenets. Its modest and simple revivals of early practice are such as Christian communities in all ages have felt it their privilege to attempt; but these have never touched the hem of the garment of Christian primitive truth. To sum up in one word: Methodism, as the aggregate unity of many bodies of Christian people, is not based upon a confession, essentially and at all points peculiar to itself, which all who adhere to its organization must hold.

On the other hand, it is no less an error to disregard the theological character which was stamped from the very beginning on this branch of the great Revival. Never was there a work wrought by the Holy Ghost in the Christian Church which was not the result of the enforcement of Christian truth; and never was such a work permanent which did not lay the foundations of its durability in more or less systematized doctrine. Now it was one of the peculiarities of Methodism that it threw around all its organization, and every department of it, a doctrinal defense. The discourses which produced so wonderful an effect in every corner of England were, as delivered, and are now, as preserved, models of theological precision. There is not one of them which does not pay the utmost homage to dogmatic truth; and it is a fact of profound importance in the history of this community, that the very sermons which, under God, gave the movement its life, still form the standard of its theological profession. No more remarkable tribute to the connection between ecclesiastical life and ecclesiastical doctrine can be found in the history of Christendom. It is customary to ascribe the stability of the new economy to the wonderful organizing genius of its founder; it may be questioned

whether his zeal for solid dogma has not a right to be included. Certain it is, that early Methodism had a sound theological training; theology preached in its discourses, sang in its hymns, shaped its terms of communion, and presided in the discussions of its conferences. Hence its stability in comparison of other results of the general awakening. The mystical Pietists of Germany, quickened by the same breath, threw off, to a great extent, the fetters of dogmatic creed; they retired from the external Church, disowned its formularies, gathered themselves within a garden doubly inclosed, cultivated the most spiritual and unworldly personal godliness, but made no provision for permanence and for posterity. Methodism, on the other hand, while steadily aiming at the perfection of the interior life kept a vigilant eye on the construction of its peculiar type of theology. That was always in steady progress. It had not reached its consummation when the old Societies of the eighteenth century were consolidated into the Church of the nineteenth. But all the elements were there: some of them, indeed, indeterminate and confused; some of them involving troublesome inconsistencies; others of them giving latitude for abiding differences of opinion; but on the whole supplying the materials of what may now be called a set type of confessional theology.

For that type no name already current can be found; in default of any other, it must be called the Methodist type. But that term is no sooner written than it demands protection. It may seem at once to suggest the idea of an eclectic system of opinion. But, apart from the discredit into which this word eclectic has fallen, whether in the philosophical or in the theological domain, it is not applicable here. The staple and substance of Methodist theology is essentially that of the entire Scripture as interpreted by the catholic evangelical tradition of the Christian Church. It holds the three Creeds, the only confessions of the Faith which ever professed to utter the unanimous voice of the body of Christ on earth; and, so far as these three Creeds were ever accepted by universal Christendom, it accepts

them, with only such reservations as do not affect doctrine. Among the later confessions—the badges of a divided Christendom—it holds the Articles of the Church from which it sprang: holds them, that is, in their purely doctrinal statements. The eclectic hand has done no more than select for prominence such views of truth as have been neglected; never has it culled from this or that Formulary any spoil to make its own. It has no more borrowed from the Remonstrant Arminians than it has borrowed from the Protestant Lutherans. It agrees with both these so far as they express the faith of the New Testament; but no further. It has had, indeed, in past times a conventional connection with the name Arminian; but its Arminianism is simply the mind of the Catholic Church down to the time of Augustine; and with the historical Arminianism that degenerated in Holland it has no affinity. It might be said, with equal propriety or want of propriety, that it has learned some of its lessons from Calvinism. Certainly it has many secret and blessed relations with that system; not with its hard, logical, deductive semi-fatalism, over which Absolute Sovereignty reigns with such awful despotism, but with its deep appreciation of union with Christ, and of the Christian privileges bound up with that high principle.

But to return. The simple fact is, that any truly catholic confession of faith must seem to be eclectic: for there are no bodies of professed Christians, even to the outskirts of Christendom, which do not hold some portions of the truth; while it may be said that many of them hold some particular truth with a sharper and more consistent definition of it than others. But a really catholic system must embrace all these minor peculiarities; and in proportion as it does so, it will seem to have borrowed them. In this sense, the defenders of Methodist theology admit that it is eclectic. They claim to hold all essential truth; to omit no articles but those which they consider erroneous; and to disparage none but those which they deem unessential. This, of course, is a high

pretension, but it is not a vainglorious one; for surely it is the prerogative of every Christian community to glory in holding "the faith once delivered to the saints." And as it is with the doctrines, so it is with the spirit, of Methodist teaching. In this also it is, after a fashion, eclectic, as it sympathizes with those who make it their boast that they know no other theology than the biblical, and is as biblical as they. It also agrees with those who think that divinity is a systematic science, to be grounded and organized as such; while with almost all its heart it joins the company of Mystics, whose supreme theologian is the interior Teacher, and who find all truth in the experimental vision and knowledge of God in Christ.

We have to say a few words upon certain peculiarities in the doctrinal position of Methodism. But it is a pleasant preface to dwell for a moment on the broad expanse of catholic evangelical truth, concerning which it has no peculiarities, or no peculiarities that affect Christian doctrine. To begin where all things have their beginning, with the being, triune essence, and attributes of God; his relation to the universe as its Creator and providential Governor; his revelation of himself in nature: this supreme truth it holds against all atheism, antitheism, pantheism, and materialism. The unity of mankind, created in the image of God; fallen into guilt and depravity in Adam; restored through the intervention of the Son of God, who offered a vicarious atonement for the whole race, and is now carrying on the holy warfare for man, and in man, and with man, against the personal devil and his kingdom of darkness: this it holds against all who deny the incarnation of the divine Son, one Person in two natures forever. The divinity and economical offices of the Eternal Spirit of the Father and the Son, the source of all good in man; the inspirer of all holy Scripture; the administrator of a finished redemption to sinful men convinced by his agency on their minds, justified through faith in the atonement which he reveals to the heart, and sanctified to the uttermost by his energy within the soul, operating through

the means of grace established in the Church over which he presides, and revealing its power in all good works done in the imitation of Christ: all this it holds against the Pelagian, Antinomian, and Rationalist dishonor to the Holy Ghost. The solemnities of death, resurrection, and eternal judgment, conducted by the returning Christ, and issuing in the everlasting severance between good and evil, the evil being banished from God's presence forever, and the good blessed eternally with the beatific vision: all this, too, it holds with fear and trembling, but with assured confidence that the Judge will vindicate his righteousness forever. In this general outline we have all the elements of the apostles' doctrine and the truth of God. And with regard to these substantial and eternal verities, the system of doctrine we now consider is one with all communions that may be regarded as holding the Head.

But while it is true that these everlasting verities can undergo no change, they may all of them undergo certain modifications of statement in the gradual development of confessional theology. It is needless to ask why the Spirit of truth has permitted this; we have only to accept the fact that this has been his will. In the earliest ages of the Church he overruled the decisions of synods and councils for the defense and clearer manifestation of Christian doctrine. In later times we see, with equal and even more distinctness, the operation of the same law. He has administered the affairs of the kingdom of Christ on the principle of raising up distinct societies or denominations rivaling and emulating each other, rallying round their respective expositions of the common faith, and turning their distinct and distinctive charisms to the profit of the universal cause. For these diversities of teaching he is to some extent responsible, but not for their mutual contentions; and he knows how to educe, through the process of ages, the perfect truth from our discordant confessions. We must not ask if he will ever reduce them all to harmony; or whether, which is more probable, the Lord's personal coming shall supersede them all.

Our business is to guard well the deposit committed to us in our several communions; differing charitably where we differ; seeking to give and receive all the light we can; and waiting for the coming day, which will be a day of general revelation.

Meanwhile, let us note a few of those peculiar aspects of the several doctrines mentioned above which Methodism humbly and reverently, but confidently, regards as part of its appointed testimony. The attempt to sketch these is one of great difficulty, and of all the greater difficulty because of the brevity which is necessary. It would not be a hopeless task to exhibit the salient points of this type of doctrine at length, and with abundant use of the ample material which a century has provided. Such a task must one day be accomplished; but it is probably reserved for the next generation. It will have to locate Methodist doctrine generally in its true place in confessional theology; to adjust it with the other great formularies of Christendom; to study its own development from point to point; to reconcile it on some subjects with itself, and to show how, amid some vacillations in certain doctrines, it has, nevertheless, steadily converged to one issue, even as it regards those doctrines themselves; to mark the deviations of which some bodies bearing the generic name have been guilty, or seem likely to be so; to aim at some such clear accentuation of contested points as shall make their common teaching more emphatically one; and, finally, what is perhaps most important of all, to indicate the specific effect which its specific doctrines have had upon the whole constitution, agency, work, and successes of the general system called Methodism. But all this is in the future. What the present paper aims at, is only to note a few peculiarities, which the reader must expand for himself. And it may be as well to add, that the writer of it is only expressing his own conviction. He has, of course, an objective standard before him in a variety of standards. But the subjective standard must needs be applied even to them, and accordingly he must be responsible for his own judgments.

The doctrine of the most Holy Trinity might seem to be one in which there is no room for variety of sentiment among those who hold it: that is, the great bulk of the Christian world. But that doctrine is deeply affected both in itself and in its relation to the universe generally, and the economy of redemption in particular, by the view taken of the eternal Sonship of the second Person. Those who would efface the interior distinctions of generation and procession in the Godhead surrender much for which the earliest champions of orthodoxy fought. They take away from the intercommunion of the divine Persons its most impressive and affecting character; and they go far toward robbing us of the sacred mystery which unites the Son's exinanition in heaven with his humiliation as incarnate on earth. Now, we lay claim to no peculiar fidelity here, nor would this subject be mentioned, were it not that Methodism has had the high honor of vindicating the eternal Sonship in a very marked manner. It has produced some of the ablest defenses of this truth known in modern times; defenses which have shown how thoroughly it is interwoven with the fabric of Scripture, how vital it is to the doctrine of the incarnation, and how it may be protected from any complicity with subordinational Arianism. The transition from this to the person of Christ in the unity of his two natures is obvious. And here two remarks only need be made: first, that our doctrine—we may say henceforward our doctrine—is distinguished by its careful abstinence from speculation as to the nature of the Redeemer's self-emptying, simply holding fast the immutable truth that the Divine Son of God could not surrender the essence of his divinity; and, secondly, that in the unity of his Person he was not only sinless but also incapable of sin. Any one who watches the tendencies of modern theology, tendencies which betray themselves in almost all communities, and watches them with an intelligent appreciation of the importance of the issues involved, will acknowledge that this first note of honest glorying is not unjustified.

Turning to the mediatorial work which the Son became incarnate to accomplish, we have to note that the Methodist doctrine lays a special emphasis on its universal relation to the race of man, and deduces the consequences with a precision in some respects peculiar to itself.

For instance, it sees in this the true explanation of the vicarious or substitutionary idea, which is essential to sound evangelical theology, but is very differently held by different schools. There are two extremes that it seeks to avoid by blending the truths perverted by opposite parties. The vague generality of the old Arminian and Grotian theory, which makes the atonement only a rectoral expedient of the righteous God, who sets forth his suffering Son before the universe as the proof that law has been vindicated before grace begins to receive transgressors, was very current in England when Methodism arose. This was and still is confronted by the vigorous doctrine of substitution, which represents Christ to have taken at all points the very place of his elect, actually for them and only them, satisfying the dreadful penalty and holy requirements of the law. Throughout the whole current of Methodist theology there runs a mediating strain, which, however, it would take many pages to illustrate. It accepts the Arminian view that the holiness of God is protected by the atonement; but it insists on bringing in here the vicarious idea. The sin of Adam was expiated as representing the sin of the race as such, or of human nature, or of mankind: a realistic conception which was not borrowed from philosophic realism, and which no nominalism can ever really dislodge from the New Testament. "Christ gave himself as the mediator of God and men, a ransom for all before any existed; and this oblation before the foundation of the world was to be testified in due time, that individual sinners might know themselves to be members of a race vicariously saved as such." This free paraphrase of St. Paul's last testimony does not overstrain its teaching, that the virtue of the great reconciliation abolished the sentence of

death, in all its meaning, as resting upon the posterity of Adam. In this sense it was absolutely vicarious: the transaction in the mind and purpose of the most Holy Trinity did not take our presence or concurrence, only our sin, into account. Therefore the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world was, as it respects the race of Adam, an absolutely vicarious sacrifice. The reconciliation of God to the world—the atonement proper—must be carried up to the awful sanctuary of the Divine Trinitarian essence. When the atonement is translated into time, set forth upon the cross, and administered by the Spirit, the simple and purely vicarious idea is modified. Then come in the two other theories, which, as resting upon the background of the former, have great value; but, as displacing that, are utterly misleading. God, as the righteous protector of his law, declares his justice while he justifies the believer, and will not justify him save as he makes Christ's death his own through a faith which cries, "I am crucified with Christ." And God, as the Father of infinite love, commends his love in the sacrificial gift of his Son, not as if that alone should move us to lay down our opposition to his grace, but that the Spirit, teaching us how much it cost the Father to be reconciled to the world, might shed abroad that love in our individual hearts, and awaken in us the love that will imitate the Saviour's sacrifice and enter into the fellowship of his death to sin. With these modifications, as it respects the individual believer, does Methodism hold fast the doctrine of a universal vicarious satisfaction for the race. But marked prominence must be given to the consistency with which the universal benefit of the atonement has been carried out in its relation to original sin and the estate of the unregenerate world before God. Methodism not only holds that the condemnation of the original sin has been reversed; it also holds that the Holy Spirit, the source of all good, is given back to mankind in his preliminary influences as the Spirit of the coming Christ, the Desired of the nations. The general truth that Christ is the Light of the

world, enlightening every man that cometh into it—the spring of benefits to man that go out to the utmost circumference of his race—is held by our theology in common with many other schools. But we have our shades of peculiarity here; some rescuing the doctrine from unreality, and some protecting it from latitudinarian perversion. With regard to the former, Methodism affirms the restoration of the Spirit to have been an actual fruit of redemption, mitigating from the very beginning the consequences of original sin, whether as the curse of the law or as the transmission of a corrupt bias. It will not tolerate the irreverent distinction between common grace and special grace; believing that all grace was purchased at the cost of Christ's most precious blood, and is intended to lead to salvation. It therefore looks out upon the court of the Gentiles with catholic eyes: not regarding it as the sphere of absolute darkness and insensibility and death until the Spirit, administering the electing counsel, kindles here and there the spark of life to go out no more forever. It believes in a preparatory grace reigning in all the world; in a prevenient grace anticipating the gospel in every heart; and in both as a most precious free gift to mankind, answering in some sense to the dire gift of original sin. With regard to the latter, that is, the latitudinarian perversion, the Methodist doctrine lays great stress on the insufficiency of this preliminary grace. It does not allow, with some, that Christ is the seed of light and life in every man that cometh into the world, and in this sense the root and center of all human nature. He was, indeed, and is, the desire of the nations to whom he was not revealed; but not a desire attained and fulfilled until he was manifested in the flesh. How he will deal with the multitudes of the human race who have had only this subordinate and comparatively faint attraction—how and in what ways unknown to us he has responded to it or will respond to it—are questions which must be left to the "Lord of the dead and the living," the Shepherd of those "other sheep." He is, and will ever be, "Jesus Christ the

righteous." So with regard to the secret influence that prepares for him in every heart; which is stimulated by the spirit of conviction into vehement penitent desire. This preparation of preliminary grace develops into much vigorous life; but we hold it not to be regenerate life until the Son is formed in the heart. Until then, let the latitudinarians say what they will, the word of Scripture holds its truth: "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature;" a word spoken, be it remembered, in connection with the apostle's assertion of the general reconciliation of God to the world.

The blessings of the Christian covenant, administered and imparted by the Holy Ghost, which constitute the state of grace, are so simply set forth in the New Testament that there is not much room for difference of opinion among those whose views of the atonement are sound. We hold them, in common with all who hold the Head, to be one great privilege flowing from union with Christ, in whom we are complete; and that this great privilege of acceptance is administered both externally and internally. But, as we are dwelling on shades of difference, we may observe that the Methodist theology lays more stress than most others upon the fact that in every department of the common blessing there is both an external and an internal administration. Every one of them bears at once a forensic, or imputative, or declaratory character; while every one of them bears also a moral, or internal, or inwrought meaning. If there is a forensic justification, declaring in the mediatorial court where law reigns unto righteousness, and the atonement is a satisfaction to justice; there is also a principle of obedience implanted, through which the righteousness of the law is to be fulfilled. These are inseparable in time and eternity: none but those who have a finished righteousness imparted will be hereafter pronounced righteous for Christ's sake; and when righteousness is so complete as to bear the scrutiny of Heaven, it will need to be sheltered from the unforgetting law by an imputed righteousness and an eternal pardon.

Remembering this always, Methodism holds very light the Romanizing disparagement of justification by faith on the one hand, and the Calvinistic disparagement of justification by works on the other. The righteous God is one, and there is but one righteousness: that which man's guilt needs, Christ has provided in his atonement; that which God's holiness demands, the Holy Spirit of Christ will accomplish. The same may be said with regard to the believer's relation to the Father through his union with the incarnate Son. It has its external and declaratory character as an investiture with certain specific privileges, all of which are summed up in the word "adoption;" but these would have no meaning—they would, in fact, be an unreality—unless there was inwardly imparted also the gift of regenerate life, which is the Son of God formed in the soul by the Holy Ghost. Similarly, with regard to the blessing of sanctification, which carries us into the temple of God, as justification carries us into the mediatorial law court, and regeneration into the Father's house. Perhaps our Methodist theology has not been so definite as to the external and internal character of this third order of evangelical privilege. The term "sanctification" has been generally referred to the interior operations of grace, by a conventional consent that is easily explained. But really, though somewhat informally, this distinction has been observed. There is the consecration to God on the altar, which corresponds to justification at the bar: the sprinkled soul, with all that it has and is, is accepted of God, is dedicated to him in act inspired by the Holy Ghost, and is sanctified to his service. It is regarded as set apart from sin and the world, though as yet the severance may not be, what it will be, absolute and complete. It is counted as *entire* sanctification, though the *sanctification* may not be entire. Around these three centers of blessing—one in Christ Jesus—revolve, according to this theology, as according to the New Testament, all the privileges of the new covenant. The soul is set right with the law, is received as a son, and is sanctified in the temple. In the first,

Jesus is the advocate and his atonement a satisfaction; in the second, he is the first-born among many brethren, and his atonement is the reconciliation; in the third, he is the high-priest, and his atonement is a sacrifice for sins. In the court of law the Holy Spirit is the convincer of sin to the transgressor, assuring him of pardon; in the home he is the Spirit of adoption to the prodigal, witnessing, together with his regenerate spirit, that he is a child of God; and he is in the temple the silent, indwelling seal of consecration.

But this leads to the doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit, which has been sometimes regarded as a Methodist peculiarity. By many it is set down as a specimen of what may be called an inductive theology; that is, as a formula for certain experiences enjoyed by the early converts of the system. Now, there can be no question that there is some truth in this. The experiences of multitudes who felt suddenly and most assuredly delivered from the sense of condemnation, enabled to pray to God as a reconciled father, and conscious of their sanctification to his service, may be said to have anticipated the confirmation of the word of God. They first read in their own hearts what they afterward read in their Bibles. For that the induction of experience coincides in this with biblical induction is most certain. That it is the privilege of those who are new creatures in Christ Jesus, and have passed from death unto life, to know the things that are freely given them of God, cannot be denied by any who, with unprejudiced eyes, read the New Testament. In fact, the general principle is admitted in all communions, the differences among them having reference either to certain restrictions in the evidence itself, or to the medium through which it is imparted. A large portion of Christendom unite this witness with sacramental means and ordinances; making personal assurance of salvation dependent on priestly absolution, either with or without a sacrament devised for the purpose. Another, and almost equally large body of Christian teachers, make this high privilege a special blessing vouch-

safed to God's elect as the fruit or reward of long discipline and the divine seal upon earnest perseverance; but, when imparted, this assurance includes the future as well as the past, and is the knowledge of an irreversible decree of acceptance which nothing can avail to undermine however much it may be occasionally clouded. The Methodist doctrine is distinguished from these by a few strong points which it has held with deep tenacity from the beginning. It believes that the witness of the Spirit to the spirit in man is direct and clear; distinct from the word, and from the faith that lays hold on the word, though closely connected with both. It is not separated from the testimony which is believed; for, implicitly or explicitly, the promise in Christ must be apprehended by faith. But faith in this matter is rather trust in a Person than belief of a record; and that trust is distinct from the assurance He gives, though that assurance follows so hard upon it that in the supreme blessedness of appropriating confidence they are scarcely to be distinguished. While the faith itself may be always firm, the assurance may be sometimes clouded and uncertain. Neither can co-exist with lapse into sin; and therefore the witness may be suspended, or may be indeed finally lost. It is the assurance of faith only for the present; only the assurance of hope for the future. It may be calm in its peace, or may be quickened into rapture. But it must be confirmed by the testimony of a good conscience; while, on the other hand, it is often the silencer of a conscience unduly disturbed. It is, to sum up, in all types of Methodist theology—whatever abuses it may suffer in some Methodist conceptions of it—no other than the soul's consciousness of an indwelling Saviour through the secret and inexplicable influence of his Holy Spirit.

Perhaps the most eminent peculiarity of the type of doctrine called Methodist is its unfaltering assertion of the believer's privilege to be delivered from indwelling sin in the present life. Its unfaltering assertion: for although varying very much on some subordinate matters of statement as to the means

of attainment and the accompanying assurance, it has always been faithful to the central truth itself. Its unfaltering assertion: for in the maintenance of this it has met with the most determined hostility, not only from such opponents as deny the doctrines of grace generally, but also from those whose evangelical theology in general and whose high sanctity give their opposition a very painful character and make it very embarrassing.

It cannot be too distinctly impressed that the one element in the Methodist doctrine that may be called distinctive, is the article that the work of the Spirit in sanctifying believers from sin—from all that in the divine estimate is sin—is to be complete in this state of probation. This is the hope it sees set before us in the Gospel, and this, therefore, it presses upon the pursuit and attainment of all who are in Christ. This is, in the judgment of many, its specific heresy; this, in its own judgment, is its specific glory. It may be said that the suppression and destruction of inbred sin, or, as St. Paul calls it, indwelling sin, is the one point where its aim is beyond the general aim. A long *catena* of ecclesiastical testimonies bears witness that a high doctrine of Christian perfection has been taught in all ages, and in many communities; coming, in some instances, within a hair's-breadth of this, but shrinking back from the last expression of the truth. The best of the ascetics and mystics of ancient and modern times both taught and exemplified a high standard of purification from sin, interior illumination, and supernatural union with God; but, whether from misconceived humility or lack of the highest triumph of faith, they invariably reserved the secret residue of evil as necessary to human discipline. This last fetter Methodism will not reserve; its doctrine pursues the alien and the enemy into its most interior stronghold, and destroys it there; so that the temple of God in the human spirit shall be not only emptied of sin, but swept also from every trace that it had been there, and garnished with all the graces of the divine image. It reads and

fearlessly interprets all those clauses in the charter of grace which speak of the destruction of the body of sin, of putting off the old man, of crucifying the flesh unto death, of an entire sanctification of man's whole nature, of a preservation in faultlessness, of a perfect love casting out fear, of being purified as Christ is pure, and of the love of God perfected in the human soul. Against this array of testimonies there is no argument that comes from God; there is no contradictory array of scriptural testimonies. Redemption from the flesh spiritually understood, is not made synonymous or simultaneous with redemption from the flesh physically interpreted. No sin can pass the threshold of life, for the expurgation of intermediate fires of discipline; and there is no provision in heaven for the destruction of evil. Death itself cannot take the office of the atoning blood and the purifying Spirit. Then it follows that the final stroke must be in the present life; the atonement is not more certainly a finished work than the application of it by the Holy Ghost; the Spirit's "It is finished" must needs follow the Son's, and in a voice that speaks on earth. All Scripture speaks of a holy discipline, longer or shorter, effectual in all branches of ethics and of the imitation of Christ and of charity to man, which precedes it; and of a continual advancement in every thing heavenly that follows it: but there must be a sacred moment of final deliverance from what God sees as sin in the soul. This is Christian perfection—a word which is essentially conditioned: a word which, indeed, is not affected by Methodist theology; and, when used, is always guarded by its necessary adjectives of Christian, evangelical, and relative.

Something has been said of the inductive character of Methodist doctrine generally, and with special reference to its views of personal assurance as being much built upon personal experience. Now it must be asserted that with regard to the present doctrine of an entire deliverance from sin, the induction was primarily and pre-eminently a scriptural one. Meth-

odism began to announce this high and most sacred possibility of the Christian life very early; in fact, long before any experience of its own verified the announcement: and it has continued the testimony until now altogether apart from the vouchers of living witnesses. Its principle has been that God's word must be true, and his standard the right one, however the lives of the saints may halt behind it. At the same time, it cannot be denied that in the historical development of the Methodist doctrine itself, the induction of its own experiences has played an important part, and not always a satisfactory one. Time would fail, and it would be an ungrateful task, to explain in what sense it has been sometimes unsatisfactory. Suffice to say, that some forms of the doctrine assert, with more or less of positiveness, what cannot be maintained by the warranty of the Bible; based upon experimental inductions not controlled by Scripture. The "second blessing" is sometimes confounded with the first, as if an entire consecration to God, which is the perfect beginning only, were an entire sanctification from all sin; a blessing, it may be, yet far in the distance. The effusion of divine love in the soul, sometimes to so full a degree as to make the possibility of sinning a strange thought to the soul, is sometimes mistaken for that "perfected love" of which it is only the earnest. We must go to St. John's first Epistle—the last testimony of the Bible—for our doctrine on this subject. Now that Epistle gives the most explicit assurance that there is set before the aspiration of the saint a perfected and finished operation of divine love, the triumph of which is the extinction of sin and fear. But it is observable, that before the last testimony to love in man as perfected, we have three testimonies to the gradual operation of the love of God in us, which carry it into the three departments of the covenant of grace mentioned above. First, into that of law: "Whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected." Perfected love is, in the estimation of God, the fulfilling of the righteousness of the law, and its triumph is bound up with our habitual obedi-

ence in all things. Secondly, into the department of sonship: "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us." Universal, boundless, self-sacrificing charity —for such is the pattern of Christ's charity—is the condition as well as the goal of perfected love. Thirdly, into the temple of consecration: "He that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein is our love"—love with us—"made perfect." Abstraction from all created desire, and supreme union with God, is also both the condition and the crown of perfected love. Much more might be written on this subject: but this is enough. Notwithstanding every drawback, it still remains that the testimony borne for a century to the highest privileges of the Christian covenant is the glory of its theology. It has stimulated the religious life of countless multitudes. It has kept before the eyes of the people formed by it the one supreme thought, that Christianity is a religion which has one only goal, whether in the Church or in the individual—the destruction of sin. And we believe the day is coming when the Church of God upon earth will have given to it an enlarged heart to receive this doctrine in all its depth and fullness.

Slight as this sketch has been, it has not omitted any point that may be fairly included in the differentia of the theology called Methodist. Of course, it has its specific type of presentation in the case of many articles of the creed; but it would be an endless task to dwell upon these, especially as in regard to some of them there is no definite standard among Methodist people. They claim a certain latitude in the minor developments of central truths; and are as free in the non-essentials as they are rigid in the essentials of the faith. The body of divines whose theology is thus described are far from being bound to a system stereotyped and reticulated in its minutest detail. While the slightest deviation from what may be here called orthodoxy or fundamental doctrine never fails to awaken the keenest sensibility, and any thing like vital error is infallibly detected and cast out, there is a very large tolerance on

subordinate matters. That tolerance some may think carried too far; but be that as it may, it exists, and it always will exist. This may be illustrated by two topics, in themselves of vital importance, but the aspects of which vary to different minds. One is the inspiration of Holy Scripture. The general truth that the Bible is, from beginning to end, the fruit of the Spirit's agency and the authoritative standard of faith, directory of morals and charter of privileges, is firmly and universally held: Methodism knows no vacillation here. It is free from the error which enlarges the limits of the canon, on the one hand, with the Romanists; and from that which contracts them by making the word of God a certain something within the Bible which men must find for themselves. It does not admit the concurrent endowment of the Church with a perpetual inspiration: thus introducing two voices, that of Scripture and that of the Church, one of which may contradict or neutralize the other. It has never shared the laxity of the Reformers and of the Arminians as to certain books and certain degrees of inspiration: no modern theology is more faithful to the plenary authority of Scripture; none approaches nearer than it does to the high strain of the early fathers. But, inasmuch as Scripture itself never defines or gives the sense of its own inspiration, Methodism does not attempt to supply its deficiency, and define what is undefinable. It leaves, for instance, the many vexed questions which crowd around what is called verbal inspiration, and the uncertainty of the text here and there arising from the withdrawal of the autographs, and the methods of reconciling the seeming discrepancies of Scripture, to conscientious and enlightened private judgment. It allows the same latitude here, no more no less, that every evangelical community allows. But no community falls back more absolutely or more implicitly than Methodism upon the supreme defense of the entire Bible which our Lord's authority gives it: of the Old Testament Scriptures as we hold them by his own word; of the New Testament Scriptures by his Spirit. It cannot be

said that it is more swayed than others by the self-evidencing light of the word of God; but certainly none are more swayed by it. And it may be asserted with confidence, though without boasting, that there is no communion in Christendom the theological writings of which are so universally free from the tincture of doubt or suspicion as to the supremacy of the Bible. This is not—as some would affirm—through the lack of either independent thought or biblical culture; this loyalty of Methodism rests upon the best of all foundations.

Another is the doctrine of the sacraments. Methodist teaching has, from the beginning, mediated here between two extremes which need not be more particularly defined: in that mediation keeping company with the Anglican Formularies, and the Presbyterian Westminster Confession, both of which raise them above mere signs, and lay stress on their being seals or pledges or instruments of the impartation of the grace signified to the prepared recipient. All its old standards, including its hymns, bear witness to this; they abundantly and irresistibly confirm our assertion as to the sacramental idea generally. As to the two ordinances in particular, there can be no doubt that the sentiments of the various Methodist communions run through a wide range. Recoil from exaggerated doctrine has led many toward the opposite extreme; and a large proportion of their ministers put a very free construction upon their standards, and practically regard the two sacraments as badges simply of Christian profession, the Eucharist being to them a special means of grace in the common sense of the phrase. There is a wide discretion allowed in this matter, and the wisdom of this discretion is, on the whole, justified. With that question, however, we have nothing to do here; our only object being to state the case as it is.

But this essay must be closed, leaving untouched many subjects which naturally appeal for consideration. Something ought to be said as to the controversial aspect of this theology. But leaving that for other essays, we have only to commend

the general principles of the Methodist theology to any strangers to it who may read these pages. They will find it clear and consistent, on the whole, as a human system, worthy of much more attention than it usually receives from the Christian world; and, what is of far more importance, they will find it pervaded by the "unction from the Holy One," which is the secret of all truth and of all edification.

# IDEAS WESLEY DEVELOPED IN ORGANIZING HIS SOCIETIES.

JOHN WESLEY has given currency to a set of divine ideas easily acted upon but not always clearly apprehended, which make up the sum of personal religion, and without which, it may be added, personal religion cannot exist. This is the philosophy of his career; perhaps very imperfectly understood by himself, probably never drawn out by him in a systematic form, yet sufficiently obvious to us who look back upon his completed life, and live amid the results of his labors. Immersed in the complexities of the game, the turmoil of the storm in which his busy life was cast, the unceasing struggle of his soul with the gigantic evils of the world, he could neither observe nor analyze, as we can do, the elements arrayed against him nor the principles evolved in the conflict that were ministrant to his success. As we are in the habit of instinctively raising the arm or lowering the eyelid to repel or shun danger, so he adapted measures and evolved truths by force of circumstances more than by forethought—those truths and measures so adapted to his position as a preacher of righteousness amid an opposing generation that we recognize in their adaptation and natural evolution proof of their divineness. They are the same truths which were exhibited in the first struggles of an infant Christianity with the serpent of paganism; and when exhibited again upon a like arena seventeen centuries afterward with similar success, are thus proved to be every-where and always the same, eternal as abstract truth, and essential as the existence of God.

The first grand truth thrown upon the surface of John

Wesley's career, we take to be *the absolute necessity of personal and individual religion.*

To the yoke of this necessity he himself bowed at every period of his history. Never, even when most completely astray as to the ground of the sinner's justification before God, did he fail to recognize the necessity of conversion, and of individual subjection to the laws of the Most High. What he required of others, and constantly taught, he cheerfully observed himself. Very soon after starting upon his course did he learn that the laver of baptism was unavailing to wash away the stain of human defilement; the Supper of the Lord, to secure admission to the marriage supper of the Lamb; and Church organization, to draft men collectively to heaven by simple virtue of its corporate existence. These delusions, whereby souls are beguiled to their eternal wrong, soon ceased to juggle him; for his eye, kindled to intelligence by the Spirit of God, pierced the transparent cheat. He ascertained at a very early period that the Church had no delegated power to ticket men in companies for a celestial journey, and sweep them railroad-wise in multitudes to their goal; consequently, that this power, where claimed or conceded, was usurpation on the one hand, and a compound of credulousness and servility on the other, insulting to God and degrading to man. But he began with himself. We suppose he never knew the hour in which he did not feel the need of personal religion to secure the salvation of the soul. He was happily circumstanced in being the son of pious and intelligent parents, who would carefully guard him against the prevalent errors on these points. He never could have believed presentation at the font to be salvation, nor the vicarious vow of sponsors to be a substitute for personal renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil: and he early showed this. When the time of his ordination drew nigh, and he was about to be inducted into the cure of souls, he was visited with great searchings of heart. His views of the mode of the sinner's acceptance with God

were confused, indeed; but on the subject of personal consecration they may be said never to have varied. Fighting his way, as he was called to do, through a lengthened period of experimental obscurity—"working out his salvation with fear and trembling"—we nevertheless cannot point to any moment in his spiritual history in which he was not a child of God. What an incomparable mother he must have had! What a hold must she have established upon his esteem and confidence, to whom this Fellow of a college referred his scruples and difficulties in view of his ordination, and whom his scholarly father bade him consult when his own studious habits and abundant occupations forbade correspondence with himself! Animated to religious feeling about this time, he made a surrender of himself to God; made in partial ignorance, but never revoked. "I resolved," he says, "to dedicate *all* my life to God, *all* my thoughts, and words, and actions; being thoroughly convinced there was no medium; but that *every part* of my life (not *some* only) must either be a sacrifice to God or myself, that is, in effect, to the devil." And his pious father, seconding his son's resolve, replies: "God fit you for your great work! fast, watch, and pray! believe, love, endure, and be happy!" And so he did, according to his knowledge; for a more conscientious clergyman and teacher, for the space of ten years, never lived than the Rev. John Wesley, Fellow and tutor of Lincoln.

But there was a whole world of spiritual experience yet untrodden by him amid the round of his college duties, ascetic practices, and abounding charities. His heart told him, and books told him, and the little godly company who met in his rooms all told him, in tones more or less distinct, that he had not yet attained; that he was still short of the mark; that the joys of religion escaped his reach, though its duties were unexceptionably performed. His course of reading, the mystic and ascetic writers, together with the dry scholastic divinity that furnishes the understanding but often drains the heart,

tended to this result—to fill the life with holy exercises rather than to overflow the soul with sacred pleasure. Of the simple, ardent, gladsome, gracious piety of the poor he yet knew next to nothing. But God was leading him through the wilderness of such an experience as this by a right way to a city of habitation, doubtless that he might be a wise instructor to others who should be involved hereafter in mazes like his own. He looked upon religion as a debt due by the creature to the Creator, and he paid it with the same sense of constraint with which one pays a debt, instead of regarding it as the ready service of a child of God. A child of God could not be other than religious; but, more than this, he would not if he could; religion is his "vital breath," his "native air."

But Wesley did not understand, as yet, the doctrine of free pardon, the new birth, and the life of faith; he, therefore, worked—conscientiously and laboriously worked—like a servant, and not like a son, of God. But God sent some poor Calvinists to teach him these truths; and he was not too proud to learn from very humble but sufficiently enlightened teachers—a few Moravian emigrants that sailed in the same vessel with him to Georgia. Their unaffected humility, unruffled good temper, and serenest self-possession in prospect of death when storms overtook the ship, struck him forcibly, and made him feel that they had reached an eminence in the divine life on which his college studies, extensive erudition, and pains-taking devotion had failed to land himself. He, therefore, sat himself at their feet; he verified the Scripture metaphor, and became "a little child." In nothing was the lofty wisdom of John Wesley, and his submission to divine teaching, more apparent than in this, that he made himself a fool that he might be wise. Salvation by grace, and the witness of the Spirit, were taught him by these God-fearing and happy Moravians; and his understanding became full of light. It was only, however, some three years afterward, subsequent to his return to England, which

took place in 1738, that the joy of this free, present, eternal salvation flowed in upon his soul. The peace of God which passeth all understanding took possession of heart and mind through Christ Jesus, and for fifty years afterward he never doubted, he never could doubt, of his acceptance with our Father who is in heaven. The sunshine of his soul communicated itself to his countenance, and lighted all his conversation. To speak with him seemed almost like speaking with an angel of God.

From that time he began to preach a new doctrine—a doctrine of privilege as well as duty; of acceptance through the Beloved, an assured sense of pardon, and the happiness of the service of God. And God gave him unlooked-for, unhoped-for success. Excluded by almost universal consent from the churches of the Establishment, he betook himself to barns and stable yards and inn rooms; and ultimately, with Whitefield, to the open air, to the streets and lanes of the city, to the hills and valleys, and to the commons and heaths of his native land; and with power and unction, with the Holy Ghost and much assurance, did he testify to each of his hearers the doctrines of personal repentance and faith, and the necessity of the new birth for the salvation of the soul. And signs and wonders followed in them that believed; multitudes were smitten to the ground under the sword of the Spirit; many a congregation was changed into a Bochim, a place of weeping; and amid sobs and tears and wailings beneath which the hearts of the most stubborn sinners quailed, one universal cry arose, "What must we do to be saved?" John Wesley's divine, simple, scriptural answer was, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

His personal experience of the efficacy of the prescription gave confidence to his advice. The physician had been healed himself first; he had been his own earliest patient; he knew the bitterness of the pain, the virulence of the disease, and had proved the sanative power of his remedy. The ordeal of

the new birth he had tried before recommending it to others. He had visited the pool of Bethesda, and could, therefore, speak well of its waters.

And well might it work such change, to have the necessity of personal religion insisted upon with such unprecedented particularity and pointedness. He singled out each hearer; he allowed no evasion amid the multitude; he showed how salvation was not by a church, nor by families, nor by ministers, nor by ordinances, nor by national communions, but by a deep, singular, individual experience of religion in the soul. His address was framed upon the model of the Scripture query, "Dost *thou* believe upon the Son of God?"

A second truth developed in the ministry of John Wesley is, *the absolute need of spiritual influence to secure the conversion of the soul.*

Conversion is not a question of willing or not willing on the part of man. The soul bears no resemblance to the muscles of the healthy arm, which the mere will to straighten and stiffen throws into a state of rigid tension at the instant, and retains them so at pleasure. The soul is in the craze and wreck of paralysis: the power of action does not respond to the will: the whole head is sick, the heart faint. To will is present with us, but how to perform that which is good we know not. The sick man would be well, but the wish is unavailing till the simple, the leech, and the blessing of the Most High, conspire to invigorate. Just so it is with the soul; it must tarry till it be endued with power from on high; but not, be it understood, in the torpor of apathy, nor in the slough of despair; no, but wishing, watching, waiting. Though its search were as fruitless as that of Diogenes, it must be seeking, nevertheless; just as, though the prophet's commission be to preach to the dead, he must not dispute nor disobey. We must strive to enter in although the gate be strait and the way narrow; we must be feeling after God, if haply we may find him, though it be amid the darkness of nature and the tremblings of dismay. We may

scarce have ability to repent after a godly sort, yet ought we to bring forth "fruits meet for repentance." With God alone may rest the prerogative to pronounce us "sons of Abraham;" yet, like Zaccheus, must we work the works becoming that relation, and right the wrong and feed the poor. While, then, we emphatically announce the doctrine that the influence of the Holy Ghost is necessary to quicken, renew, and purify the soul, we do at the same time repudiate the principle that man may fold his hands in sleep till the divine voice arouse him. Nothing short of a celestial spark can ignite the fire of our sacrifice, but we can at least lay the wood upon the altar. None but the Lord of the kingdom can admit to the privilege of the kingdom; but at the same time it is well to make inquiry of him who keeps the door. John was only the bridegroom's friend, the herald of better things to come; yet "Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan," did but their duty in flocking to him to hear his tidings, and learn where to direct their homage. To endangered men the night was given for far other uses than for sleep; the storm is high, and the rocks are near; the sails are rent, and the planks are starting beneath the fury of the winds and waves! What is the dictate of wisdom, of imperious necessity? what but to ply the pump, to undergird the ship, to strike the mast, haul taut the cordage, "strengthen the things that remain," and trust in the Most High? If safety is vouchsafed, it is God who saves. So in spiritual things, man must strive as if he could do every thing, and trust as if he could do nothing; and in regeneration the Scripture doctrine is, that he can do nothing. He may accomplish things leading thereto, just as the Jews ministered to the resurrection of Lazarus by leading Christ to the sepulcher; but it was the Divine voice that raised the dead. Thus sermons, scriptures, catechisms, and all the machinery of Christian action, will be tried and used, dealt out by the minister and shared by his flock; but with each and all must the conviction rest, that it is not by might of mechanism, nor by power of

persuasion, conversion is brought about, but by the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts.

This truth had been grievously lost sight of in Wesley's days, sunk in the tide of cold morality that inundated the land, and consigned it to a theosophy less spiritual than that of Socrates or Plato. But up from the depths of the heathenish flood our great reformer fished this imperishable truth, a treasure-trove exceeding in value pearls of great price, or a navy of sunken galleons. And throughout his ministry this shone with unequaled light; for if any thing distinguished it more than another from contemporary ministries, it was the emphatic prominence it assigned to the Spirit's work in conversion. This was the Pharos of his teaching, the luminous point which led the world-tossed soul into the haven of assured peace and conscious adoption. And much need was there that this dogma should have received this distinctive pre-eminence and peculiar honor, for it was either totally forgotten, coarsely travestied, or boldly denied.

Having dealt with the truths that bear upon personal religion and individual subjection to the truth, as well as the means whereby this was to be effected, the direct agency of the divine Spirit—things insisted upon with untiring energy by John Wesley—we now turn attention to the views which our great reformer put forth regarding Christians in their associated capacity.

The third principle which Wesley developed is, *that the Church of Jesus Christ is a spiritual organization, consisting of spiritual men associated for spiritual purposes.*

This is the theory of that Church of which he was for several years the laborious and conscientious minister, and is nowhere more happily expressed than in its Nineteenth Article: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the

same." But this beautiful and scriptural theory was to a great degree an unapproachable ideal in England until that system arose, under the creative hand of Wesley, which made it a reality and gave it a positive existence, "a local habitation and a name." It is true the name he gave it was not "Church;" it was "The Society," and in other forms and subdivisions, bands, classes, etc.; but in essence it was the same; it was the union and communion of the Lord's people for common edification and the glory of Christ. As soon as two or three converts were made to those earnest personal views of religion he promulgated, the inclination and necessity for association commenced. It was seen in his Oxford praying coterie; seen in his fellowship with the Moravians; and afterward fully exemplified in the mother-society at the Foundery, Moorfields, and in all the affiliated societies throughout the kingdom. The simple object of these associations was thus explained in a set of general rules for their governance, published by the brothers Wesley in 1743. The preamble states the nature and design of a Methodist Society to be "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness; united, in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation. There is only one condition previously required in those who desire admission into these Societies—a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." They were further to evidence this desire: "1. By doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind. 2. By doing good, by being in every kind merciful after their power; as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as far as it is possible to all men. And, 3. By attending upon all the ordinances of God. Such are the public worship of God; the ministry of the word, either read or expounded; the Supper of the Lord; family and private prayer; searching the Scriptures; and fasting, or abstinence." Whether we regard the design of the association given in these terms, or the speci-

fication of duty, we seem to trace a virtual copy of the articular definition of the Church recently cited. Wesley never failed to recognize the scriptural distinction between the Church and the world, nor to mark it. While he viewed with becoming deference the kingdoms of this world, and bowed to the authority of the magistrate as the great cement of human society, the clamp that binds the stones of the edifice together, he saw another kingdom pitched within the borders of these, differing from them in every thing, and infinitely above them, yet consentaneous with them, and vesting them with its sanction, itself all the while purely spiritual in its basis, laws, privileges, and Sovereign. Blind must he have been, to a degree incompatible with his general perspicacity, had he not perceived this. The men who possessed religion, and the men who possessed it not, were not to be for a moment confounded. They might be neighbors in locality and friends in good-will, but they were as wide as the poles asunder in sentiment. The quick and the dead may be placed side by side, but no one can for ever so short a period mistake dead flesh for living fiber, the abnegation of power for energy in repose. The Church and the church-yard are close by, but the worshipers in the one and the dwellers in the other are as unlike as two worlds can make them. The circle within the circle—the company of the converted—the *imperium in imperio*—the elect, the regenerate, Wesley always distinguished from the mass of mankind, and made special provision for their edification in all his organisms.

And, in sooth, the marked and constant recognition of this spiritual incorporation it is which gives revealed religion its only chance of survival in the world. To forget it is practically to abolish the distinction between error and truth, between right and wrong. There is no heresy more destructive than a bad life. To class the men of good life and the men of bad together; to call them by the same name, and elevate them to the same standing, is high treason against the majesty of truth,

poisons the very spring of morality, and does conscience to death. A nation cannot be a church, nor a church a nation. The case of Israel was the only one in which the two kingdoms were co-extensive, conterminous. A member of a nation a man becomes by birth, but a member of a church only by a second birth. Generation is his title to the one, regeneration to the other. The one is a natural accident, the other a moral state. Citizens are the sons of the soil, Christians are the sons of heaven. To clothe, then, the members of the one with the livery and title of the other, without the prerequisite qualification and dignity, is not only a solecism in language but an outrage upon truth. It is to reconcile opposites, harmonize discords, blend dissimilitudes, and identify tares with wheat, light with darkness, life with death. It is the destruction of piety among the converted, for they see the unconverted honored with their designation, advanced to their level, obtruded upon their society. It is ruin to the souls of the unconverted; because without effort of their own, without faith or prayer, or good works, or reformation, or morals, they are surprised with the style and title, the status and rewards, of Christian men. This is, unfortunately, the practice on a large scale; the theory is otherwise and unexceptionable. Imbued with a deep sense of the beauty and correctness of the theory, Wesley did only what was natural and right when he sought to make it a great fact—a substance, and not a shadow—in the church militant. In this he not only obeyed a divine injunction, but yielded to the current of events. By a natural attraction his converts were drawn together. Like will to like. "They that feared the Lord spake often one to another;" and "all that believed were together." The particles were similar, the aggregate homogeneous. They had gone through the same throes, rejoiced in the same parentage, learned in the same school, and embraced the same destiny. They owned a common creed, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all;" resisted a common temptation, took up a com-

mon cross, and, in common, renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil. They came together on the ground of identity of character, of desire for mutual discipline and benefit, and of community of feeling and interest. It is obvious to perceive that Wesley did not originate this communion, whether it were for good or evil; for it was an ordinance of God in its primal institution, and in this particular instance arose out of the very nature of the case. Wesley could not have prevented it, except by such measures as would have undone all he had done. God's believing people found one another out, and associated by a law as fixed and unalterable as that kali and acid coalesce, or that the needle follows the magnet. But while he did not enact the law which God's people obeyed in this close inter-communion and relationship, he understood and revered it, and furthered and regulated the intercourse of the godly by the various enactments and graduated organizations of his system. He set the city upon the hill, and bade it be conspicuous; the lamp upon the stand, and bade it shine; the vine upon the soil, and said to it, Be fruitful. He set it apart and trimmed it, and hedged it in; convinced that such a separation as Scripture enjoins was essential to its growth and welfare—a truth the Christian law teaches, and individual experience confirms. Every benefit the institution of a Church might be supposed to secure is forfeited when the Church loses its distinctive character, and becomes identified with the world.

But neither to glorify their founder by their closer combination, nor for self-complacent admiration, nor to be a gazing-stock for the multitude, nor for the tittle-tattle of mutual gossipry, did John Wesley segregate his people; no, but for their good and the good of mankind. The downy bed of indolence for the Church, or the obesity that grows of inaction, never once came within his calculations as their lot. To rub the dust from each other, as iron sharpeneth iron, was the first object of their association; and the second, to weld their forces together in the glowing furnace of communion for the benefit

of the world. They were to rejoice in the good grapes of their own garden, and sweeten by inoculation and culture the sour grapes of their neighbors. They were to attract all goodness to themselves; and where it was wanting create it, after the Arab proverb, "The palm-tree looks upon the palm-tree, and groweth fruitful." It was as the salt of the earth they were to seek to retain their savor, and not for their own preservation alone. No one ever more sedulously guarded the inward subjective aspect of the Church, its self-denying intent, its exclusion of the unholy and unclean, than John Wesley; and no one ever directed its objective gaze outward and away from itself, "to have compassion on the ignorant and out of the way," with more untiring industry than he. He knew the Church's mission was more than half unfulfilled, while it locked itself up in its ark of security, and left the world without to perish. He was himself the last man in the world to leave the wounded to die, passing by in his superciliousness, and asking, "Who is my neighbor?" and the last to found a community which should be icy, selfish, and unfeeling. He was a working minister, and fathomed the depth and yielded to the full current of the truth, that the Church must be a working Church. Armed at all points with sympathies which brought him into contact with the world without, the Church must resemble him in this. He was an utterly unselfish being. He, if ever any, could say: "I live not in myself, but I become portion of that around me."

To work for the benefit of men when he might have taken his ease became a necessity of his nature, molded upon the pattern of his self-sacrificing Master, and the law of his being must be that of the Church's. The Church must "do or die." It must be instant in season, out of season. It must go into the highways and hedges. It must beseech men to be reconciled to God. It must compel them to come in. It must give no sleep to its eyes nor slumber to its eyelids till its work be done. It must stand on the top of high places, by the way in the

places of the paths, and cry, "O ye simple, understand wisdom; and ye fools, be ye of an understanding heart!" It must gather all the might of its energies, and lavish all the wealth of its resources, and exhaust all the influences it can command, and coin all the ingenuity of its devices into schemes for the saving benefit of the world. Thus, not merely conservative of the truth must the Church be for its own edification and nurture, but also diffusive of the truth for the renewal and redemption of all around.

And these were grand discoveries a hundred years ago, of which the credit rests very mainly with the Founder of Methodism, although mere commonplaces now. It is true they were partially and speculatively held even then, but very partially, and in the region of thought rather than of action. Some saw the truth of the matter, but it was in its proverbial dwelling, and the well was deep—just perceptible at the bottom, but beyond their grasp; while to the many the waters were muddy, and they saw it not at all. There were no Bible, Tract, or Missionary Society then to employ the Church's powers, and to indicate its path of duty. But Wesley started them all. He wrote and printed and circulated books in thousands upon thousands of copies. He set afloat home and foreign missions. The Church and the world were alike asleep; he sounded the loud trumpet of the Gospel, and awoke the world to tremble and the Church to work. Never was such a scene before in England. The correctness and maturity of his views amid the deep darkness surrounding him is startling, wonderful; like the idea of a catholic Church springing up amid a sectarian Judaism. It is midday without the antecedent dawn; it beggars thought; it defies explanation. A Church in earnest as a want of the times is even now, in these greatly advanced days, strenuously demanded, and eloquently enforced by appeal after appeal from the press, the platform, and the pulpit; but Wesley gave it practical existence from the very birth-hour of his Society. His vigorous bantling rent the swathing bands of quiet self-

communing and prevalent custom, and gave itself, a young Hercules, to the struggle with the inertia of the Church and the opposition of the world. Successfully it encountered both. It quickened the one and subdued the other, and attained by the endeavor the muscular development, and manful port, and indomitable energy of its present life. John Wesley's Church is no mummy-chamber of a pyramid, silent, sepulchral, garnished with still figures in hieroglyphic coif and cerecloth, but a busy town, a busier hive, himself the informing spirit, the parent energy, the exemplary genius of the whole. Never was the character of the leader more accurately reflected in his troops. Bonaparte made soldiers, Wesley made active Christians.

The last principle we shall notice as illustrated by Wesley's career, has relation to *the nature and work of the ministry.*

A grand discovery, lying very near the root of Methodism, considered as an ecclesiastical system, it was the fortune of John Wesley to light upon not far from the outset of his career. A discovery quite as momentous and influential in the diffusion and perpetuation of his opinions as that with which Luther startled the world in 1525. Luther published the then monstrous heresy that ministers who are married can serve the Lord and his Church as holily, learnedly, and acceptably, as celibate priests and cloistered regulars; and our hero found out that men unqualified by university education for orders in the Church were the very fittest instruments he could employ in the itinerant work of early Methodism. Rough work requires rough hands. The burly pioneer is as needful in the army as the dapper ensign, and the hewer of wood in the deep forest as the French polisher in the city. Now this was a great discovery—up to that period a thing unknown. The Roman Church knew nothing of such a device; its orders of various kinds bore no approximation to it; presbyter and bishop were at equal removes from it; the very Puritans and Non-conformists knew nothing of it, they being in their way as great sticklers for clerical order and their

succession as any existing body—the more pardonable, as some were living in the early part of Wesley's history who had themselves officiated in the churches of the Establishment. His discovery was, that plain men just able to read and explain with some fluency what they read and felt, might go forth without license from college, or presbytery, or bishop, into any parish in the country—the weaver from his loom, the shoemaker from his stall—and tell their fellow-sinners of salvation and the love of Christ. This was a tremendous innovation upon the established order of things every-where, and was as reluctantly forced upon so starched a precisian as John Wesley, as it must have horrified the members of the stereotyped ministries and priesthoods existing around. But as in Luther's case, so here—"the present necessity" was the teacher: "the fields were white to the harvest, and the laborers were few." We have ample evidence to show that if he could have pressed into the service a sufficient number of the clerical profession he would have preferred the employment of such agents exclusively; but as they were only few of this rank who lent him their constant aid, he was driven to adopt the measure which was, we think, the salvation of his system and in some respects its glory.

The greater part of the clergy would have been unfitted for the work he would have allotted them, even had they not been hampered by the trammels of ecclesiastical usage. This usage properly assigns a fixed portion of clerical labor to one person; and to discharge it well is quite enough to tax the powers of most men to the utmost. Few parish ministers, how conscientious and diligent soever, will ever have to complain of too little to do. But Wesley had a roving commission, and felt himself called, by his strong sense of the need of some extraordinary means, to awaken the sleeping population of the country, to overleap the barriers of clerical courtesy and ecclesiastical law, invading parish after parish of recusant incumbents without compunction or hesitancy at the overweening impulse of

duty. However much some clergymen may have sympathized with him in religious opinion, it is easy to understand how many natural and respectable scruples might prevent their following such a leader in his Church errantry. They must, in fact, have broken with their own system to give themselves to his, and this they might not be prepared to do. They might value his itinerating plan as supplementary to the localized labors of the parish minister, but at the same time demur to its taking the place of parochial duty, as its tendency was and as its effect has been. Thus was Wesley early thrown upon a species of agency for help which he would doubtless sincerely deplore at first, namely, a very slenderly equipped but zealously ardent and fearless laity; but which, again, his after experience led him to value at its proper worth, and to see in the adaptation of his men to the common mind their highest qualification. "Fire low," is said to have been his frequent charge in after life to young ministers; a maxim the truth of which was confirmed by the years of an unusually protracted ministry and acquaintance with mankind. A ministry that dealt in perfumed handkerchiefs, and felt most at home in Bond-street and the ball-room—the perfumed popinjays of their profession; or one that, emulous of the fame of Nimrod, that mighty hunter before the Lord, sacrificed clerical duty to the sports of the field, prized the reputation of securing the brush before that of being a good shepherd of the sheep, and deemed the music of the Tally-ho or Hunting Chorus infinitely more melodious than the Psalms of David; or, again, one composed of the fastidious students of over-refined sensibilities, better acquainted with the modes of thought of past generations than with the actual habits of the present, delicate recluses and nervous men, the bats of society, who shrink from the sunshine of busy life into the congenial twilight of their libraries, whose over-educated susceptibilities would prompt the strain—

> "O lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
> I fall upon the thorns of life, I bleed!"—

these would have utterly failed for the work John Wesley wanted them to do. Ministers from the higher walks of life would either to a great degree have wanted those sympathies that should exist between the shepherd and the flock, or would have yielded before the rough treatment the first Methodist preachers were called to endure. Although the refinement of a century has done much to crush the coarser forms of persecution, it must not be forgotten that the early ministers of Methodism were called to encounter physical quite as frequently as logical argumentation. The middle terms of the syllogisms they were treated to were commonly the middle of the horse-pond and their *sorites* the dung-heap. Now the plain men whom Wesley was so fortunate as to enlist in his cause were those whose habits of daily life and undisputing faith in the truth of their system qualified to "endure hardness as good soldiers." They were not over-refined for intercourse with rude, common people; could put up with the coarsest fare in their mission to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the poorest of the poor; and were not to be daunted by the perspective of rotten eggs and duckings, of brickbats and mandamuses, which threatened to keep effectually in abeyance any temptation to incur the woe when all men should speak well of them. Hence among the first coadjutors of the great leader were John Nelson, a stone-mason; Thomas Olivers, a shoemaker; William Hunter, a farmer; Alexander Mather, a baker; Peter Jaco, a Cornish fisherman; and Thomas Hanby, a weaver.

Thus the ministry that was to fasten upon the people was rightly taken from among the people, a point never to be lost sight of by any religious body aiming at popular influence. In the same proportion as the teachers are selected from the aristocracy or the middle classes, the field of labor will be confined to those classes, and the poor will, by a law that on the broad scale admits of no exceptions, throw themselves into the hands of persons of their own rank. The Church militant

must never forget that its highest mission is to the lowest, and that it is then most divine when it can most confidently affirm, after its Master, "To the poor the gospel is preached!" Any Church that is, to an observable degree, unsuitable to the poor, disliked by the poor, and deserted by the poor, has failed to the same degree in one main object of its establishment, and fails to the same degree in securing the blessing of the God of the poor.

Another point in regard to the ministry to which Wesley gave habitual prominence, was the duty of making that profession a laborious calling. The heart and soul of his system, as of his personal ministry, he made to be WORK. Work was the mainspring of his Methodism—activity, energy, progression. From the least to the largest wheel within wheel that necessity created, or his ingenuity set up, all turned, wrought, acted incessantly, and intelligently too. It was not mere machinery; it was full of eyes. To the lowest agent of Methodism—be it collector, contributor, exhorter, or distributer of tracts—each has, besides the faculty of constant occupation, the ability to render a reason for what he does. Work and wisdom are in happy combination; at least such was the purpose of the contriver, and we have reason to believe they have been in a fair proportion secured. And the labor that marks the lower, marks pre-eminently the higher, departments of the system. The ministry, beyond all professions, demands labor. He that seeks a cure that it may be a sinecure, or a benefice which shall be a benefit to himself alone—who expects to find the ministry a couch of repose instead of a field for toil—a bread-winner rather than a soul-saver by means of painful watchings, fastings, toils, and prayers—has utterly mistaken its nature, and is unworthy of its honor. It is a stewardship, a husbandry, an edification, a ward, a warfare, demanding the untiring effort of the day and unslumbering vigilance of the night to fulfill its duties and secure its rewards. It is well to remember that the slothful and the wicked servant are conjoined in the denuncia-

tion of the indignant Master: "*Thou wicked and slothful servant!*"

Where there may be sufficient lack of principle to prompt to indolence and self-indulgence, there are few communions which will not present the opportunity to the sluggish or sensual minister. But the Methodist mode of operations is better calculated than perhaps almost any other for checking human corruption when developing itself in this form. The ordinary amount of official duty required of the traveling preachers is enough to keep both the reluctant and the willing laborer constantly employed.

And Mr. Wesley exacted no more of others than he cheerfully and systematically rendered himself, daily labor, even to weariness, being the habit of his life. A glance at his employments at different periods of his career will dispel the mystery attending the marvelous productiveness of his pen, and multiplicity of his labors, but only to heighten our respect for his industry, perseverance, and conscientiousness. The sketch which he has given of his daily labors is no artist's sketch, hung up in his studio as a specimen of his skill, or poet's portrait, prefixed to doggerel dithyrambs, with "eye in a fine frenzy rolling," to gratify personal vanity, or lure love-sick misses; but the grave, unvarnished report of a grave, earnest man, who knew there was little to commend in it, for in doing his utmost he only did what was his duty to do. Yet was he the prince of missionaries, however humble his self-estimate might be; the prime apostle of Christendom since Luther; his pre-eminent example too likely to be lost sight of in this missionary age, when the Church, in the bustle of its present activities, has little time to cherish recollections of its past worthies, or to speculate with clearness on the shapes of its future calling and destiny. But in one sense he was more than an apostle. By miracle they were qualified with the gift of tongues for missions to men of strange speech; but Wesley did not shrink from the toil of acquiring language after language, in order to

speak intelligibly on the subject of religion to foreigners. The Italian he acquired that he might minister to a few Vaudois; the German, that he might converse with the Moravians; and the Spanish, for the benefit of some Jews among his parishioners. Such rare parts, and zeal, and perseverance, and learning, are seldom combined in any living man. We have never seen nor heard of any one like Wesley in the capacity and liking for labor; we indulge, therefore, very slender hopes of encountering such a one in the remaining space of our pilgrimage. In our sober judgment it were as sane to expect the buried majesty of Denmark to revisit the glimpses of the moon, as hope to find all the conditions presented in John Wesley to show themselves again in England. We may not look upon his like again.

Unlike many, unlike most enduring celebrities, Wesley was successful, popular, appreciated during his life-time, nor had to wait for posthumous praise. This was, doubtless, owing in part to the practical bent his genius took, which was calculated to win popular regard, as well as to the unequaled excellence he displayed in the line he had chosen. The man who was known to have traveled more miles, preached more sermons, and published more books than any traveler, preacher, author, since the days of the apostles, must have had much to claim the admiration and respect of his contemporaries. The man who exhibited the greatest disinterestedness all his life through, who has exercised the widest influence on the religious world, who has established the most numerous sect, invented the most efficient system of Church polity, who has compiled the best book of sacred song, and who has thus not only chosen eminent walks of usefulness, but in every one of them claims the first place, deserves to be regarded by them, and by posterity, as no common man. A greater poet may arise than Homer or Milton; a greater theologian than Calvin; a greater philosopher than Bacon or Newton; a greater dramatist than any of ancient or modern fame; but a more distinguished revivalist of the

Churches, minister of the sanctuary, believer of the truth, and blessing to souls, than John Wesley—*never*. There was in his consummate nature that exquisite balance of power and will, that perfect blending of the moral, intellectual, and physical, which forms the *ne plus ultra* of ministerial ability and service. In the firmament in which he was lodged he shone and shines "the bright particular star," beyond comparison, as he is without a rival.

# WESLEY'S INFLUENCE ON THE RELIGION OF THE WORLD.

"They glorified God in me."—Gal. i, 24.

EVERY human being has some influence on others; and that influence is good or evil, according to his character; feeble or powerful, according to his position, his natural talents, or his personal efforts. John Wesley had high principle, genuine piety, and eminent learning, combined with unwearied energy and incessant labors during a long life; and his influence for good on his contemporaries and on posterity must, in the very nature of things, be proportionately great in its degree and extent—so great, indeed, that no human mind can fully estimate it. His influence is mainly spiritual in its nature, and, therefore, eternal in its results; and like all moral and spiritual causes and operations, its effects stretch into infinity. We cannot tabulate them; figures and statistics, however carefully and accurately compiled, cannot afford even an approximate estimate of the amount of spiritual good resulting from the life and labors of John Wesley. Yet we may assert with confidence that blessings so great have resulted from no other life since apostolic times.

And these blessings have come without the usual alloy of concomitant or consequent evils. Unlike the awful struggles of the Protestant Reformation, Methodism overthrew no thrones, called forth no armies, and shed no blood, because it evoked no secular power to maintain its authority, to defend its claims, or promote its diffusion. It was purely a spiritual work—a mission of love—and it depended solely on the God of love for its success. True, it had to encounter fierce opposition; reproach and scorn, brickbats and blows, were often profusely

dealt out to the messengers of salvation, and some of them fell martyrs in their holy and benevolent work; but they suffered, like their blessed Lord, with meekness and fortitude, not counting their lives dear unto themselves so that they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry they had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.

It was not so much the province of John Wesley and his co-workers to *recover* lost truths, as to *vitalize* them; to exemplify, enforce, and diffuse them, by their life and ministry. The great doctrines of salvation had been already recovered by the Reformers from the darkness and the putrid corruptions of popery; and they were asserted in the creeds and formularies of Protestant Churches; but they had become buried and fossilized in learned folios, and throughout Christendom they had few living witnesses. Indeed, the experimental doctrines of justification by faith alone, and the witness of the Holy Spirit, were generally denied in the pulpit, though professed in the formularies of the Church; and not only denied, but resisted; while those who maintained and exemplified these essential truths were branded as visionaries, as deceivers, and rejected as enemies of the Church of God. In the established Church of England there was orthodoxy in the articles, homilies, and liturgy, but formalism and antichristian heresy in the pulpit. There were, indeed, instances of profound learning and exalted talent, but so equivocally employed as at one and the same time to be defending the evidences of religion and undermining its experimental doctrines; resisting the arrogant claims of popery, yet rebuilding the Arian hypothesis and asserting Pelagian errors. While the doctrines of the Reformation were thus disowned and dishonored in the English Establishment, the Non-conformist Churches had become, in numerous instances, corrupt in principle and degenerate in character. In many Churches predestinarian decrees had engendered Antinomianism, and in others had displaced

the saving doctrines of the cross. Many honorable exceptions there were, as we see in the character of Watts, Doddridge, Secker, Leighton, Berridge, Adams, Venn, Romaine, Perronet, Guyse, Hurrion, and other pious contemporaries, who, like the weeping prophet of Judah, sighed over the broken walls of the Church, and prayed and labored for the restoration of truth and holiness; but their own testimony, also, abundantly confirms the gloomy representation we have given of those days.

The amiable Archbishop Leighton describes the Church in his day as "a fair carcass without spirit." Burnet, in 1713, complains that "the clergy were under more contempt than those of any Church in Europe; for they were much the most remiss in their labors and the least severe in their lives;" and he goes on to deplore the ignorance as well as the immoral lives of the clergy, alleging that the greater part of those who came to be ordained seem "never to have read the Scriptures, and many could not give a tolerable account even of the Catechism itself;" and, further, that the "case was not much better with many who got into orders, as they could not make it appear that they had read the Scriptures, or any good book, since they were ordained."

Judge Blackstone, early in the reign of George the Third, impressed with the degenerate condition of the Established Church, had the curiosity to go to hear every clergyman of note in London; and he states that he "heard not a single sermon which had more of the gospel in it than the writings of Cicero; and that it would have been impossible to know, from what he heard, whether the preacher was a follower of Confucius, of Mohammed, or of Christ." "Like priest, like people;" for it was a natural consequence that ignorance, indifference, and immorality in the clergy should produce ignorance, infidelity, and profligacy among the people. Archbishop Secker, in 1738, thus describes the state of the nation: "In this we cannot be mistaken, that an open and professed disregard to

religion is become, through a variety of unhappy causes, the distinguishing character of the present age; that this evil is grown to a great height in the metropolis of the nation; is daily spreading through every part of it; and, bad in itself as any can be, must of necessity bring in all others with it. Indeed, it hath already brought in such dissoluteness and contempt of principle in the higher part of the world, and such profligateness, intemperance, and fearlessness in committing crimes in the lower, as must, if this torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal." Similar lamentations over the deadness of the Church and the profligacy, infidelity, and contempt of sacred things in the world, were expressed by Dr. Guyse, Dr. Watts, and many others; and this state of things is thus summed up in the "North British Review" for August, 1847:

Never has a century risen on Christian England so void of soul and faith as that which opened with Queen Anne, and which reached its misty noon beneath the second George—a dewless night succeeded by a sunless dawn. There was no freshness in the past, and no promise in the future. The memory of Baxter and of Usher possessed no spell, and calls for revival and reform fell dead on the echo. Confessions of sin, and national covenants, and all projects toward a public and visible acknowledgment of the Most High, were voted obsolete, and, in the golden dreams of Westminster, worthies only lived in Hudibras. The Puritans were buried, and the Methodists were not born. . . . The reign of buffoonery was past, but the reign of faith and earnestness had not commenced. During the first forty years of that century, the eye that seeks for spiritual life can hardly find it; least of all, that hopeful and diffusive life which is the harbinger of more. Bishop Butler observes: "It was taken for granted that Christianity was not so much as a subject for inquiry, but was at length discovered to be fictitious. And men treated it as if this were an agreed point among all people of discernment."

Had not the providence of God interposed at this crisis, the darkness must have deepened, the depravity gathered strength, and the state and character of the nation have degenerated to the worst degree; causing it to assume, long ere this, a mixed complexion of heathenism, infidelity, and profligacy, such as is revolting to contemplate. Events of a subse-

quent date would have aggravated existing evils, and given force and activity to the most malignant and pernicious influences. The principles and example of the French nation; the infidel metaphysics of Hume, and the atheistic philosophy of Mirabaud, Diderot, etc.; the insidious skepticism of Gibbon, couched in elegant diction, and blended with an attractive theme; the profane wit of Voltaire, and the coarse ribaldry of Paine; the semi-deism of Priestley, with that of Belsham and Lindsay, and their coadjutors of the low Socinian school; the numerous equivocal lecturers on scientific subjects, investing nature with self-acting and independent powers, to the exclusion of God's presiding and active agency; and the multitudinous skeptical publications, some elaborate, and others light and ephemeral, which since that day have continued to swarm from the press, would doubtless, without the counteracting agency of a powerful revival of experimental and practical religion—without such a revival as that exhibited in Methodism—have combined to corrupt the principles and deprave the character of the nation, until the measure of its iniquity was full to the very brim, and the land had become reprobate—blighted and accursed by its own enormities, and scathed and rejected of God. This awful doom, however, was averted, and that revival of religion denominated Methodism was the principal, though not the only, means at once of saving the country from so great a calamity, and of introducing the brightest era in British history.

While these humiliating confessions reveal the degenerate state of the Church in general, and show the need of a reformation, they show also, as by a foil, the wonderful influence which the Wesleys, Whitefield, and other holy men must have had in encountering existing evils, and bringing about the great revival which crowned their abundant labors.

God had, indeed, been preparing the Church in divers places for the needed reformation just before those eminent men appeared actively in the field of labor. It shows the divine origin of this movement, that in the early part of the eighteenth century, and just when the Wesleys and their little band of pious *confreres* at Oxford were struggling against their sins, and anxiously though ignorantly striving after salvation by penances, mortifications, and good works, gracious revivals had begun almost simultaneously in different and distant parts of

the world, and that without any connection with or dependence upon each other. Thus the Moravian Church at Herrnhutt, in Lusatia, after enduring severe and protracted sufferings in the very spirit of martyrdom, had been visited with power from on high, and become fired with missionary ardor. In various parts of New England, under the evangelical ministry of Jonathan Edwards, hundreds had become converted, and primitive earnestness was excited in the Churches. In the principality of Wales, under the powerful preaching of Howell Harris, though a layman, thousands had been brought to God and numerous Churches planted, consisting of converts who had lived previously in the darkest ignorance, and in all manner of ungodliness and profanity. Proceeding from the same gracious influence, a remarkable revival was experienced a few years afterward in various parts of Scotland, under the simple but fervent ministry of the Rev. James Robe. These several instances of gracious influence and power in different hemispheres at the same time had commenced without any human connection or mutual plan of co-operation. They were separately originated by that blessed Spirit who worketh as he will, and where he will; though doubtless in answer to the prayers of his people, and in the use of scriptural means. There had been a few praying people in each place and country, who, unknown to each other, had been sighing and crying over the abominations of the land, and pleading with God for the outpouring of his Spirit upon the moral deserts around them. And now God was preparing the Wesleys themselves for the great work which he intended them to do.

John and Charles Wesley, accompanied by some German ministers, embarked for America October 14, 1735, and landed at Savannah February 5, 1736. The two brothers went as missionaries, but failed in this special work, mainly because they themselves needed a fuller baptism of the Holy Spirit; and doubtless God designed their appointed field of labor to be in another hemisphere. Charles returned to England July 26,

1736, after spending little more than five months in Georgia. John embarked for England December 22, 1737, having spent less than two years in America, and landed at Deal February 1, 1738. The two brothers returned wiser but sadder men; their experience and their intercourse with the Moravian brethren having taught them that there were blessings of richer enjoyment by which they would be better qualified, as ministers of Christ, for the great work which lay before them. There was now no rest for the souls of these devout men. They read, they prayed, and they inquired after the more perfect way. They received fresh light from the instructions of Peter Böhler, and the testimony and experience of living witnesses, as to the blessing of a full assurance of personal acceptance by simple faith in Christ. They earnestly sought, and they found the blessing: Charles on the 21st of May, 1738, and John on the 24th of the same month. George Whitefield had obtained it before the Wesleys returned from America.

These holy men, having received the spirit of adoption, went on their way rejoicing. If a cloud at any time obscured their prospects or damped their joy, it was soon dispelled by faith in Christ, and they grew in grace and in the knowledge of God their Saviour. Having themselves believed, they spoke; they could not hide the sacred treasure they had found. The love of Christ constrained them; their souls burned with celestial ardor, and they went forth wherever Providence called them, declaring the grace of God to their fellow-men, and offering to them the blessings of a free and present salvation by simple faith in Christ.

Soon the doors of the Established Church were closed against them; but when pent-up walls were forbidden to these messengers of mercy, they took to the apostolic method of preaching in the open air. Whitefield began this Christ-like mode of preaching February 17, 1739; John Wesley followed April 2, only six weeks after; the zeal of Charles rose above his Church prejudices, and he proclaimed the Gospel in the open air, May

29th of the same year. Now the wide door of the universe was open, and gave them boundless scope among the millions of our race, and ready access to the outcasts of men—the neglected and forgotten of mankind. The colliers assembled at Kingswood and Newcastle-on-Tyne; and crowds of poor and rich, of high and low, in Moorfields and on Blackheath Common; and soon in every part of England the long neglected and left to perish had the gospel carried to them by these messengers of mercy, and multitudes were awakened and saved. Masses of men and women amounting to ten thousand, twenty thousand, yea, fifty, and as some have computed, even sixty thousand were drawn together to hear these apostles of mercy, and the word was with power; Whitefield preaching with the glowing ardor of a seraph, and the Wesleys with the clearness, calmness, and earnestness of the apostles. Mighty signs and wonders followed, for the hand of the Lord was with them, and the Spirit was poured out from on high.

Whitefield traversed England, Scotland, and Ireland, for thirty-four years, and crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, proclaiming the love of God and his great gift to mankind. A bright and exulting view of the atonement's sufficiency was his theology; delight in God, and joy in Christ Jesus, were the essence of his religion; and a compassionate solicitude for the souls of men, often rising to a fearful agony, was his ruling passion: and strong in the oneness of his aim, and the intensity of his feelings, he soon burst the regular bounds, and preached the Saviour on commons and village greens, and even to the rabble at London fairs. He was the prince of English preachers. Many have surpassed him as sermon makers, but none have approached him as a pulpit orator. Many have outshone him in the clearness of their logic, the grandeur of their conceptions, and the sparkling beauty of single sentences; but in the power of darting the gospel direct into the conscience he eclipsed them all. With a full and beaming countenance, and the frank and easy port which the English people love—for it is the

symbol of honest purpose and friendly assurance—he combined a voice of rich compass, which could equally thrill over Moorfields in musical thunder, or whisper its terrible secret in every private ear; and to this gainly aspect and tuneful voice he added a most expressive and eloquent action. But the glory of Whitefield's preaching was its heart-kindled and heart-melting gospel. But for this, all his bold strokes and brilliant surprises might have been no better than the rhetorical triumphs of Kirwin and other pulpit dramatists. He was an orator, but only sought to be an evangelist. Like a volcano where gold and gems may be darted forth as well as common th ngs, but where gold and molten granite flow all alike in fiery fusion, bright thoughts and splendid images might be projected from his flaming pulpit, but all were merged in the stream which bore along the Gospel and himself in blended fervor. Indeed, so simple was his nature, that glory to God and good-will to man having filled it, there was room for little more. Having no Church to found, no family to enrich, and no memory to immortalize, he was the mere embassador of God; an ', inspired with the genial spirit of his embassy, so full of Heaven reconciled and humanity restored, he soon himself became a living gospel. Radiant with its benignity, and trembling with its tenderness, by a sort of spiritual induction a vast audience would speedily be brought into a frame of mind the transfusion of his own; and the white furrows on their sooty faces told that Kingswood colliers were weeping, or the quivering of an ostrich plume bespoke its elegant wearer's deep emotion. And coming to his work direct from communion with his Master, and in all the strength of accepted prayer, there was an elevation in his mien which often paralyzed hostility, and a self-possession which only made him amid uproar and fury the more sublime. With an electric bolt he would bring the jester in his fools cap from his perch on the tree, or galvanize the brickbat from the skulking miscreant's grasp, or sweep down in crouching submission and shamefaced silence the whole of

Bartholomew fair; while a revealing flash of sententious doctrine or verified Scripture would disclose to awe-struck hundreds the forgotten verities of another world, or the unsuspected arcana of their inner man. "I came to break your head, but through you God has broken my heart," was a sort of confession with which he was familiar.

John Wesley, with less of the scathing lightning and alarming thunder in his eloquence, had a lucid precision in his teaching, an activity in his movements, and a dexterity in management, never equaled, perhaps, in the history of man. Both were equally faithful and heart-searching, both abundant in evangelical labors, energetic in character, and steady in their aim to glorify God. Charles Wesley, though from physical debility and tamer spirit less adapted for leading the way in the great movement, was yet an excellent co-worker for a subordinate position, while his admirable genius struck the poetic lyre, and embodied in soft and harmonious numbers the glowing spirit of the revival.

Such were the master spirits whom God raised up, and so eminently qualified with gifts natural and divine, for that extraordinary work to which they were called, the blessed effects of which we enjoy at this day. Never were sanctified minds more fitted for co-operation: the one was a complement to the other's deficiency, and their united qualities formed an agency of the most perfect combination. Thus, one in object and heart, and so adapted for conjoint usefulness, the Christian mind cannot but deplore that diversity of sentiment on some minor points should have led to separation. But Whitefield embraced the doctrine of absolute predestination, and Mr. John Wesley, fearing its tendency to produce antinomianism, published a sermon against that doctrine, which gave offense to Mr. Whitefield, and led to separation and temporary estrangement. This took place in 1743, about five years after Mr. Wesley's conversion; but a reconciliation was effected in 1750; so that although their societies remained distinct, they preached

in each others' chapels, and their hearts were cemented with true Christian affection. As an evidence of this, Whitefield added the following codicil to his will: "I also leave a mourning ring to my honored and dear friends, the Revs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union in heart and Christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment on some particular points of doctrine."

Mr. Whitefield died at Newburyport, in New England, U. S. of America, on the 30th of September, 1770. He died in the very midst of his labors, and in a state of utter exhaustion, a martyr to his irrepressible zeal, leaving behind him the imperishable odor of his saintly character, and tens of thousands of living voices to bless God that ever he was born.

Wesley, with equal zeal but less excitement, was spared to continue his apostolic labors until he had attained his eighty-eighth year; and then the wheels of nature, worn out with incessant and long-continued toil, gently relaxed until they stood still. He preached within nine days of his death. Without pain and without fear he sang as he neared the eternal world—

"I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,
And when my voice is lost in death,"

and on the very night of his exit he repeated, scores of times, the first words of the hymn: "I'll praise, I'll praise." Unable to say more except the word "farewell," he expired March 2, 1791, and was interred behind City Road Chapel, London. His brother Charles died three years before, on March 29, 1788, and it is a remarkable coincidence that at the very moment when Charles died, his brother John and his congregation in Shropshire were engaged in singing Charles Wesley's hymn,

"Come, let us join our friends above
That have obtained the prize," etc.

In trying to estimate the influence of Wesley on the Christian world we must first notice his own Church as a part, and

now no small part, of the Church of Christ. As the result of God's blessing on his genuine Christian experience, the sterling excellence and benevolence of his character, and his abundant labors, many thousands were converted to God, and became inspired with a spirit like his own. Among these were many who, like John Nelson, Thomas Walsh, and others, were themselves constrained to preach, and to preach, (with less polish and ability indeed,) but with an earnestness hardly less intense than his own. As the result, thousands more were converted to God. Laborers being raised up as they were needed, the work spread until it prevailed to a wonderful degree, and extended to the regions beyond.

In the year 1785, March 24, Wesley records in his journal a brief review of the marvelous work of God in the following simple, but graphic words: "I was now considering how strangely the grain of mustard seed, planted about fifty years ago, has grown up. It has spread through all Great Britain and Ireland; the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Man; then to America, from the Leeward Islands, through the whole Continent, into Canada and Newfoundland. And the Societies, in all these parts, walk by one rule, knowing religion is holy tempers; and striving to worship God, not in form only, but likewise 'in spirit and in truth.'" This gratified review of the progress of God's work was recorded by Wesley six years before his death. But in the meantime "the grain of mustard seed" was still multiplying; and when his happy spirit was called to its reward, the actual number enrolled as members under the organization of Methodism was 140,000 members, supplied by 550 itinerant preachers. Wonderful growth! But, looking at the wonderful extent of Methodism now, (1878,) eighty-eight years since Wesley's death, what shall we say of the far wider growth, and fructifying power of "the grain of mustard seed?" It has flourished in every quarter of the world, and its blessings of free salvation are expressed in languages spoken by many nations of the earth, numbering within its com-

prehensive pale, according to Dr. Tefft's computation, (which gives the latest statistics, and includes the various offshoots of Methodism,) the astounding number of 50,000 preachers, (local and itinerant,) 8,000,000 communicants, and 12,000,000 of hearers. And if we include the Sunday scholars, as we must do in order to arrive at a full and faithful estimate of Methodism, the computation of Dr. Tefft is not an exaggeration. Here, then, taking the world's population at 1,200,000,000, is a ratio of one person to every sixty on the face of the earth either actually enrolled as members of the Methodist Churches or under the influence of the Methodist ministry! Such a result in one hundred and forty years may well excite wonder, gratitude, and praise. But, if from earth we lift our eyes to heaven, how many millions of happy glorified spirits are there at this moment, gathered through the agency of Methodism from all parts of the world, around the throne of God, blessing and praising him that they were rescued from eternal perdition and brought to the joys of salvation! We are overpowered—we are lost in wondering contemplation of the vast multitudes that crowd upon our vision! Not unto us, not unto man, but unto God be all the glory! He hath done it. "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes." "His right hand, and holy arm, hath gotten him the victory." Blessed be his glorious name forever; yea, let all on earth and in heaven praise him for ever and ever. Amen.

Yet the vast numbers which constitute the Methodist Churches on earth and in heaven, could we count them all, and place the entire aggregate in figures under our eye, would not adequately nor nearly represent the influence of Methodism. Other Churches have been quickened into new life by the reflex influence of Wesley's piety, and the grand doctrine of a present and full salvation; other Churches have been aroused from lethargic slumbers into activity and enterprise by the example of Wesley's numerous and incessant labors; other Churches have been excited to benevolence by Wesley's self-denying and

boundless liberality. It was not possible for a man denying himself, and giving and expending all his income, sometimes to the extent of £1,000 a year in works of beneficence—rising at four o'clock, and preaching two, three, or even four times a day—traveling at a time when railways were not yet thought of, at the rate of four or five thousand miles every year, and amid all these labors writing numerous books, visiting prisons and hospitals, managing the affairs of numerous Societies in various parts of the kingdom, and maintaining a correspondence extending over the world—I say it was not possible for a man to do these things, and not exert a powerful influence upon thoughtful minds in other Churches. Wesley was, as Robert Hall quaintly said, "The quiescense of turbulence; calm himself while setting in motion all around him." The Churches of Britain and America saw his wonderful activity, and were amazed; they beheld the spiritual results, and became excited; some to emulation, some to envy, and some to imitation, provoked by his example to love and good works. There was life in Methodism: life in its doctrines, life in its ministry, life in its singing, life in its prayer-meetings, and the spirit of life and power was in all its efforts. Other Churches saw this, and awoke to new life themselves, and thus the reflex influence of Wesley's benevolent and zealous labors ramified and extended in various ways, far beyond the range of his direct and personal efforts.

Moreover, in the open air services held by the Wesleys and Whitefield for so many years, great numbers of persons of all ranks in society, and worshipers in all other denominations, were awakened and saved, whose names were never enrolled among the Methodists; but who, from domestic ties and other influences remained in their own Churches, and there lighted up the fires of piety and zeal. Many persons, too, from various causes, left the Methodist Societies from time to time, and joined other Churches, and helped to leaven them with evangelical truth, and inspire them with spiritual life. These in-

stances were very numerous; we cannot tabulate them, but they were, and even yet are, of frequent occurrence, and in their aggregate amount to tens of thousands; and among them hundreds of circuit and lay preachers who became settled pastors over Non-conformist congregations, or were ordained as ministers in the Established Church. Many, indeed, were driven to this resort by the pressure of want; for in the early days of Methodism there was little or no provision made for the support of married men and their families, and, therefore, gaunt privation compelled many to seek a sphere of usefulness where a comfortable subsistence could be found. We mention these facts, not in the spirit of envy or complaint, but to indicate the wide-spread and multifarious ways in which the vital influence of Methodism penetrated other Churches, and extended the kingdom of God. The fact is patent to all, and universally admitted, that with the labors of the Wesleys and their coadjutors there was a waking up in the Churches which has continued to this day. A sentiment this, sustained by the memorable verdict of Sir Lancelot Shadwell, delivered by him in the exercise of his judicial functions as the vice chancellor of England, and thus expressed: "It is my firm belief that to the Wesleyan body we are indebted for a large portion of the religious feeling which exists among the general body of the community, not only of this country, but throughout a great portion of the civilized world besides."

The gracious revival of religion under Wesley, while giving a scriptural prominence to the great doctrine of justification by faith, separated it from the deformity of Antinomianism, and every species of doctrinal fatalism. It divested Christianity from the reproach of a limited atonement, and the terrors of absolute and unavoidable reprobation. It presented the Gospel in its virgin purity, its celestial benignity and loveliness, as it shone forth on the day of Pentecost and in the apostolic times of refreshing, when thousands in a day were added to the Church. True, it spared not its terrible denunciations against

the impenitent sinner; it thundered aloud, as from the fiery summit of Sinai, the terrors of the Lord; but it proclaimed, "in strains as sweet as angels use," the efficacy of a universal atonement, and the boundless mercy of God toward every contrite soul. It discarded all the "ifs" and "buts" and "special reservation," by which Augustine and Calvin had fettered the promises, restricted the efficacy of grace, and chafed the anxious soul in its struggles for mercy. It showed the sinner there was no irresistible decree frowning him from the presence of his Saviour; that the only obstacle or hinderance was in the sinner *himself*, and that the moment he renounced his hostile weapons, and placed his dependence on Christ as his Saviour, that moment he was justified and accepted of God. These gracious doctrines, with the necessity of personal holiness and obedience as the fruits and evidence of a living faith, were enforced by the ministry and exemplified in the lives of Wesley and his associates in the work of God. Their influence was soon seen in the Churches around, and still continues to be seen. The preaching of the Calvinistic school became greatly modified, and the pulpit generally began to savor more of practical and saving truth than of stale speculations about foreknowledge and absolute decrees. This change has continued to gain ascendency, and now high Calvinism may be regarded as becoming obsolete and dying out; and the affectionate offers of mercy and earnest injunctions to personal holiness have happily taken the place of harsh and ascetic dogmas. In this change we heartily rejoice, as an approximation to primitive Christianity, and an auspicious omen to the general interests of religion.

Yet while these views of sacred truth were conscientiously held and strenuously maintained by John Wesley, he was no harsh dogmatist, no exclusive bigot. He held the truth in love. His heart, his hand, and his purse were open to men of all creeds and professions; and had he been alive at this day he would have rejoiced in the growing unity of the

Churches, as his writings and his life were consecrated to its promotion.

Many useful and invaluable institutions, essential, almost, to the universal diffusion of the gospel and the completion of the triumph over ignorance and sin, date their origin in the revival of religion under Wesley and Whitefield; and some of them may be traced directly to Methodistic agency.

Sunday-Schools.—It is a common opinion that these heaven-blest institutions owe their origin to Robert Raikes, of Gloucester. All honor to his name for his pious and philanthropic labors; but, in truth, he was not the originator of Sabbath-schools. Bishop Stevens, in his "History of Georgia," tells us that John Wesley had a Sabbath-school at Savannah during the time that he was minister there; and that was about forty-five years before the project was conceived by Robert Raikes. But apart from this, Sabbath-schools in England owe their origin to Methodism. The late Rev. Thomas Jackson shows, in his "Memoir of Hannah Ball," a pious Methodist at Wycombe, that this young woman established a Sunday-school in that place in 1769, and was honored as the instrument in training many children there in the knowledge of God's holy word. This good work commenced, therefore, twelve years before the benevolent enterprise of Robert Raikes. This fact was probably unknown to him; but even so, the very idea of the Sabbath-school was suggested to his mind by Sophia Cooke, another young Methodist—the lady who afterward became the wife of the celebrated Samuel Bradburn. When the benevolent citizen of Gloucester was lamenting the prevalence of Sabbath desecration by the young savages of that town, and seriously asked what could be done for their reformation, Sophia Cooke meekly but wisely suggested, "Let them be gathered together on the Lord's day and taught to read the Scriptures, and taken to the house of God." This suggestion being approved and adopted, the same young lady assisted Raikes in the organization of his school, and walked along with the philanthropist and his

ragged urchins the first time they attended the church. John Wesley wrote to Robert Raikes a letter encouraging him in his good work; and by articles in his own magazine, and by letters to his preachers, he promoted the adoption of Sunday-schools in his own denomination, observing at the time, as if prophetic of their future growth and importance, "I find these schools springing up wherever I go; who knows but some of these schools may be nurseries for Christians." Nurseries, indeed, they have been, and still are, for the Churches. From them the Churches have been replenished with hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of members; and among them not a few of her brightest luminaries, her ablest ministers, her most enterprising and useful missionaries and their wives.

It is impossible to tabulate the glorious results of these heaven-born institutions; but I find that several years ago the number of Sunday scholars connected with Methodism was computed by the Rev. Luke Wiseman at "three millions and nearly five hundred thousand," which we have reason to regard as a very moderate estimate at that time; but since then the number must have increased to four millions as connected with Methodism, while not less than six millions of Sunday scholars are under the care of other Christian denominations.

How many of these children and young people are annually brought to the enjoyment of salvation cannot be accurately given; but from some statistics collected by the Sunday-school Union in England, and published in the report of 1875, we have ground for believing that the aggregate result of the labors of pious Sabbath-school teachers must, indeed, be very great. In that report it is stated that of the schools in the Union eighty-four per cent. of the teachers were formerly Sunday scholars; that eighty per cent. of the teachers are members of Churches; and that 13,248 of the scholars had that year become united with the respective Churches. But, of course, the report of the Sunday-school Union refers to those schools only which are identified with the Union, and these are but a frac-

tion of the whole.* Yet these facts may be taken as a fair sample of the results of Sabbath-school instruction generally, certainly not as an exaggeration, especially as the work of the Sunday-school teacher is now become more spiritual in its character, and the aim of the Christian teachers more directly turned to the salvation of the scholars under their care. How many thousands of Sunday scholars may we now hope are converted to God in one year in the aggregate number of Sunday-schools throughout the world? And how many tens of thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands, have been converted during the hundred years since Hannah Ball, the young Methodist, opened her school at Wycombe? And how many have been transplanted from the garden of the Church on earth to flourish forever in the paradise of God above? Here the pious imagination may luxuriate; here may gratitude raise her voice in exultant praise!

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.—Sunday-schools, however, were but one means out of many which Wesley employed to promote the great work of education. In the very year when he shook off his prejudice against open-air preaching, and betook himself to the great temple of nature, Wesley and Whitefield united in founding the first Methodist seminary; and the very neighborhood, too, where the voice of the revivalist preacher was first heard in the open air was the spot where their first school was erected, Whitefield laying the corner-stone of Kingswood School, and Wesley finding the funds for its erection and maintenance. At the very first Conference which Wesley held, (1744,) the question was formally proposed, "Can we have a seminary for laborers?" This shows what was in Wesley's heart for men and ministers as well as youths; but means were wanting, then, or the claims of other objects were more cogent at the moment. But in subse-

* The entire number reported as belonging to the [English] Sunday-school Union in 1875 is thus stated: Schools, 4,145; teachers, 98,904; scholars, 870,638; not one tenth of the whole number in the world.

quent Conferences the question was resumed again and again, and though not realized at the time, the thought lived in Wesley and his successors, and was ultimately carried into effect by the establishment of those numerous and important schools and colleges, in England and America, and in their mission Conferences, which are a high honor to the liberality and intellectual culture of the great Methodist family. Thus the revival of religion was the revival of education, and they both advanced together hand in hand.

TRACT SOCIETIES.—*The Religious Tract Society of London* is a noble institution; it is one of the glories of the age. It sows divine truth broadcast over the earth, at the rate of 200,000 religious tracts and books every working day in the week, or 60,000,000 every year; and since its origin, in 1799, it has sent forth silent messengers of truth and mercy to the extent of 1,600,000,000 of copies.

It may not, however, be generally known that this institution is one of the outgrowths of the wonderful revival and diffusion of earnest religion produced under God by the labors of Wesley, Whitefield, and their zealous coadjutors. Yet so it was. Wesley, indeed, had written, published, and circulated numerous tracts, and even organized a "*Tract Society*," a number of years before the great society in Paternoster Row was conceived. Only four years after Wesley had experienced the great spiritual change, he began his career as a writer and distributor of religious tracts; for in the year 1762 we find he had already written and distributed by thousands, tracts entitled, "A Word to the Smuggler," "A Word to the Sabbath-breaker," "A Word to the Drunkard," "A Word to the Swearer," "A Word to the Street-walker," "A Word to the Malefactor." And these tracts he distributed himself, and supplied them to his preachers that they might scatter them broadcast wherever they could do so to the probable good of the recipients. In 1745 we find him rejoicing that his efforts were inducing others to adopt the same mode of usefulness;

for he writes, "It pleased God to provoke others to jealousy, insomuch that the Lord Mayor had ordered a large quantity of papers dissuading from cursing and swearing to be printed and distributed to the train-bands. And on this day, "An Earnest Exhortation to Repentance," was given away at every church door in or near London to every person who came out, and one left at the house of every householder who was absent from church. I doubt not God gave a blessing therewith." This was tract distribution by wholesale, the effect, evidently, of Wesley's example.

Wesley did more than this. He saw in such a work the importance of organization, of general sympathy and co-operation, and, therefore, he issued a prospectus and formed "*A Religious Tract Society*" to distribute tracts among the poor. He laid down only three simple rules, but a list of thirty tracts was proposed, already written or published by himself as a beginning, and the proposal concludes with these characteristic words: "I cannot but earnestly recommend this to all those who desire to see scriptural Christianity spread through these nations. Men wholly unawakened will not take pains to read the Bible. They have no relish for it. But a small tract may engage their attention for half an hour; and may, by the blessing of God, prepare them for going forward."

Here, then, was the organization of a "Religious Tract Society," designed, as Wesley himself states, for "*these nations*," and based upon the most broad, catholic principles; and this Society was in existence and operation seventeen years before the Religious Tract Society of Paternoster Row was organized. Yet, strange to say, in the "Jubilee Volume of the Religious Tract Society" of Paternoster Row, the efforts of John Wesley are not once named! On reading that official volume some time ago I was amazed to find that though the isolated efforts of some others are made prominent, the extensive labors of John Wesley in this department of usefulness are unnoticed, and the Religious Tract Society he organized is not even

named. This strange omission must, we think, have been the result not of design, but of the absence of information. But though unnoticed or unknown by Mr. Jones, the author of the above work, there can be no doubt that great institution which is blessing the world every week with more than a million of religious tracts and books, is the legitimate offspring of Wesley's labors and of his influential efforts in the same line of usefulness. It is gratifying to know, that although the Religious Tract Society established by John Wesley does not now exist in its original form, its successor lives in vigor and prosperity at the Wesleyan Book-Room, in City Road, London, having 1,250 distinct and separate publications in 1871, and issuing in one year (1867) not fewer than 1,570,000 tracts, all printed and published by itself.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.—While Wesley was the originator of a Religious Tract Society, he was at the same time the active promoter of general knowledge. In 1749 we find evidence that he had previously published volumes as well as tracts, and now he began to issue his "Christian Library," in fifty volumes, embracing all sorts of valuable knowledge, but expurgated from the mixture of all sentiments that might be detrimental to sacred truth. In the year 1777 he began to publish the "Arminian Magazine," which he edited himself until his death. His preachers were his colporteurs, for every circuit was to be supplied with books by the "assistant," or superintendent preacher; and thus the press was made a powerful auxiliary to the living voice in diffusing knowledge, defending truth, and promoting the spread of religion. All that Wesley did, and all he said, echoed the voice of God, "Let there be light." He was a foe to ignorance, because he was the friend and the messenger of truth; and to render his wholesome literature accessible to the poor, he sold his publications as cheap as possible, and where means were wanting to purchase he was ever ready to give his publications without charge.

Bible Societies.—*The British and Foreign Bible Society*, formed in the year 1804, is, without doubt, the grandest institution in the world. Yet it was not the first organization to dispense the written word. It was preceded by the *Naval and Military Bible Society*, formed twenty-five years before. But both these institutions originated in the great religious movement of the age—one, indeed, directly from Methodist agency, and the other from Methodistic influence. The venerable Thomas Jackson refers to this fact in his "Centenary of Methodism," and the Rev. Luke Tyerman in his copious "Life and Times of Wesley," gives us the following interesting account of the origin of the first Bible Society in the world. He says, in vol. iii, page 314: "The first Bible Society founded in Great Britain, and perhaps in the world, was established in 1779, and was the work of Methodists. George Cussons and John Davies, after leaving the Leaders' meeting in West-street Chapel, entered into conversation, and when near Soho Square, formed a resolution to endeavor to raise a fund for supplying soldiers with pocket Bibles. They and a dozen of their friends united themselves into a Society for promoting this object. Their meetings were held once a month in the house of Mr. Dobson, of Oxford-street. John Thornton, Esq., of Clapham, became a generous subscriber. The first parcel of Bibles was sent from the vestry of Wesley's West-street Chapel; and the first sermon on behalf of the Society was preached in the same chapel by the Rev. Mr. Collins, from the appropriate words, 'And the Philistines were afraid, for they said, God is come into the camp. And they said, Woe unto us, for there hath not been such a thing heretofore.' Thus arose the *Naval and Military Bible Society*."

This institution, which still exists as a distinct organization, was the precursor by twenty-five years of the great Bible Society for the world; and both sprang from the same cause—that craving for Bible truth which the revival of religion had

excited. There is an obvious and providential connection between this and kindred institutions. The gracious revival of experimental religion excited the benevolent principle, and stimulated men and women to do good; and one form of doing good was, as we have already seen, giving gratuitous religious instruction to the young; hence the origin of Sunday-schools. Sabbath-schools produced in a few years a generation of readers. To afford wholesome pabulum to hundreds of thousands of newly created readers, religious tracts and books must be supplied; to meet the narrow means of the poor, the books must be supplied at a cheap rate. Hence, Wesley's tracts, and his Christian Library, of fifty volumes; and hence, too, his Religious Tract Society, followed, as it was, seventeen years after by the great organization of the Tract Society in Paternoster Row.

But it was not possible that the religious thirst now excited could be wholly satisfied with human literature. There was the Bible, the Book of God, the fountain of all religious truth, and sole ground of its authority. This must be had. The desire became intense, and equally so the zeal of holy men to meet it. This desire had become so ardent among the people in Wales, where the circulating schools of Howell Harris and his zealous coadjutors had promoted education, that the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bald, came to London to interest benevolent men in supplying the population of Wales with copies of the Holy Scriptures. A meeting of some ministers and brethren was called, and it was proposed to organize a Society for this purpose, "to supply the population of Wales with the Bible." Joseph Hughes, of Battersea, got up, (I fancy I see him now, for I knew that holy man,) and he uttered these words: "Form a society for Wales! Why not form a society for the world?" As if inspired by the noble sentiment, it was resolved to widen the basis and purpose of the society, to embrace not only the small principality of Wales, but the whole world. The Bible Society was then inaugurated, and thus we see how naturally

it grew under the providence of God, from the gracious revival of experimental religion, to the promotion of which the Wesleys and George Whitefield had devoted their lives. Other holy men, especially the zealous evangelists in Wales, performed a worthy part, but history will ever accord the most prominent place to John Wesley in this great and glorious movement.

The Bible Society has existed seventy-four years, and it has accomplished a work unequaled in the annals of our world. It has published the Book of God in nearly three hundred languages or dialects, and, including the issues of its auxiliaries at home and abroad, it has circulated since its commencement, copies of the word of God in whole, or in portions thereof, to the amazing number of one hundred and thirty millions, and is sending them forth at the rate of five millions every year. Behold, what hath God wrought!

In the committee formed at the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society we see the names of two distinguished Methodists, Christopher Lundius and Joseph Butterworth; and in the third year of its existence we find the name of the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke, then the president of the Wesleyan Conference, who, at the special request of the Bible Society, was appointed by the Conference to London for the third year, his presence being deemed indispensable to the work of providing the Scriptures in foreign languages. These facts show both the direct and indirect influence of Methodism in giving the Bible to the world.

Modern Missionary Societies.—I have before me the record of more than forty missionary institutions for spreading the gospel at home and abroad, all of which have risen since 1790, and to these a large number of kindred institutions may be added; and though some of these have no nominal connection with Methodism, they all, doubtless, originated in that religious awakening which Wesley, Whitefield, and their associates in labor and prayer, so extensively promoted. For, indeed, Methodism itself is one great collection of missionary

organizations. When Wesley found the churches closed against him he said, "The world is my parish;" and henceforth knew no more ecclesiastical restraints. The great commission to the apostle was "Go;" here is "itinerancy;" and Wesley and his preachers went forth; they traveled. The great commission said, "Go into all the world;" and hence no more parochial limitations for Wesley. The great commission said, "Preach the gospel to every creature;" and hence the outlying masses must be reached; and if they will not come to the gospel the gospel must be carried to them; and hence the open-air aggressions, and the ministry exercised in barns, cottages, fairs, market-squares, and in all places where neglected humanity could be found. Here was missionary life and effort in the very soul and essence of Methodism! Lay preachers rose up at first in units, then in tens, then in hundreds, and ere long in thousands. Here was the revival of an obsolete but a primitive mode of diffusing the gospel. Men speaking for Christ in homely phrase, but in living earnestness, because the love of Christ and the love of souls constrained them. Without ordination and without ecclesiastical authority, except that which Christ himself imparted and inspired; and here were missionaries ready at once for the work required. This formed no part of Wesley's plan; for, indeed, he had no plan but that of following wherever God's providence and Spirit might lead. It led him to this in spite of his former prejudices; for it grew out of the spiritual life of Methodism as naturally and spontaneously as the tree grows from the vitality and energy of the root.

Hence the missions of Methodism to distant lands and foreign climes rose without any organization,* for, indeed, the organization came not until the mission work had gained a

* January, 1784—eight years before the *Baptist Missionary Society*, twelve years before the *London Missionary Society*, and sixteen years before the *Church Missionary Society*—Dr. Thomas Coke and Thomas Parker organized a Foreign Missionary Society, and published "A Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathens."—EDITOR.

footing in various parts of the world. Thus, twenty-six years before Dr. Coke went to the West Indies, a negress and her master, Nathaniel Gilbert, had introduced Methodism into Antigua, (West Indies.) This beginning, followed up by the labors of John Baxter, a ship carpenter, had resulted in a Society of 1,569 members, and the converted negroes themselves had built a chapel from their own earnings. Hence it was the work of Dr. Coke not to originate but to extend the mission, which had spontaneously grown up from lay agency in the West Indies. It was the same in the United States of America.

Philip Embury, an Irish emigrant, excited to his duty by the zeal of Barbara Heck, had commenced preaching in his own house, and formed a Methodist Society in New York in 1766; and soon after Captain Webb, arriving in New York, preached to the people in his uniform; and when, three years after, in 1769, the Conference in England sent Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, they found already a Society of 100 members and a place of worship that contained 1,700 people; but as only one third of the hearers could get in, the other two thirds had to listen outside the building as well as they could.

Here, again, the work of missions had sprung up without human organization, just as the primitive missions sprang up in Cesarea, in Cyprus, in Antioch, etc., in apostolic times. It was to assist this infant mission Church in New York that the first missionary collection was made at the Conference of 1769. It was much the same in Canada, Nova Scotia, and many other parts of America. We cannot, for want of space, narrate the facts, though they are of thrilling interest, showing the vital power, the spontaneous development, of Methodism. Suffice it to say that Methodism, thus planted in America, continued to spread in every part of the great republic under the apostolic labors of Francis Asbury, whose incessant activity emulated the enterprise of Wesley, and the burning fervor of John Nelson and Thomas Walsh. No labors could exhaust, no difficul-

ties could conquer, the energy of that devoted man. He forded rivers, he penetrated forests, he tracked the footsteps of the hardy emigrant to the uttermost settlement, and carried the gospel to the remotest bounds of civilization. He was, indeed, a bishop of the primitive type, in labors abundant, in perils oft: and amid his incessant and arduous toils, by night as well as by day, carrying with him the care of all the Churches of his ever-widening episcopate. His contemporaries labored with corresponding zeal and self-denial. His successors have carried on the great work transmitted to their hands, and copious showers of blessings have been poured upon their Churches.

Methodism, taken in the aggregate, occupies no small space on the surface of the globe. Born of missionary zeal, all the sections of Methodism are actuated by the missionary spirit, and employ their wealth, their influence, and some of their best men as missionaries in spreading the gospel both at home and in various parts of the heathen world. Looking at the facts before us, we cannot but regard Methodism as a great missionary institution, putting forth its own energies for the conversion of the world, and by its spirit, its efforts, and its example, kindling the fire in other Churches, and becoming by moral influence, the main cause, under God, of the wonderful revival of missionary zeal in the several denominations which have, within the last sixty years, waked up to the duty of doing their part in evangelizing the nations of the earth. "Methodism," said the eloquent Dr. Chalmers, "is Christianity in earnest." Yes, and one part of its mission was and is to arouse other Churches to earnestness. As the Rev. Dr. Dobbin, though a Churchman, and of the Dublin University, writes, when referring to the origin of Methodism and its powerful influence on Christendom: "Never was there such a scene before in the British Islands; there were no Bible, tract, or missionary societies before to employ the Church's powers, and indicate its path of duty; but Wesley

started them all. The Church and the world were alike asleep; he sounded the trumpet and awoke the Church to work." The venerable Perronet had the same feeling in his day, while Wesley was alive; for when looking around on the wonderful effects of Methodism, he wrote these remarkable words: "I make no doubt that Methodism is designed by Providence to introduce the approaching millennium." A sentiment which the subsequent development and influence of Methodism has served to illustrate and confirm.

Lay-preaching.—To lay-preaching, to which we have referred, we must be allowed to give a more extended notice. When introduced by Wesley it was viewed by a slumbering Church as "*a startling novelty*," and pronounced "*an astounding irregularity;*" but soon as she awoke, and rubbed her eyes, she saw that instead of being "a startling novelty," it was the revival of a practice as old as Christianity itself; and instead of being "an astounding irregularity," it had primitive example for its precedent and apostolic sanction for its authority. When the disciples "were scattered abroad," they "went every-where preaching the word"—in "Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch;" and instead of this effort of spontaneous zeal being rebuked, "the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord." And while the Church retained her vital energy and aggressive power, the practice of lay-preaching was continued; for we find in the early part of the third century, Origen, while unordained, went from Egypt to Palestine to preach in the churches; and Alexander, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and the Bishop of Cesarea, in a joint letter to the Bishop of Alexandria, justify the practice, saying, "Wherever any are found who are fit to profit the brethren, the holy bishops of their own accord ask them to preach unto the people." Hence, "the astounding irregularity" lay not in adopting, but in so long neglecting, the primitive and divinely sanctioned practice of lay-preaching. It was divinely

sanctioned now in the abundant blessing which rested upon Wesley's humble workers, and through their agency the gospel was carried to hundreds of benighted villages and towns which the regularly ordained ministers could not reach; and thus was created a rich and abundant source from which, ever since, the regular itinerant ministry has been supplied. Other Churches saw the practice and the blessing resting upon it, and it seemed like a new revelation dawning upon them. Henceforth a lay agency was adopted, and this augmented power imparted new energy and efficiency to the Christian world. Many Churches, once stiffened with ecclesiastical starch, and muffled with sacerdotal vestments, have been given to see that Christianity, to fulfill her mission, must awake and put on strength; must shake herself from the dust, and loose the bands from her neck, and go forth untrammeled and work with elastic freedom, employing all the resources of her power and her people to save mankind. Thus Methodism not only awoke religion from her tomb, but burst the bandages by which she had been trammeled and restrained, and bade her go free to bless the nations of the earth. We have not space to do justice to a subject so copious, so diversified, so rich in facts of interest, and facts increasing in number as years roll on.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Slavery is now become extinct not only in the British dominions but also in America; but who knows how much the well-known sentiments of Wesley have influenced public opinion on this subject? At the time when Whitefield was the advocate of slavery and the owner of fifty slaves, and when John Newton—afterward rector of St. Mary's, Woolnoth, London—was engaged in the African slave-trade, John Wesley was denouncing slavery, and in 1774 he published a tract of fifty-three octavo pages against it. In the very year that Wesley's utterance was pronounced, Granville Sharpe began to advocate in public the cause of freedom. Fifteen years after the society was formed for "The Suppression of the Slave-trade," Wesley's tract was re-

published in Philadelphia, and the agitation was continued until England paid down the sum of £20,000,000 sterling for the freedom of the slave. The same feeling grew in America until slavery was abolished, and Churches for a time alienated met and embraced each other in fraternal sympathy and love.

Sacred Lyric Poetry.—In noticing the influence of Methodism on the Churches it would be inexcusable not to advert to its poetry. The Holy Spirit which actuated John Wesley to revive true experimental religion inspired Charles Wesley to give it expression in poetic numbers. Methodism required just such hymns as Charles and John Wesley composed. Its psalmody must harmonize with its earnest spirit and give it vocal utterance. Its doctrines of free grace, universal redemption, justifying faith, the Holy Spirit's witness, and entire sanctification; its intimate and holy fellowship; its clear apprehensions of duty; its sublime morality, and its intense missionary ardor, required to be embodied in sacred song for the purpose of public worship, and of family and closet devotion. But where was poetry to be found to express the *animus* of the Methodist body? Evangelical as are the sentiments, refined and elegant as the diction and the rhythm, of Watts, Doddridge, Cowper, Newton, and others—we acknowledge we enjoy and admire many of the hymns of the honored men we have named—I know of no collection of hymns, ancient or modern, but one, which can fully utter the doctrinal sentiments and the vigorous pulsations of the Methodistic heart, and that collection is the Hymn Book composed and compiled by John and Charles Wesley. In the category of our blessings, the Wesleyan Hymn Book must be reckoned one of unspeakable importance and value. Besides its high qualities in poetic composition, it is a vehicle through which truth is conveyed, and a means by which it is conserved. It comprises a body of the soundest theology, the richest experience, and the sublimest

morality. Its absence would have left a vacuum in our privileges which no other book of poems could supply. God saw it was needed and he supplied the need by the sanctified genius of the Wesleys; and what has been so great a blessing in fostering the piety of Methodism has fed the flame of religion in other denominations; and hence, of late years, the copious use which other Churches are making of our excellent hymns.

I cannot better conclude Wesley's Influence on the Religion of the World than in the following sweetly flowing lines of Charles Wesley:—

Our conquering Lord
Hath prospered his word,
Hath made it prevail;
And mightily shaken the kingdom of hell.
His arm he hath bared,
And a people prepared
His glory to show;
And witness the power of his passion below.

His Spirit revives
His work in our lives,
His wonders of grace,
So mightily wrought in the primitive days.
O that all men might know
His tokens below,
Our Saviour confess,
And embrace the glad tidings of pardon and peace.

Thou Saviour of all
Effectually call
The sinners that stray:
And, O, let a nation be born in a day!
Then, then let it spread,
Thy knowledge and dread,
Till the earth is o'erflowed,
And the universe filled with the glory of God.
Amen.

# WESLEY AND CHURCH POLITY.

WHEN Methodism is examined in the light afforded by the experience of over one hundred and forty years, it presents a record of events which is both interesting and marvelous.

That one out of a number of students at a famous university should be noted for his learning, or for piety, is not at all extraordinary; but that such a one, in modern times, fired with no mere worldly ambition, and with no desire to make for himself a great name, but whose heart, instead, was filled with zeal for the cause of God and compassion for the ignorant and sinful—that such a one should, in the providence of God, become the founder of a great Church, which, in less than a century and a half should number its membership by millions, is not only astonishing, but is without a parallel in history.

Such a man was John Wesley. Such a Church is Methodism in its various branches.

It is not my present purpose to review the individual polity of each of the various branches of Methodism, nor to trace minutely every phase of the polity bequeathed to the Church by Mr. Wesley, as it was developed by him or was forced upon him by circumstances, but simply to outline some of the more important features of his matured polity, and to show how closely the man was identified with his measures.

When Mr. Wesley, while yet a student, began to visit the prisons in order to benefit the inmates, or later still, as a clergyman of the Established Church, continued his ministrations to the poor and the distressed, he had no idea of the results which were to follow his disinterested labors. His design was to reform men and lead them to Christ, but in doing this

he expected to retain them in the Church of England, not to found a new body.

But as time passed the work grew upon him, and he was forced to depart from the beaten track which usage sanctioned in the clergymen of the day, or leave those whom he had been the means of rescuing from lives of sin to again become the prey of the arch enemy, and perish after all. Nearly everywhere he went the newly-awakened people thronged about him, seeking instruction in spiritual things, and he realized that some systematic method must be adopted by which it could be supplied. Hence, in 1739, he formed the first of his "United Societies." This was the germ whence the Church sprung. Those who had desired to ridicule the whole movement had termed Mr. Wesley and his followers "Methodists," and they wisely accepted the name.

The Societies increased in numbers, and subsequently Mr. Wesley divided them into "smaller companies called classes." The division into classes was at first designed only as a financial arrangement, funds being needed to liquidate a debt which rested on a place of worship. The class consisted of about twelve persons, one of whom was appointed leader. This person had the oversight of the class, and to him, at first, were the contributions paid. Close inspection of the classes, joined to the reports of some of his leaders, convinced Mr. Wesley that these classes might be made conducive to spiritual growth, which was of more importance than the financial aid which they rendered, though both were essential to the well-being of the Societies, and accordingly he incorporated them into his system of government designed for the Societies. Indeed, it is at this point that Mr. Wesley may be said to have commenced to develop his Church polity; while yet he was far from contemplating a separation of any of the Societies from the Established Church. That idea came later, when circumstances forced him to adopt it.

For four years he regulated and governed the Societies by

the aid of his helpers and class-leaders, without any general written law; but in 1743 the "General Rules" were drawn up and promulgated as the constitution by which the United Societies were to be governed. In this incomparable code—incomparable contrasted with other human codes—we readily perceive the sagacity and foresight of the compiler. These rules bear to Methodism to-day the same relation that the *magna charta* does to Englishmen.

Only one condition was required of all who desired admission into the Societies, namely, "A desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins;" but they were expected to evidence this desire by their subsequent walk and conversation. To guard, however, against the admission of improper persons into the Societies, who might, by disorderly conduct, bring the cause into disrepute, he adopted the probationary system.

The term of probation was first—it is stated by some authorities—two months; afterward it was lengthened to three months, and finally to six months.

Whatever views may be taken of the matter now, and there are many able men who contend both for and against the continuance of the probationary system, it certainly was an advantage both to the Societies and to those seeking admission to them in the commencement. It was a public guarantee on the one hand of the desire of the Wesleys to keep the Societies pure, and on the other, while admitting seekers of salvation to the religious privileges of the Societies, it gave them opportunity to examine carefully the doctrines taught by the Methodists and their usages. Then, if any were unwilling to subscribe to the one or conform to the other, they were at liberty to leave the Society without assigning a reason why they did so; and, per contra, if any were disorderly in their walk, the leader might, after trying to bring them to a better state of mind, refuse to recommend that they should get their ticket of membership, when they were quietly dropped without the

annoyance of expulsion. At the expiration of the six months, the conditions of the probation being fulfilled, namely, a regular attendance at class-meeting, leading a godly life, etc., etc., the probationer received his ticket, which constituted him a member of the Society.

As the Societies multiplied, and Mr. Wesley's assistants and helpers increased in numbers, it became necessary that he and his helpers should consult concerning the state of the work from time to time; so another advance was made, and the Church polity developed one step further. The earlier of these consultations were styled "Conversations." Subsequently the term Conference came to be applied to them. The general rules were admirably adapted to the regulation of the Societies, with their officiary, the stewards and leaders; but now it was necessary that the work of the preachers, Mr. Wesley's helpers, should be regulated also. Care must be taken as to what doctrine was taught by these men, because for it all, whether for good or ill, the world would hold Mr. Wesley responsible. And that there might be no confusion or clashing of interest the work of all must be systematically arranged. Considered numerically, these earlier Conferences were small indeed, but there was a large amount of effective work done by them notwithstanding.

As the founder of the body, Mr. Wesley's authority was, of course, supreme, both as to doctrine and usage; but he was also accorded that authority by the common consent of his people: and, under the circumstances, it was best that supreme authority should center in him. Discussing this question, Mr. Watson remarks: "Few men, it is true, have had so much power; but, on the other hand, he could not have retained it in a perfectly voluntary society had he not used it mildly and wisely, and with a perfectly disinterested and public spirit."

Referring to the same subject Mr. Wesley thus expresses himself: "What is that power? It is a power of admitting into, and excluding from, the societies under my care; of

choosing and removing stewards; of receiving or not receiving helpers; of appointing them when, where, and how to help me, and of desiring any of them to confer with me when I see good. And as it was merely in obedience to the providence of God and for the good of the people that I at first accepted this power, which I never sought, so it is on the same consideration, not for profit, honor, or pleasure, that I use it at this day. . . . I did not seek any part of it. But when it was come unawares, not daring to bury that talent, I used it to the best of my judgment. Yet I was never fond of it; I always did, and do now, bear it as my burden, the burden which God lays upon me; and, therefore, I dare not lay it down."

He inaugurated the itinerant system, and managed it so admirably that it became incorporated into the general polity.

After the long and somewhat acrimonious controversy which had been carried on between the Methodists and their opponents concerning Calvinism had subsided, Mr. Wesley became more than ever solicitous about a settled polity for the Societies. Every year the necessity for devising some more systematic plan than had yet been arranged became more and more apparent. As early as 1745 the question of Church polity had been discussed at length, at the second yearly Conference, and every subsequent year had added its quota of light gained by experience. Mr. Wesley was a Churchman, warmly attached to the traditions of his Church; but in this matter he felt that he must go as Providence seemed to direct.

In 1746 he read very carefully Lord King's account of the "Primitive Church," which convinced him that the unbroken apostolic succession was a fable—a mere assumption which had not been proved, and which did not, in fact, admit of proof: and this conviction helped to loosen the hold which the churchly tradition had hitherto kept upon his mind. Little by little, as the years rolled on and the exigencies of the case demanded it, his mental vision was widened and strengthened

to meet that demand, until at length he took such an advanced position that his brother Charles joined issue with him in a very strong remonstrance.

In his solicitude for the welfare of the Societies and their establishment upon a permanent basis, Mr. Wesley urged Mr. Fletcher to assume, or at least to share, his responsibility; but Mr. Fletcher declined to do either. Mr. Wesley was in a strait; but time, and the precarious tenure by which the Societies held their property, which would be jeopardized in the event of his death if not properly secured before, demanded prompt and definite action. The Rubicon had long been crossed; there could be no recrossing now. Strictly speaking, it had been crossed by the organization of that first Society in London in 1739. The work must now be consolidated, or more than forty years' labor would be lost.

But it was not the Societies in Britain alone that were urging him to give them, once for all, a complete and definite polity, which would prevent disintegration when he was gone; the Societies in America were also calling imperatively for prompt and effectual measures which would establish the Church there upon a permanent basis. In America prompt action was more especially urgent because of exigencies which had arisen as a consequence of the Revolutionary War.

Hitherto the Methodists in America had received the ordinances of the Church at the hands of the parish ministers, as they had done in Britain; but in the disordered state of affairs in the Republic, immediately succeeding the war, this was impossible. Few, if any, of the old-time clergy were to be found in the land; all, or nearly all, having returned to Europe with the British, as every vestige of Church and State had been swept away in the political changes effected at the time.

Mr. Wesley fully realized the difficulties which beset his path, but it had not been the habit of his long life to turn aside from the performance of duty because difficulties were in the way. When any were to be encountered he met them

squarely, and, if possible, overcame them. If it were found to be impossible to overcome them, he did what he deemed best under the circumstances, and in this spirit he proceeded to complete the work of the organization of the Methodist Church.

In England he was trammeled by Church and State connections. In America that difficulty had been removed. He had to plan for the permanent establishment of the Church in both countries, under different conditions, and, in the matter of the American Church his brother Charles opposed him strongly. After careful consideration and earnest prayer for guidance, having decided what he thought to be best for all concerned, he proceeded, in 1784, to carry out the measures decided upon.

That his death might not seriously affect the Societies in Britain in a legal point of view, he had what is known as the "Deed of Declaration" drawn up and enrolled in chancery. In this deed he named one hundred preachers as the legal Conference, and made the term "Conference" also a legal one. By this document, also, the "Legal Hundred" were constituted a governing body, invested with power and authority which had hitherto rested with Mr. Wesley only. It also provided for the election of a president and secretary annually, and for the filling up of vacancies which would occur from death or other causes; but did not make any provision for the ordination of preachers, or authorize them to administer the sacraments of baptism or the Lord's supper.

It was not till years after Mr. Wesley's death that the English preachers began to administer the ordinances, nor then till after a long and unpleasant controversy had ensued upon the question.

It should here be remarked, however, that in 1789 Mr. Wesley did ordain Mr. Alexander Mather general superintendent, and Messrs. Rankin and Moore elders. "These," Mr. Pawson, one of the early presidents of the English Conference, says, "he (Mr. Wesley) undoubtedly designed should ordain the others."

Such, then, briefly outlined, was the polity given to the Methodist Societies in Britain. In America it differed somewhat. Here, as has been said, he was untrammeled by Church and State connection, and was, therefore, free to carry out the plan of Church polity which was the result of his mature judgment. Accordingly, in September of the same year that he made the Deed of Declaration he ordained Dr. Coke general superintendent, and eight days later gave him a letter of authority to proceed to America to organize the Church there into a distinct body.

Nor did Mr. Wesley act in this matter on his own unaided judgment, though he had weighed it well. He consulted with Mr. Fletcher and others concerning the advisability of the course he was about to pursue, and they agreed with him as to the necessity for action. That he had a right to ordain men to the offices of the ministry in the manner he did, he maintained by referring to the decisions and transactions of the primitive Church as a precedent. Notably so by the usage of the "ancient Alexandrian Church, which through two hundred years provided its bishops through ordination by its presbyters." Bishop and General Superintendent were synonymous terms. Mr. Wesley had been greatly helped to his decisions upon the polity of the Church by Lord King's "Primitive Church," the careful reading of which, forty years previous to this time, has been before mentioned. "Dr. Coke," says Dr. Stevens, "was already a presbyter of the Church of England; to what was he now ordained, then, by Mr. Wesley, if not to the only remaining office of bishop?"

Mr. Wesley had also summoned Mr. Richard Whatcoat and Mr. Thomas Vasey to meet him in Bristol, where the ordinations took place at this time. Here, on the 1st of September, he ordained these brethren to the office of deacons, assisted in the ordination service by Rev. James Creighton and Dr. Coke, both presbyters of the Church of England; and the day following he ordained them elders. These men, then—Dr. Coke

as superintendent or bishop, and the Messrs. Whatcoat and Vasey as elders, the associates of Dr. Coke—were the persons commissioned by Mr. Wesley to organize the Church in America, to whom he committed the well-defined polity and liturgy which he had prepared for it.

Duly accredited from Mr. Wesley to the Societies in America, they, on the morning of September 18, 1784, set sail for the place of destination, which they reached after a stormy passage of six weeks. They landed in New York on the 3d of November, and were entertained for a few days at the house of Stephen Sands, an influential member of the John-street Church. Surely it was fitting that the first Protestant bishop in the United States should be entertained by a member of the first Society organized by his co-religionists in the country. In New York they took such rest as the Methodist preachers of the time were wont to take, preaching each day or evening, till they set off for Philadelphia. Thence they proceeded south till they reached Barrett's Chapel, where Dr. Coke met Mr. Asbury, and made him acquainted with Mr. Wesley's plans relative to the polity of the Church, and his wishes concerning himself.

Mr. Asbury had heard of the arrival of Dr. Coke and his colleagues, and was, therefore, partially prepared for the information he now received. In order to know the minds of the leading men among the American preachers he had called a council of such of them as he could collect; and they and he deemed it wise to call a Conference forthwith, to meet at Baltimore the following month.

Freeborn Garrettson was the messenger sent "like an arrow," says Dr. Coke, to gather the preachers for this eventful Conference. On the opening of the Conference Dr. Coke took the chair, and presented Mr. Wesley's letter dated September 10th, 1784, for their consideration. In this letter Mr. Wesley had provided for the establishment of the American Societies into an independent Church, with an episcopal form of government, which could, he argued—we

think conclusively—be regularly organized by the officers whom he had appointed to do so, and had specially ordained for that purpose, namely, Dr. Coke and his colleagues, Messrs. Whatcoat and Vasey. He had cited to those who objected to this polity Lord King and Bishop Stillingfleet as authorities with whom he concurred, and had given expression to his own personal preference for an episcopal form of government.* He had not only devised this form of government, but specifically recommended it for their adoption, and had also appointed Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendent with Dr. Coke. The Conference cordially adopted Mr. Wesley's plan, and at once proceeded to form themselves "into an Episcopal Church, and to have superintendents, elders, and deacons."

Though appointed by Mr. Wesley, Mr. Asbury declined

* See the Minutes of Conference for 1745 and 1747, quoted by Dr. Rigg, in "*Wesley and the Church of England*," pp. 77 and 80 of this volume. Note particularly Wesley's answers to the questions, "*Is Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent Church government most agreeable to reason?*" and, "*But are you assured that God designed the same plan should obtain in all Churches throughout all ages?*"

From Mr. Wesley's answers to these questions, and others equally pertinent, it will be seen how liberal were his views on the whole subject of Church government. While Mr. Wesley had his preference, he did not believe that the New Testament Scriptures prescribe any one form of Church government Nor did Mr. Wesley prescribe any as "essential to a Christian Church." He was persuaded that it was "a consequence full of shocking absurdity" to deny validity to "the foreign Reformed Churches," because their form of Church government is Presbyterian, or Independent, and not Episcopal. Hence he believed that the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, and even that of the Established Church of England, had no exclusive claim to apostolic authority. From his stand-point the Methodist Churches, whether Episcopal or non-Episcopal, are all, in form, equally apostolic. While he preferred a "National Church," he regarded a National Church as "a merely political institution." And while, no doubt, he preferred the Episcopal to any other form of Church government, he did not proscribe Churches whose government is either Presbyterian or Independent. This, he thought, was a matter which each Church had the scriptural right to determine for itself. In answer to the question, "*Must there not be numberless accidental varieties in the government of various Churches?*" Mr. Wesley says: "*There must, in the nature of things; for as God variously dispenses his gifts of nature, providence, and grace, both the offices themselves and the officers in each ought to be varied from time to time.*" And because "the wisdom of God had a regard to this necessary variety," he concluded to be the reason why "there is no determinate plan of Church government appointed in Scripture."—EDITOR.

acting as superintendent unless elected by the Conference also. The Conference then unanimously *elected* Dr. Coke and Francis Asbury superintendents, and Mr. Asbury's ordination followed in due course. Perhaps no system of Church polity has ever been devised which is better adapted to the spreading of the gospel in all lands than the Methodist episcopacy is; under the economy of which both pastors and societies enjoy mutual protection from arbitrary rule, and are favored with the privileges of Christian fellowship. The millions who have been brought to Christ through its instrumentality prove its power and efficiency; and prove also the sagacity and foresight of Mr. Wesley in elaborating and arranging so efficient and liberal a polity. What the Methodist Episcopal Church is to-day, it has, like the constitution of Great Britain, grown to be through the storms of adversity and the suns of prosperity during the lapse of years. Equally removed from the assumption and tyranny of a hierarchy on the one hand, and from the license, uncertainty, and lack of central missionary force in segregated communities on the other; a connectional Church sanctioned, as we think, by scripture, it stands, at least, a peer of the mightiest among the religious organizations of the age; not boasting centuries of accumulated power, it is true; but at the same time not burdened with centuries of excrescences and incumbrances. Youthful and free, preserving a pure doctrine and gathering a wise and holy zeal, with the blessing of God and under the power of the Eternal Spirit, it is, perhaps, not too much to say that it is—equally with the other Methodist Churches of Great Britain and America—the main hope of Protestantism for the evangelization of heathen lands.

# WESLEY AND THE COLORED RACE.

WHEN John Wesley was on his first visit to Charleston, he preached for Alexander Garden, in old St. Michael's Church. He noticed, with pleasure, several negroes present, with one of whom he had a conversation. He found her sadly ignorant of the first principles of religious truth. When he made a second visit to Charleston he conversed with another negro woman, whom he found in the same sad religious state. As carefully as he could he taught her the way of life. Negro slavery was not then permitted in Georgia, and few were the negroes whom he met. But while in Savannah steps were taken by him, as he writes, "toward publishing the glad tidings both to the African and the American heathens."

On his return voyage from Charleston to England, on board the ship in which he sailed were two negro lads, whom he instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. Thus early did Mr. Wesley manifest his deep interest in the welfare of the African race. His opposition to slavery and the slave-trade is well known. His powerful arguments against the latter largely contributed to the success of Wilberforce. Indeed, it may be confidently affirmed that the abolition of the African slave-trade was due more to England's great Methodist reformer than to England's great philanthropist.

Little did Mr. Wesley dream, while conversing with the negroes whom he met in America, and the negro boys whom he was instructing in the ship on the Atlantic, that to the negro race, for whom he thus early felt such tender regard, a blessing would flow from his life-work greater than any other uninspired man has brought to the sons and daughters of Ham. Without sectarian pride we may say, that the negro race has

been, under God, more indebted to Mr. Wesley and Methodism than to the combined efforts of all other Christian bodies, the world over.

The space allotted to this article is too limited to allow more than a mere glance at the work wrought by the Methodists for the colored race. The facts herein presented will establish the truth of what has been said.

In 1758 Nathaniel Gilbert, speaker of the General Assembly of Antigua, one of the West India Islands, whose family claimed descent from Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the great English navigator and half brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, became an adherent of Wesley while on a visit to England. Two of Mr. Gilbert's slaves, whom he carried with him to England, heard Mr. Wesley preach in their master's house at Wandsworth. Professing faith in Christ, they were baptized by Mr. Wesley. On his return to Antigua, in 1759, Mr. Gilbert began to preach to his negro slaves. For fifteen years he carried on the work. In 1774 he fell asleep in Jesus, and rested from his labors. His end was happy and triumphant.

After his death the Society, of about sixty members, was kept alive for eleven years by two faithful negresses; and then Dr. Coke sent a missionary to the island. The first missionary to the negroes the world had ever seen was Cornelius Winter, a Calvinistic Methodist, whom Mr. Whitefield brought with him to America; but the first successful mission among them was the one in Antigua, originated by Nathaniel Gilbert, a lay preacher and slave-holder.

In 1758 Mr. Wesley writes: "January 17. I preached at Wandsworth. A gentleman, come from America, has again opened a door in this desolate place. In the morning I preached in Mr. Gilbert's house. Two negro servants of his and a mulatto appear to be much awakened. Shall not his saving health be made known to all nations?"

November 29, 1758, Mr. Wesley writes: "I rode to Wandsworth and baptized two negroes belonging to Mr. Gilbert, a

gentleman lately come from Antigua. One of these is deeply convinced of sin; the other rejoices in God her Saviour, and is the first African Christian I have known. But shall not our Lord in due time have these heathens also for his inheritance?"

"These," says Mr. Tyerman, "seem simple entries; but, as the acorn contains the oak, so they contain the germ of the marvelous Methodist work and successes among the sable sons of benighted and degraded Africa from that day to this. We think not only of thousands of converted Africans in Namaqualand, Kaffraria, Bechuana, Natal, Sierra Leone, on the Gambia and the Gold Coast, in Dahomey and Guinea; but we also think of tens of thousands in the West Indies, and literally of hundreds of thousands in the Southern States of America. This wonderful work of God began in the house of Nathaniel Gilbert, a temporary sojourner in the town of Wandsworth."

The last days of Nathaniel Gilbert, and the precious influence which his unselfish and sanctified life exerted upon the family that he left behind him, are thus told by Mr. Tyerman:

"On what do you trust?" asked a friend. "On Christ crucified," was the quick response. "Have you peace with God?" He answered, "Unspeakable." "Have you no fear, no doubt?" "None," replied the dying saint. "Can you part with your wife and children?" "Yes, God will be their strength and portion." Thus died the first West Indian Methodist. His wife soon followed him. His daughters, Alice and Mary, had victoriously preceded him. His third daughter, Mrs. Yates, died an equally blessed death. His son, Nicholas, for years was a faithful minister of Christ, and in his last moments was a happy witness of the power and blessedness of gospel truth. And finally, his brother Francis, his faithful fellow-laborer, returned to England, and became a member of the Methodist class led by the immortal vicar of Madeley, the first class paper containing four names, and four only: John Fletcher, Mary Fletcher, Francis Gilbert, and George Perks; while, as late as the year 1864, Fletcher's clerical successor in the Madeley vicarage was the great grandson of Nathaniel Gilbert, and testified that he had reason to believe that no child or grandchild of the first West Indian Methodist had passed away without being prepared for the better world; and that almost all of them had been even distinguished

among Christians for their earnest devotion to the divine Redeemer. "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth."

It is not our purpose to trace in detail the wonderful work of Methodism in the West India Islands, or how the mission extended its arms to the coasts of South America and Honduras. We may simply contrast Hayti and Cuba with Barbadoes, Antigua, and Jamaica, in order to note the beneficent effects. While Methodism has at no time and nowhere accomplished all she has capacity to do, and while we cannot claim for Methodism that it has made the freedmen of these islands all they should be, any more than that it has extirpated vice from Great Britain and Ireland; yet the contrast between those regions upon which it has exerted its true power and those upon which it has not, is so striking that no student of history can fail to see it.

The African had been in America nearly one hundred and fifty years before Methodism came. The larger number of this race with whom it first came in contact were those of Maryland and Virginia. While they were by no means highly civilized, they had lost many of those features which, as barbarians, they had brought with them to America. They were no longer fetich worshipers and devotees to their former superstitions. While still, to a great extent, the slaves of religous delusion, they could not, properly speaking, be called idolaters. The Methodist preachers had a timely and early access to them in the promulgation of the word of life. The simple gospel thus proclaimed to them by the early evangelists had great attraction for them. Ere long fetichism and debasing hallucinations fled before the light of gospel truth. They were once barbarians, and would have remained so in their native land. What seemed a curse was destined to prove a blessing in disguise. Many came as slaves to this strange and far-off land, to die in the triumphs of the Christian faith. Herein is seen the providential hand of God filled with the

greatest blessing for the enslaved, and counteracting the cupidity of man.

When the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, in 1784, it had already a large number of negro members in its expanding communion.

Asbury and Coke were Englishmen, and violently opposed to slavery; and Dr. Coke, by his attacks upon it, impeded to some extent the work among the slaves. Asbury, however, was more prudent, and more disposed to avoid public discussion. The Methodist preachers in the Southern States were many of them the sons of slave-holders, and, while opposed to slavery, they did not sympathize with Dr. Coke's method of treatment, and so had access to master and slave. Those early preachers gave great attention to the religious interests and welfare of the colored people, and in consequence large numbers of them were formed into classes wherever they were found. The class-leader was oftentimes the largest slave-holder. A place in every church was provided for the colored members, and the sacrament was administered to them as regularly as to the whites. Ere long some of the most intelligent and trustworthy were licensed to exhort and to preach. In Charleston, Georgetown, and Wilmington, several very large classes were formed. The colored often outnumbered the white members. In those early days there was no special service for this class, since in every station, at the stated service, the colored members occupied and often filled the large galleries, and joined heartily in the worship. Up to the year 1787 there is no separate report of the colored members. The first separate report showed that the greater number were in Delaware and Maryland.

Among the leading colored preachers of earlier Methodism Henry Evans, of North Carolina, occupied a distinguished and conspicuous position. He was a free-born negro and a mechanic: a man of great integrity, and in high favor with the whites as well as with those who were of his own color.

He worked among the stores in Wilmington and Fayetteville, North Carolina, and in each place founded a Church, to which, at his own request, white preachers were sent. The Fourth-street Church, in Wilmington, is now upon a lot deeded to the African Church, for such the first Methodist Church there was called, and owes its place as a church lot to the labors of Henry Evans. So, too, the first Church in Fayetteville was founded.

What Henry Evans was to the South, Black Harry, as he was called, was to the North. He was a coal-black negro, and traveled with Asbury and Coke, and preached with great power.

Castile Seeby was another famous colored preacher of a later day; one to whose memory Bishop Capers has paid the tribute of his grateful love.

Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Church, was a power in New York Methodism. In New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, and in the rural sections of the north-west districts, Methodism made gratifying progress, and especially in the farther South. In Charleston Methodism made large conquests among the colored people. There were many persons of color in that city of high respectability and of considerable intelligence, much of which they owed to the purity and simplicity of the gospel as preached by Methodist preachers.

Up to 1832 there were no laws in any Southern State prohibiting colored people from learning to read and write, and there were regular schools kept for them. Many of the colored Methodists could read, and many were the trusted stewards and housekeepers of wealthy families, or porters in banks and stores. Many were freeborn, and able to contribute toward building and maintaining the churches.

In the country the slaves attended the monthly services of the circuit preacher, and especially the camp-meetings. This class of negroes might be called Americo-Africans, since they

were several generations removed from the native Africans. Christianity had its renovating influence upon them. The great mission-plantation system was not as yet, and the slaves owned by a Christian master were regular participants in the family worship. There was, however, another very large class of negroes perfectly neglected. It was that class on the large plantations on the coast, and in newly settled regions. Just before the African slave-trade was ended by law large bodies of native Africans were brought into the country. They were purchased in large numbers, and placed in the rice fields and on the Sea Islands. In a climate milder, yet resembling that they left, fed abundantly with the food to which they were accustomed, they increased very rapidly. They were under the rule of their old African traditions, and groveling religious superstitions abounded. The children and grand-children of these native Africans in general feature and character resembled those who had come from Guinea and Congo. The circuit preacher could not reach them, and still less the city preacher. If reached at all, they must be reached by the missionary sent especially to them.

The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1817, and William Capers, afterward bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was one of its first members. His great heart was stirred at the condition of the masses on the large plantations, and he, in connection with James O. Andrew, afterward bishop of the same Church, and always the warm and the true friend of the negro race, devised the plan of colored missions. This was in 1828. Dr. Capers prepared catechisms, visited the plantations, secured the co-operation of the planters, and mapped out the work. But few of the planters on the coast were then Methodists. They were principally Episcopalians, who only resided on their plantations during the winter months. They generally, however, gave a hearty co-operation, some of them agreeing to support the missionary. There was much that was disagreeable and trying in

this mission work. The slaves themselves were but few removes from heathenism itself, and the malaria of the rice fields was very deadly to the white man. Hence very trying were the circumstances under which the missionary labored. The Methodist Episcopal Church supported the missions till 1845, and then the work was continued up to 1865 by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. During twenty years the Church South spent not less than one million of dollars in this field alone. The work was continually expanding, and demanding more ministerial and financial outlay. The mission-plantation system grew with the opening of new lands, and colored missions were formed wherever there was any large number of negroes. Churches were built especially for the slaves, and when they were not so built, the churches of the whites were used by them.

In the cities and larger towns there were churches especially erected for their use, and a missionary in charge of them. Also there were Sunday-schools, leaders, and local preachers. The results of this great work told upon the negro population. Polygamy, at one time so extensively practiced among them, ceased among those under Methodist influence. Many colored families otherwise not legally united in the marriage relation became as practically so as were those of the whites. Thefts, drunkenness, gaming, and profanity were very rare among the colored people to whom the missionary had access. There were over two hundred thousand members of color in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at the time when General Lee surrendered. For years, too, the laws prohibiting negroes learning to read were of no force, and only existed in the letter. There were many colored preachers who read well, and embellished the Christian character with all the graces of an upright life, and preached with power. Other Christian Churches had done a labor of love for the spiritual melioration of these once benighted sons and daughters of Ham. Yet to none do they owe a greater debt of gratitude than to the people called "Methodists."

But we should give a very imperfect view of what Methodism has done for the negro if we should confine it to those sections in which the negroes were in large numbers, and to that body of Southern Methodists which had them specially in charge.

In the larger cities of the North, while there were not many negroes, there were enough to form considerable congregations, and in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington, negroes were gathered together in Methodist Churches. There were several different Church organizations in the North, differing only in government, which were laboring to evangelize and educate the colored race. These were the Zion Methodists, the African Methodists, and the Methodist Episcopal Church. In every State these Churches are found; and in all of the States many of highest position and of largest means are connected with them.

Before the war the African Methodists had a university in Ohio, and had her quota of lettered and educated clergymen.

The war came on, but the work among the colored people was not suspended; still the faithful missionary went to his field; still he breathed the often deadly malaria of the swamps; still he trusted his life and the lives of his family to a people whom the world expected, with ax and brand, to carry death and ruin wherever the white man was powerless to protect himself; and still the Christian negro patiently waited for the end. Even where he loved his master, he longed for freedom; and yet he felt no stroke for freedom, dear as it was, should be a bloody one. He simply waited. The Methodist had always been his friend. Many of the largest slave-holders were Methodists, and many were, like Nathaniel Gilbert, not unconcerned for their slaves. The Church had labored bravely, and was now rewarded in the greatness of the harvest; but the war ended, and freedom came to the negro.

Other Methodist bodies now had full access to the South, and with great zeal entered upon the work.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, impoverished by the war, and scarcely able to survive the shock she had received, was unable to keep up the work she had begun and continued for so long a time. She could barely hold the ground she had gained. During the many years she had been directing the evangelical work among the negroes she had been training a body of colored ministers who were ready to take the places vacated by the white itinerant and local preachers. Many of these retained their connection with the Church South; many of the ablest went with other bodies of Methodists. There was now aroused a great interest in the evangelization of the colored race on the part of the Northern people. They felt that every obligation required that they should do something for the negro, and at once they began their work. They found the field already prepared and white to the harvest. Preachers, leaders, and church buildings were at hand. Culture was needed, and especially organization for self-help, for hitherto the colored people had been provided for by others. They must now learn to provide for themselves. The African Methodist Episcopal Church had a corps of able bishops and a compact organization. So had the Zion Methodists, who differed from the African Methodists in but little more than name. The Methodist Episcopal Church, rich and powerful, also came into the field. The Methodist Episcopal Church established schools and colleges, and has been liberal and energetic. The other bodies have shown the same zeal. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, gave to the colored Church which it had set up—the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America—all the church buildings which it had erected for its colored members, and saw it organized for important and successful work.

The effects of Methodism upon the negro race in the South—and of the Baptists, the only other body of Christians who had done much for the negroes—was seen during and after the late war. The negroes rose in no insurrection. They waited the

issue patiently, and when the end came and they were free, they accepted their freedom as of God. No Christian leader among them has ever been accused of any agitation that would result in bloodshed. They felt that God in his providence had said to the Christians of the South, "Take these sons of Africa and train them for me, and in my time I will call for them." The two colored men who have been members of the United States Senate—men who, according to all testimony, have been noted for moderation, dignity, and purity—were Methodists and of Southern birth. The congregations of colored Methodists thrown upon their own resources have nobly met the demands, and now day-schools, and Sunday-schools, and churches are found all over the country.

There is another result which we ought not to disregard. It is the influence of Methodism in welding the hearts of the races together. The white Methodists yearned toward their black brethren. The preachers who had preached to them, the Sunday-school teachers who had taught them, the class-leaders who had examined them, and the bishops who had watched over them, could not be hostile to them, and the colored race could not but feel warmly toward those who had led them to Christ. So, while there was political division, there was religious fellowship. As to the future it is full of promise. When Colquitt, the Democratic Governor of Georgia, leads the religious services of the colored people, by far the most of whom are opposed to his political views; and when a Republican colored Congressman from his salary appropriates a liberal part to support the family of his old owner impoverished by the war, every thing points to peace between the races, and prosperity for both; and to this end we believe Methodism has been the chief contributor. That the colored Methodists will always remain divided we cannot think, but, as the Wesleyans have their separate families, and the Methodist Episcopalians of America theirs, so may the colored Methodists remain as they are, differing in government, but Methodists in usage and creed.

Although so wonderful a work has been done in the West Indies and America, the negro race in this western world has not alone been blessed. The tidal wave of blessing has swept back upon the shores of Africa.

In Sierra Leone a Methodist missionary was found as early as 1811, but twenty years before he went there Methodist classes had been formed. Methodism extended in all the coast country, and in 1839, nearly forty years ago, it reported over two thousand members. Thence the Wesleyan missionary went to Senegambia, then to the Lower Coast, then to the Ashantee country, and then to the coast country near the Cape. America sent missionaries to Liberia, while English Methodists supplied their own dependencies.

The work in Africa has just fairly begun, and the colored Churches in America are looking with eager eye to the day when they can take their places beside the great evangelisms of their white brethren.

To no race, we repeat, has Methodism been so true a blessing as to the descendants of Ham. Among no people of any race has it borne better fruits; to none does it promise more. Among no people is the name of John Wesley more venerated, and no people sing the songs of Charles Wesley with sweeter melody or heartiness; and among no others is there a purer type of faith and love, or greater devotion to Wesleyan Methodism.

# WESLEY THE PREACHER.

WESLEY as an Organizer has usurped public attention to such an extent as quite to obscure his character as a Preacher. And yet, in his power and success as a preacher was laid the foundation of all his power and success as an organizer. He was, in simple truth, the most awakening and spiritually penetrative and powerful preacher of his age. Whitefield was more dramatic, but less intense; more pictorial, but less close and forcible, less incisive and conclusive. In Wesley's calmer discourses, lucid and engaging exposition laid the basis for close and searching application. In his more intense utterances, logic and passion were fused into a white heat of mingled argument, denunciation, and appeal, often of a most personal searchingness, often overwhelming in its vehement home-thrusts. Some idea may be gained as to the character of his most earnest preaching from his "Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion," especially the latter portions of the first of these, and from his celebrated "Sermon on Free Grace."

I am, of course, aware that the intimation I have now given of the character of Wesley's preaching will surprise some, even of my well-informed readers, and that it is not in accordance with the popular conception of his preaching. It is many years since the late Dr. James Hamilton, in an article in the "North British Review," gave pictorial expression, in his own vivid way, to the mistaken idea which had grown up in some quarters respecting Wesley as a preacher. He sketched him as, "after his morning sermon at the Foundery, mounting his pony, and trotting, and chatting, and gathering simples, till he reached some country hamlet, where he would bait his charger,

John Wesley

and talk through a little sermon with the villagers, and remount his pony and trot away again." A more unfounded and misleading specimen of fancy painting than this it would be impossible to imagine; and one can only wonder where good James Hamilton picked up the ideas or the fictitious information which he deliberately put into this written form. He was altogether at fault in his picture. As Wesley was, during the greater part of his life, simply the most assiduous horseman, and one of the most spirited of riders, in the kingdom, riding ordinarily sixty miles (let it be remembered what the roads were in the middle of the last century) day by day, besides preaching twice or thrice, and not seldom riding eighty or ninety miles in the day; so, for many years, Wesley was frequently a long preacher—was often one of the longest preachers of whom I have ever read or heard—and never stinted himself of time when the feeling of the congregation seemed to invite him to enlarge, and when opportunity favored. Of course, however, he preached at all times many more short sermons than long ones, because he preached commonly three times every week-day, and four or five times on the Sunday, and because his earlier sermons on the Sunday needed to be over in time for his hearers to attend Church service. But when he preached after Church hours, whether in the afternoon or the later evening, and on special occasions, even on the week-evening, he was, as I have said, for many years often a very long preacher. Let me give some instances of this, only premising that all the special instances of protracted preaching which I am about to cite occurred after Wesley had taken to field-preaching. He had been an earnest and not unfrequently a long preacher before; but it was not until he began to address crowds of thousands in the open air that his larger and grander powers as a preacher were called forth.

About sixteen or seventeen months after his conversion Wesley writes in his Journal as follows, under date October 7, 1739, (Sunday:)—

Between five and six I called upon all who were present (about three thousand) at Stanley, on a little green, near the town, to accept of Christ as their only "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." I was strengthened to speak as I never did before, and continued speaking near two hours; the darkness of the night and a little lightning not lessening the number, but increasing the seriousness of the hearers.

Wesley had already, before this service, preached three times on that day; and he preached yet once after it, "concluding the day" by "expounding part of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount to a small, serious company at Ebly." Five services, therefore, that day, and among them one in which his sermon alone was nearly two hours long!

On Friday, the 19th of the same month, Wesley preached at Newport, in Monmouthshire, in the morning, and coming to Cardiff about the middle of the day, he preached in the Shire Hall twice—in the afternoon at four, and again at six in the evening. He had a large congregation—"almost the whole town"—and, preaching from the six last beatitudes, he says, "My heart was so enlarged I knew not how to give over, so that we continued three hours."

On Sunday, June 13, 1742, he preached in Epworth churchyard—his own and his father's Epworth—standing on his father's tomb, and continued the service "for near three hours." This was his fourth service that day.

On Wednesday, May 24, 1745, at Birstal, he "was constrained to continue his discourse near an hour longer than usual, God pouring out such a blessing that he knew not how to leave off."

On Whitsunday, the 14th of May, 1749, at Limerick, he began to preach at five in the morning, and, there being no liturgy and no lesson, but only the simplest service, three short singings, one short prayer, and a final benediction, besides the sermon, he yet kept the congregation till near seven, "hardly knowing how the time went."

At Whitehaven, on a Saturday evening in September, 1749,

he preached from six to eight—a simple week-night service—which must have implied a sermon of not less than an hour and a quarter long; and at eight he met the Society.

These instances may suffice to show how Wesley enlarged under special influences. Even when he was more than seventy years of age, he sometimes, on a week-night evening, was so drawn out as to "preach a full hour" in the open air—as, for instance, in the market-place of Caermarthen, on the 21st of August, 1777.

In the article to which I have referred it was said, that while Wesley could "talk through a little sermon with the villagers," he "seldom coped with the multitude." In the "Wesleyan Methodist Magazine" for December, 1847, will be found a paper from the pen of the venerable Thomas Jackson, who died in 1873, in the ninetieth year of his age, which examines and reproves the errors of that article. Mr. Jackson thus deals with the point now under notice:—

That he preached to "villagers" so as to be understood by them, as his blessed Lord had done, will not be denied; but that he "seldom coped with the multitude" is notoriously at variance with fact. No man was accustomed to address larger multitudes or with greater success. At Moorfields, Kennington Common, Kingswood, Bristol, Newcastle, in Cornwall, Staffordshire, and Yorkshire, immense multitudes of people were accustomed to congregate around him through a long series of years, and that with undiminished interest; and it may be fairly questioned whether any minister in modern ages has been instrumental in effecting a greater number of conversions. He possessed all the essential requisites of a great preacher; and in nothing was he inferior to his eminent friend and contemporary, except in voice and manner. In respect of matter, language, and arrangement, his sermons were vastly superior to those of Mr. Whitefield. Those persons who judge of Mr. Wesley's ministry from the sermons which he preached and published in the decline of life, greatly mistake his real character. Till he was enfeebled by age, his discourses were not at all remarkable for their brevity. They were often extended to a considerable length, as we learn from his Journal; and yet, according to his oft-repeated statements, he did not know how to leave off and dismiss the people, for his mind was full of

evangelical matter, and his heart was richly charged with heavenly zeal. In a sense higher than ever entered into the thoughts of Archimedes, as he himself states, he was often ready to exclaim, when addressing vast multitudes in his Master's name, "Give me the where to stand, and I will move the world!"

Such is the testimony of Thomas Jackson, the author of the full and admirable "Life of Charles Wesley," and the very accurate editor of Wesley's voluminous works; who was himself born before the death of Wesley; who made all that related to him his life-study; who knew well some of the men who had known Wesley best; and who should himself have accomplished for the life of John Wesley what he has so excellently done as the biographer of Charles. The case being as Mr. Jackson has stated it, and as the extracts from the Journal, which have been given, prove it to have been, it is proper to explain how the erroneous ideas which have been current as to the character of his preaching have originated. Three causes may be assigned to account for them.

One is hinted at by Mr. Jackson in the extract we have given. Mr. Wesley's was a very long life. Those of his people who had known him in his prime of strength and energy had died before himself. The traditions as to his preaching which have been current during the last half century have been mostly derived from those who had only heard him in his extreme old age, and, in many instances, on his hasty visits from place to place, when he would preach at seven o'clock on the week-night evening, or at five o'clock in the morning.

But another, and, perhaps, more influential cause, has been, that an inference as to the length and style of his spoken sermons has been erroneously drawn from his published sermons. How unwarranted any such inference must be, may be shown by a remark of his elder brother Samuel, made at the very beginning of Wesley's preaching career, and before he had begun field-preaching. In a letter addressed to Charles Wesley, but which refers to both the brothers, Samuel says, under

date of December 1, 1738: "There is a most monstrous appearance of dishonesty among you; your sermons are generally three quarters of an hour or an hour long in the pulpit, but when printed are short snips; rather notes than sermons."

If this was the case so soon after the brothers had broken away from the bondage of sermon-reading in the pulpit, it is certain that, in after years, except in special cases—such as a sermon to be preached before the University—Wesley's written sermons, which were ordinarily compositions having a definite purpose of theological statement and definition, must be regarded as altogether different in character from his preached sermons, delivered extempore, often after little or no written preparation. Wesley the Preacher was tethered by no lines of written preparation and verbal recollection; he spoke with extraordinary power of utterance out of the fullness of his heart.

Still another cause of the error I have been exposing must probably be found in the urgency with which Wesley, in various places, enjoins on his preachers, as a rule, to preach short, and the emphatic way in which he insists to them on the evils of long preaching. But it must be remembered that the great majority of Wesley's preachers were men whose stock of knowledge was very small, and who had received no intellectual training whatever. They resembled the plainest and most fervid of the Methodist local preachers or exhorters of to-day. The same rule could not be applicable to him as to them. But, indeed, the great Methodist preachers of Wesley's lifetime—his most powerful lay helpers—were, as a matter of fact, none of them short preachers, while most of them were often, if not usually, very long preachers. Such were Walsh and Bradburn and Benson and Clarke.

The fact, at any rate, is as I have stated it, so far as respects the preaching of Wesley; and I may add in passing, that for not a few years Charles Wesley was as long and often as pow-

erful a preacher, even as he was as hard-riding and hard-working an itinerant evangelist, as his brother John.

In showing that Wesley, instead of being a talker of neat little sermons, was, in his prime of life, frequently a long preacher, and sometimes one of the longest preachers of whom we have any knowledge, I have not only shown how mistaken has been the popular tradition respecting his special characteristics as a preacher, but I have also proved that there must have been a remarkable charm about his preaching. None but a very eloquent speaker could have held thousands of people intently listening to him for two or three hours together in the open air. I have to add that, as I have already intimated, he was a singularly powerful preacher. Southey has given conclusive evidence as to this point, in the interesting chapter in the first volume of his biography of Wesley, entitled, "Scenes of Itinerancy." No one, indeed, has done such justice as Southey to Wesley's gifts as a preacher. Not only in the "Life of Wesley," but in "The Doctor," and in his "Commonplace Book," he has given evidence of the careful study and the full appreciation with which he has realized the preaching powers of Wesley. The able and eloquent American historian, Stevens, gives some striking incidents to show how great that power was. "In the midst of a mob, 'I called,' Wesley writes, 'for a chair; the winds were hushed, and all was calm and still; my heart was filled with love, my eyes with tears, and my mouth with arguments. They were amazed; they were ashamed; they were melted down; they devoured every word.' That," says Dr. Stevens, "must have been genuine eloquence." Doubtless it was, and the very words—the vivid, affecting style of the description here quoted from Wesley himself—may serve to intimate what was part of his special power as a speaker.

Like many terse, nervous writers, Wesley was not only a nervous but a copious speaker. His words flowed in a direct, steady, powerful, sometimes a rapid, stream, and every word

told, because every word bore its proper meaning. With all the fullness of utterance, the genuine eloquence, there was no tautology, no diffuseness of style, no dilution. Close logical, high verbal, adequate philosophic, culture had, in the case of Wesley, laid the basis of clear, vivid, direct, and copious extempore powers of speech. Culture and discipline, such as had prepared Cicero for his oratorical successes, helped to make Wesley the powerful, persuasive, at times the thrilling and electrifying, preacher which he undoubtedly was.

What a picture is that given of the effects of Wesley's preaching in connection with his famous visit to Epworth! For eight evenings in succession, in that splendid early summer season, he preached to vast crowds from his father's tomb, and his last discourse was his most powerful and prolonged, and was addressed to the largest multitude. The circumstance, however, to which I refer, took place not on the last day of his preaching, but the day immediately preceding, (Saturday, June 12, 1742.) "While I was speaking several dropped down as dead; and among the rest such a cry was heard of sinners groaning for the righteousness of faith as almost drowned my voice." "I observed a gentleman there who was remarkable for not pretending to be of any religion at all. I was informed he had not been at public worship of any kind for upward of thirty years. Seeing him stand as motionless as a statue, I asked him abruptly, 'Sir, are you a sinner?' He replied with a deep and broken voice, 'Sinner enough;' and continued staring upward till his wife and a servant or two, who were all in tears, put him into his chaise and carried him home." The stricken, staring, statue-like master, the weeping wife and servants—what a picture, I say, have we here!

That Wesley's preaching was attended by more powerful and penetrating immediate results than that of any of his famous contemporary Methodist preachers, is notorious; but it has been thought difficult to understand this. He was not, as I

have said, a pictorial or dramatic preacher, like his great preaching contemporary, Whitefield; but whereas Whitefield, powerful preacher as he was, was yet more popular than powerful, Wesley, popular preacher as he was, was yet more powerful in comparison with his fellows than he was popular.

There is really, however, no special mystery about the power of Wesley's preaching. All we know of his earlier preaching, under special circumstances, would lead to the conclusion that he could not but be a singularly powerful preacher. His invariable terseness of phrase and style prevented him from ever being tedious. His full and ready flow of thoughts, as well as of fit words, carried his audience with him. He was most pleasant in manner, pellucid in statement, fresh and lively throughout, and so frequent, so continuous, I might almost say, in his personal application of what he was saying, making his doctrine to tell at every point throughout his discourse, that he never allowed the attention of his congregation to slumber. The celebrated Kennicott, at that time an undergraduate at Oxford, heard Wesley preach his last sermon before the University, in 1744, a flaming, searching, intrepidly faithful sermon. Apart from its severity, he admired the sermon greatly, and was evidently very much impressed by the personality of the preacher. "His black hair," he says, "quite smooth, and parted very exactly, added to a peculiar composure in his countenance, showed him to be an uncommon man." He speaks of his "agreeable emphasis" in reading. He refers with approval to "many just invectives" in his sermon, but with disapproval to "the zeal and unbounded satire with which he fired his address when he came to what he called his plain, practical conclusion." If "his censures" had only been "moderated," and certain portions omitted, Kennicott says, "I think his discourse, as to style and delivery, would have been uncommonly pleasing to others as well as to myself." He adds, "He is allowed to be a man of great parts."

Cowper's lines on Wesley will not be forgotten while we are

on the subject of his preaching. They were written when the fire and flame of Wesley's early manhood were long gone by. He speaks of him as one—

> "Who, when occasion justified its use,
> Had wit as bright as ready to produce;
> Could fetch from records of an earlier age,
> Or from philosophy's enlightened page,
> His rich materials, and regale your ear
> With strains it was a privilege to hear.
> Yet, above all, his luxury supreme,
> And his chief glory, was the gospel theme:
> There he was copious as old Greece or Rome,
> His happy eloquence seemed there at home;
> Ambitious not to shine or to excel,
> But to treat justly what he loved so well."

I apprehend that the last four lines give a most true and happy description of Wesley's ordinary ministry, while Kennicott's description enables us in some measure to understand the fire and intensity which characterized his preaching on special occasions, and in the prime of his life.

Dr. Stevens has dwelt on the authority with which Wesley spoke, the calm command which belonged to his presence and gave weight and force to his words. No doubt there was this characteristic always about Wesley's person and presence. Gambold testifies to the same effect in regard to Wesley in his early Oxford days. Calm, serene, methodical, as Wesley was, there was a deep, steadfast fire of earnest purpose about him; and, notwithstanding the smallness of his stature, there was an elevation of character and of bearing visible to all with whom he had intercourse, which gave him a wonderful power of command, however quiet were his words, and however placid his deportment. But the extraordinary power of his preaching, while it owed something, no doubt, to this tone and presence of calm, unconscious authority, was due mainly, essentially, to the searching and importunate closeness and fidelity with which

he dealt with the consciences of his hearers, and the passionate vehemence with which he urged and entreated them to turn to Christ and be saved. He had not the "gift of tears," as Whitefield had, or as Charles Wesley had, whose preaching appears to have been, in several respects, intermediate in character between that of his brother John and of his friend Whitefield; yet Wesley was often moved to tears as he pleaded with his hearers, and oftener still was the means of moving multitudes that heard him to tears. At times, however, his onset in applying his subject to the lives, the cases, the consciences of his hearers, was too intense, too direct, too electrical to be answered by tears. His words went with a sudden and startling shock straight home into the very core of the guilty sinner's consciousness and heart, and cries, shrieks, sudden fits, cases of fainting and insensibility, men and women "dropping down as dead," as if they had been physically struck by a blow from some terrible engine, by a stone from a catapult, or a ball from a cannon, were the frequent consequence. And yet it was not that Wesley used stronger words than other preachers; not that he used high word-coloring or exaggerated expressions; the contrary was the case. Rather, it was that, using simpler and fewer words than others to express the truth—going straighter to his purpose, and with less word-foliage, less verbiage, to shroud or overshadow his meaning—the real, essential truth was more easily and directly seen and felt by the hearer. There was less of human art or device; the language was simpler and more transparent; and so the truth shone more clearly and fully through. There was less in language of what "man's wisdom teacheth;" less of what was fanciful, or elaborate, or artificial, and therefore there was more of the Spirit's operation; more of "the demonstration of the Spirit and of power." So far as any mere written composition can give an idea of how Wesley preached when his aim was specially to convince and awaken, perhaps his last sermon before the University and the

wonderful "applications" contained in his first "Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" may help us to such an idea; but it must always be remembered that no written compositions can really approach the energy and directness with which Wesley preached when vast crowds hung upon his lips, to whom he was declaring, as in Epworth church-yard, "the whole counsel of God."

Of the clear, strong, intense style in which Wesley could, if he felt it to be necessary, combine doctrinal argument with declamatory invective of the most scathing terribleness, we have an instance in his famous sermon on "Free Grace." But for the publication of that sermon we should at the present time have had no conception of what his powers were in that kind; and it was owing only to very special circumstances, and much against his liking, that Wesley felt himself constrained to publish that sermon.

It is well known that Dr. Johnson had a great reverence for Wesley, and much enjoyed his society. In a letter to Wesley himself, he compliments him as "Plato." Cowper, also, in the lines we have quoted, refers to Wesley's power in social conversation of bringing forth the treasures of ancient philosophy. Let any competent judge read the plainly written but elevated and beautiful sermon on "The Original of the Law," and he will at once recognize the impress of a mind which, while it avoided all display of learning, was deeply imbued with the training and results of philosophy—of the highest and best philosophy, whether ancient or modern—so far as philosophy had advanced in Wesley's day.

Wesley had been an excellent preacher of his kind, though not as yet evangelical, before he went to America. His beautiful sermon on the "Circumcision of the Heart," preached before the University of Oxford in 1733, is one of several sermons included in his "Works," which afford decisive evidence on this point. His style also—a style which the best judges, such as Southey, have agreed in greatly admiring, and which,

indeed, no one who understands and loves clear, pure, pleasant English can fail to admire—seems to have been already formed at that period, although its full power was not as yet developed; it was awaiting development under the inspiration of full Christian tenderness and zeal. But it was not until after he had become Böhler's disciple that preaching came to be recognized and felt by himself to be his great work, or that the characteristic power of his preaching was brought out. It was his perception of the doctrine of salvation by faith which not only transformed him thereafter into a preacher, as his first and greatest calling, but which also breathed a new soul into his preaching. When he began to preach this doctrine his hearers generally felt that a new power accompanied his preaching; and, at the same time, the clergy and the orthodox Pharisaic hearers felt that a dangerous, startling, revolutionary doctrine was being proclaimed. Wherever he preached crowds flowed in larger and larger volume to hear him; but, at the same time, church after church was shut against him. As Gambold wrote in a letter to Wesley, it is the doctrine of salvation by faith which seems to constitute the special offense of the cross. This, at any rate, in Wesley's days, was the one doctrine which clergymen and orthodox church-goers would not endure. Short of this almost any thing might be preached, but on no account this. The University of Oxford would endure the high doctrine as to Christian attainment and consecration taught in the sermon on "The Circumcision of the Heart," but it would not endure the doctrine of salvation by faith, which ten years later, the same preacher would have set forth before his University. The reason would seem to be twofold: the evangelical doctrine of salvation by faith strips men altogether of their own righteousness, laying them all low at the same level in presence of God's holiness and of Christ's atonement, as needing divine pardon and divine renewal; and it also teaches the "real presence" of the divine Spirit, insists upon the present supernatural power of God to inspire repent-

ance and faith and to renew the soul—the present supernatural power of Jesus Christ to save the sinner. Such a doctrine is "spiritual;" it enforces the living power and presence of spiritual realities; it is accordingly "foolishness" and a "stumbling block" to the "natural man." The "natural man" receiveth not these "things of the Spirit of God." The doctrine of high Christian holiness may be regarded as but another, and the highest, form of moral philosophy, of select and virtuous Christian culture. The doctrine of salvation by faith, through grace, is one which humbles utterly the pride of human understanding, and of merely human virtue. It was when Wesley became the preacher of this doctrine that he became a truly and fully Christian preacher. It was not a new doctrine; it was the doctrine of the apostles, the reformers, and even of the homilies and formularies of the Church of England itself; but in a sense-bound and heartless age it had been almost utterly forgotten. To revive it by the ordinance of preaching became henceforth Wesley's great life-work. He became, above all things, himself a preacher, and he founded a preaching institute; with preaching, however, always associating close personal and individual fellowship.

The whole of Methodism unfolded from this beginning. To promote preaching and fellowship was the one work, fellowship including a perpetual individual testimony of Christian believers as to salvation by grace, through faith. Preaching and fellowship—this was all from first to last; true preaching, and true, vital, Christian fellowship, which involved opposition to untrue preaching, and to fellowship not truly and fully Christian. From this unfolded all Wesley's life and history. His union for a season with the Moravians, and then his separation from them, when their teaching became, for the time, mixed up and entangled with demoralizing error; the foundation of his own Society—that of "the people called Methodists;" his separation from his brother Whitefield and from Calvinism; his field preachings; his separate meeting-houses and separate

communions; his class-meetings, and band-meetings, and all the discipline of his Society; his conference and his brotherhood of itinerant Methodist preachers; his increasing irregularities as a Churchman; his ordinations, and the virtual though not formal or voluntary separation of his Societies from the Church of England; all resulted from the same beginning—from his embracing "the doctrine of salvation by faith."

# WESLEY AS AN ITINERANT.

THE absolute demonstration of John Wesley's great work is, that it stands the scrutiny of the age and the test of time. During his life he was diversely interpreted. Well nigh worshiped by his adherents as a saint, he was ridiculed and denounced by others as an enthusiast, a fanatic, a schismatic. Even those who admired the man, and pondered with wonder his tireless labors and unexampled achievements, misconceived his motives, and utterly failed to comprehend his true character. The grandeur and magnitude of a mountain do not impress us while standing in its shadow as when, from some conspicuous eminence, the eye takes in its vastness and altitude. Comparison comes in to aid us in our estimate, and the prominence which was hidden by nearness of position looms up from the distant point of observation. The men of Wesley's time did not and could not understand him. The antagonisms of his day provoked prejudices, exaggerated alike his virtues and his infirmities, and the controversies about his opinions and methods left contemporaneous judgment suspended and vibrating with the unresting winds which blew upon him. Between friends and foes opinions were so conflicting and extreme as to leave the intermediate classes in blank dubiety.

The peculiar sanctity of the man, extravagant, as the world thought, yet always consistent with itself—the spirituality of his experience and his teachings, in offensive contrast with the prevailing type of religion—his broad views of the gospel, its power and mission, in opposition to the narrow and partial theology then prevalent—all these gave to his opponents a great advantage in turning the popular current against him. Hence

Wesley was a well-abused man. Hated, persecuted, maligned, he was sifted as wheat; and yet, surviving all these agitations, and holding on the even tenor of his way, he lived to see the inauguration of that change in thought and feeling which has at last assigned him a place in Westminster Abbey, and thus secures a posthumous immortality to him, who, at one time, by the great majority of a lifeless Church and an ungodly nation, was not considered fit to live at all.

The original fact, long doubted, denied, and obscured by misconceptions, false charges, and direct efforts to break down his influence and authority, has now crystallized in the universal conviction that he was a great man, a representative man; great in his natural endowments, his scholarship and culture, and yet greater still in the singleness of his consecration and the unwearied outlay of all his powers for the good of his race. For self-denial, heroic devotion, and protracted service, there is hardly a peer to be found in the annals of human history.

However great Wesley was as an organizer—whatever his administrative talents as an original gift, and however these were developed, by early training in his father's house, by his mother's genius and piety, and his long scholastic career—yet his success was the result, not so much of his real statesmanship, as of the subordination of his plans to apostolic precedent and providential suggestion. But this may be rightfully called the truest and highest ecclesiastical statesmanship. The church system of which he was the founder was not the elaboration of his intellect; not spun and woven from a pattern conceived in his own mind; but was adopted in detail, one thing at a time, and at long intervals, as experience intimated a want or providence opened the way. Those familiar with the rise and progress of Methodism will see the reason and propriety of these views. Leaving out the many illustrations which Wesley's history furnishes, this paper must be confined to a single fact and feature—the itinerancy.

Called of God to preach, authenticated by the Church, and

yet disowned, rejected, and driven out by the ecclesiastics, Wesley had no alternative but infidelity to his trust and his convictions of duty, or, leaving the houses of worship, to go out into the highways and hedges. His first circuits were improvised. He had no plan but readiness to enter every open door, to obey the call of the people, to be instant in season and out of season. Turning away from settled congregations, organized with stated services, he went to the outcasts, the overlooked, the forgotten. He could not forecast the future, and had no idea "whereunto this thing would grow." Obedient to the heavenly vision, and working in harmony with the spirit of all grace and truth, "mightily grew the word of God and prevailed." The success of the movement necessitated provision to conserve its fruits. God met the emergency by thrusting out helpers and co-laborers. How Wesley hesitated about the recognition of these irregular, unordained men, and how he was overcome by the sage and timely warning of his mother, are facts on record, "known and read of all."

Right here the plan began to unfold and assume shape; and it grew and grew, and is growing yet—all its possibilities being still future. More than a century of work and progress has not exhausted its vitality, or revealed any want of adaptation to the changing phases of human society.

Outside of Methodism, the idea always prevailed that itinerancy was an admirable pioneer arrangement, well suited to a frontier population, to new settlements, to a crude state of social life, but wholly unfit for stable, well-established communities. On the basis of this plausible view the Methodist Church has been regarded as a forerunner, whose sole function was to prepare the way for the settled pastorate of other denominations. We do not mean to assail other people or their ways, or to dogmatize in behalf of Methodism; but the argument for a settled ministry, or even for a long term, has always seemed to ignore the self-conserving power of a

true Christianity as found in the regenerate, and doubtless, as originally intended to operate for the protection of the local interests of Christ's kingdom. The ministry, according to the pattern shown us in the gospel, were to be left free for the work of aggression upon the world of unbelievers; but the policy of the Churches generally has reversed the divine order. They have limited the preacher's field—circumscribed him—merged the herald in the pastor, and taught those who ought to live piously by their personal faith and communion with God, and through active labor in their local sphere for the benefit of others, to be dependent, and therefore feeble and inefficient. The sheep ought to do their own grazing, and not wait to be fed by hand. The Methodist Church, in order, as it is assumed, to compete with other denominations, has largely modified her peculiar system, and by every modification enfeebled herself. Almost every extension of the pastoral term is a loss of aggressive power—of the real efficiency of the ministry in building up the Church—without adequate compensation in the conservation of her members. This is not the place to discuss the question now agitating the Church in some sections; nevertheless, the thoughts which follow may prove suggestive, and help to a right settlement.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Nothing but an itinerant ministry can execute this command. So the apostles seem to have understood it, and, though few in number, they well nigh fulfilled the commission in their day. The history of the Church all along has verified the general idea of the indispensableness of the itinerancy, in that religion has been stagnant and declined when the ministry lacked aggressiveness, and progressive when they left their nests and stretched into "the regions beyond." The missionary operations of the day is the great representative fact of the Christian religion now; and the signs of life and fruitfulness at home are but the reflex results of zeal expended abroad. No Church can prosper that does not work outside of her private

inclosures. The attempt to preserve and perpetuate herself without enlargement and succession, made sure by aggressive zeal and enterprise, will be at the cost of spiritual power, and sooner or later of life itself.

As a rule and a policy the settled pastorate (and, of course, all approximations to it are subject to the same discount) is maintained and defended by views which, unwittingly perhaps, nevertheless effectually, interfere with those spiritual influences that alone give power to preaching and stability to profession. "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord," is an expression which affirms a principle in the administration of grace that is not to be confined in its application to the terms employed, but extends to every affiliated thing that is made a ground of reliance for religious results. The primary, all-absorbing object of the Christian ministry is, or ought to be, the conversion of sinners. The Church should recognize and conform to this idea in her plan of service as directly as the preacher himself. Now the end proposed is to be reached purely and exclusively by the Spirit's demonstration and power. Hence every thing, however harmless or even desirable in itself abstractly considered, which intervenes in the preconceptions of the Church as necessary or even auxiliary to the success of the word, forestalls the divine plan, grieves the Spirit, and dooms the ministry to defeat!

The notion that to be useful a preacher must know the people and be known by them—that there must be reciprocal fellowship, the result of acquaintance and social intercourse—that manner, style, and gifts must harmonize with the conventional tastes and aptitudes of the audience, is all a simple fallacy, plausible but delusive. Indeed, the better suited the people are in these respects—the more contented with the fitness and adaptation of the instrument and the human proportion of means to ends—the less likely is success. There may be mutual delight and satisfaction between pastor and people, but there may be no revival of the work of God. The man in the pulpit

may be pious and consecrated, but, exalted and magnified by the estimate of the people as though he alone were "somewhat," a jealous God cannot give fruit to his preaching without seeming to indorse a vital error in the mind of the Church. Paul may plant, Apollos water, but God alone can give the increase. There is a world of planting and watering going on, but the increase is not proportionate. "Why?" is a great question. These modern Church arrangements remind one of the servant Gehazi with the prophet's staff laid upon the dead child. There is no life till the Master come, and when he comes he will not operate till the room is emptied. The prophet must be alone with God and the dead. My observation is, that the most popular preacher—the man most desired by the Churches—is most frequently the least useful. The sermon which does not do the work of Christ upon the souls of men may be intellectually great, yet, in a true gospel sense, it is labor lost. In the history of the Church it is a suggestive fact, that commonly as a preacher grows famous the visible results of his labor diminish in number and value. Talents, reputation, influence, are all elements of usefulness, and they would be effective if they were not complicated with fundamental errors which dishonor the Spirit, and thus provoke the Almighty to leave the Church to her idols.

The Lord will not give his glory to another; and when the Church undertakes to determine the time and the methods and the instruments by and through which he must work, if at all, no marvel if an offended God resents the impertinence and declines copartnership in the scheme. Many a good man is curtailed in his usefulness by the adulation of the people, by their dependence upon him, making flesh their arm instead of shutting themselves up to faith in God. The opinions and the feelings, the affections and the confidence, which stand like a wall between the preacher and the Spirit, forbidding his co-operation lest he patronize an unscriptural, mischievous error, are all fostered by long, pleasant association, and they

mar the efficiency of the pulpit and dilute the piety of the Church.

Mr. Wesley's plan of subpastors under the name of "class-leaders," among whom the Church members were parceled out for a stated weekly meeting and for general oversight, met the necessities of the case, both as to loving guardianship and discipline, while yet the preachers had time for study and travel, and daily ministrations to the outside world. As one of the grand sequences of this order of things, well nigh every public service was signalized by the conversion of sinners. The Church looked for this result, prayed for it, and felt that the service was largely a failure without it. The preachers expected it, chose their subjects accordingly, and pressed the truth to this issue. Can any body tell why it is that in these days so many sermons of good men are barren of good results? In view of the genius and mission and promises of Christianity—the pentecostal example, apostolic times, and the exploits of our fathers—"these things ought not so to be." Nor would they, if all parties had not given up those dominant, vitalizing convictions as to the nature and privileges of the Church and the special functions of the pulpit, and substituted them by human ideas and methods and dependencies, such as time, mutual acquaintance, protracted services, and all that personal influence which is supposed to cluster about the long-known and much-loved pastor. The secret of power is in divine truth, the prayer of faith, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost. These cannot be supplemented. Nor do they need it. If we attempt it we offend, repel the blessing, and defeat ourselves. At this very point the faith of the Church is at fault. It does not "look to God alone, with self-distrusting care," excluding all secondary helps, and grasping the divine agency as efficient and sufficient. When Moses, instead of speaking to the rock as directed, smote it with his wonder-working rod, although the water burst forth, God, conceiving himself to be dishonored before the people, punished the sin by the death and burial

of the offender in the wilderness. We must learn to honor God, (the truth of his word,) and cease to lean to our own understanding, to our pet theories, and chosen instruments. The itinerant system, as originally intended and as carried out for a long time, by its very nature and methods precluded all those subtle, insidious ideas and influences which accompany every departure from the old self-denying, cross-bearing way, and always come in to undermine the more spiritual view, and so adulterate the faith of the Church.

Conceding the flexibility of the system, its power of adaptation to all real demands, the judgment of the writer has demurred to every material infraction of the plan which compels frequent changes of ministers. Indeed, one of the leading advantages of the itinerancy is in the free circulation of the gifts, grace, and aptitudes of the ministry. A strong, rich congregation cannot monopolize their favorite. The circuit may compete with the station. The city and the country people may share alike in the revolutions of time. The chief, special talents of the brethren in various ways are sown broadcast. No preacher, though personally very popular, suits every body. He may be God's messenger to some, but he is not an apostle to all. If faithful, *his* work in a given place is soon accomplished, and he should go to another where like subjects await his coming. Confine him to one appointment, and you doom him to glean when he might have reaped, and rob him of the sheaves he would have gathered in another field.*

If Methodism would perpetuate her glory, let her stick to her ensign. A city appointment, a fine parsonage, a good salary,

* Other advantages the itinerancy has over the settled pastorate. If the appointment run but for one year, (and cannot be continued longer than two or three years at most,) the Church has the strongest guarantee that she will receive the very best energies of her ministry, and the very cream of their labors. For, to the man truly called of God to save souls, what can be a greater incentive to earnest and effective labor than the thought that in one short year he may be, to all intents and purposes, dead to the people of his charge? Hence the true itinerant must ever feel, more than the settled pastor, that whatever he does for his people must be done quickly and with all his might.—EDITOR.

polished society, and an admiring congregation, are very pleasant, perhaps too pleasant for the highest spiritual development of the incumbent. It is a hard saying, it may be, but eliminate the element of self-denial from the ministerial life and labor—make it attractive to ambition, tempting to avarice, comfortable for sloth—then we may prepare to write "Ichabod" upon our temples. "Leaving father and mother, and wife and children, and houses and lands," meant something, as our Saviour said it; and the effort to harmonize the *not doing* these things with the full discharge of ministerial obligation is a hazardous experiment. Contrasting itinerancy with every plan, the comparative results ought to settle the question as to which is most efficient in extending the kingdom of Christ. The facts exclude debate. The evils of a long-continued pastorate are so great, and so inherent and inseparable, as very often to necessitate the very changes the theory and system proposed to avoid, and with this immense disadvantage, that there is no place for the ejected and no applicant for the vacancy.

Mr. Wesley's itinerant life is without a parallel in the history of the Church. The work he performed is one of the marvels of human endurance and of providential support. He illustrated his own ideas, and exceeded all his followers in travels, sermons, and results. He could not be idle. He demonstrated the possibilities of his system by a zeal that never flagged, and an enthusiasm that warmed his age. None of his sons have equaled him in incessant movement, unwearied toil, and extent of operation. He saw itinerancy in all its phases, exhausted its trials, tested all its capabilities, and, in despite of its weariness, exposures, and privations, left it a legacy to his people. It is consecrated by wisdom, age, and success. Let us maintain it in all its integrity, and send it on unimpaired to the generations to come.

# WESLEY AS A POPULAR PREACHER.

WESLEY'S character, so interesting in private life, is only fully unfolded in the vast theater of his public activity. To speak the truth, his power resided chiefly in his preaching; by it he acted upon the masses, and by it he scattered broadcast over the face of England those imperishable seeds which contained the germs of a great future. In presence of the almost fabulous success that crowned his labors, a question occurs which seems at first sight an insoluble enigma. How did he, the Oxford graduate, who was all his life long a devoted student of the classical authors, and who read on horseback the original of Homer and Virgil—how did he become the street-preacher, the popular orator of the masses? Love for souls, that pure and noble passion enkindled in the heart by the love of God, alone accounts for this otherwise incomprehensible phenomenon. This alone can explain, also, the indefatigable perseverance which prolonged such an apostleship beyond the bounds of half a century.

The conflicts of fifty years revealed great qualities in Wesley, of which a military commander might well have been proud. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon race, with those practical qualities which constitute its distinguishing feature, never had a better representative than he. He knew how to yoke into the service of his religious principles the strong will and the unconquerable tenacity which have brought such success to English colonies. He vanquished the ill-will of the people by a perseverance which stood the test of all kinds of opposition.

What gave his preaching so much of originality was his perfect frankness. It may be truly said of Wesley that he "spoke as one having authority." He never flattered his audience;

sometimes, indeed, as he tells us himself, he "spoke strong, rough words;" he knew nothing of the art of disguising his thoughts, in order to render them more acceptable. His concise and expressive language aimed directly at its object, and said exactly what he meant. Many instances have been given of the almost magical effect produced on the minds of the people by his incisive utterances. Still more effectually, perhaps, did he wield this power over individuals. When he fixed his gaze on one of his hearers it was a very rare thing if the heart did not quail beneath his glance. Sometimes a man would enter his congregation with his hat on his head, fully determined to put him to silence; but his countenance would change and his cheek pale as he encountered the keen eye that seemed to pierce to the depths of his being. It must not, however, be supposed that this influence of Wesley upon the masses in any degree resembled insolence or haughtiness. His authority was of a purely moral kind, and was attained through the slow but unerring operation of Christian faith and zeal.

It must be added that in many respects Wesley was admirably qualified for his mission as a popular preacher. Besides that eagle glance and that flowing and flexible voice, he possessed qualities of mind most highly valued by the people, namely, clearness and precision. None knew better than he did how to familiarize the loftiest truths to the lowliest minds. None knew better how to employ a sprightly repartee or a happy expression, so that when a long harangue would have failed in its object, the witty proverb penetrated like the point of a sword.

But let us endeavor to form a just idea of Wesley's oratorical ability. In the open street, and in the pulpit of the University of Oxford, the style of this great preacher was simple and level to the understanding of every individual. His reasoning was logical and nervous; and, having once admitted his premises, you were carried away in spite of yourself, and compelled to accept the consequences he deduced from them. His argu-

mentation flowed in a full stream, but it was not circuitous, and did not overflow its proper channels. It was not overloaded with the vain and frivolous ornaments by the use of which some seek to veil the poverty of their thoughts, nor with those tangled digressions which hide from the hearer the principal aim of the discourse. His sole business was to produce conviction; hence he put himself face to face with his opponent, and never neglected to answer his objections, generally showing how contrary they were to common sense. His aim was direct; he despised circumlocution, and never mistook rhetorical artifice for argument.

Though a profound logician, Wesley was far from being a wearisome dogmatist. Let him be compared with Tillotson or Barrow, and it will be easy to understand the vast progress preaching has made through his influence, and the great revolution he has effected in a department that had remained stationary since the sixteenth century. He did not, like them, conduct an argument for argument's sake, straining himself to prove, by a grand array of syllogisms, some commonplace of doctrine or morality which nobody dreamed of disputing. He daringly confronted those subjects which were the most strongly controverted, and at the same time, in his view, the most fundamental to Christianity. The subjects of which he treated were among the loftiest and gravest that can be brought into the Christian pulpit; yet they were stated with so much frankness, resolved into their simplest forms with such admirable ease, expounded and discussed with such marvelous lucidity, that the hearer, however uncultivated, was captivated and subdued, and with difficulty withstood the running fire of such powerful and burning eloquence. The rhetorical style of Tillotson and his imitators resembles those heavy batteries which, planted on the heights of some lofty citadel, await the approach of the enemy, and only prove their efficacy when he complacently advances within the range of their fire. Wesley, on the other hand, resembles the light artillery composed of field-pieces, which

follow the enemy to his farthest intrenchments. His sermons were generally short;* his sprightly and compact diction always proceeded straight forward; his vivid thoughts came clearly before the eye of the mind, and frequently took the form of an aphorism, which engraved itself upon the memory of the hearer.

Wesley has the great merit of having popularized, and, if I may venture to say so, humanized, that austere divinity formerly known only to the initiated, and denominated logic. He had a real respect for the people, which is utterly wanting in those preachers who talk to them as if they were children, giving them reasons that they do not want, or seeking to create a merely morbid sensibility on which no durable structure can be reared. The people insensibly rose to Wesley's level, because he knew how to come down to theirs.

As an orator Wesley was only in some regards inferior to Whitefield. For, besides this logical faculty of which we have just been speaking, he possessed an incisiveness of speech which was lacking in Whitefield, so that he sometimes carried conviction to hearts that had remained unmoved by the appeals of his eloquent friend. John Nelson tells us that he had often listened to Whitefield's sermons, and had been charmed by them as by strains of incomparable music; he admired the preaching and loved the preacher, but no more. Wesley's preaching produced a totally different effect. Let us hear the testimony of this eye-witness. "As soon as he had mounted the platform," he says, "he stroked back his long hair, and turned his face toward where I stood; I thought he fixed his eyes upon me. This single look filled me with inexpressible anguish; before he opened his mouth my heart beat like the pendulum of a clock, and when he spoke I thought his whole discourse was aimed at me."

It was, in fact, a striking characteristic of Wesley's preach-

* Wesley's sermons in the open air were often more than an hour—not unfrequently as much as three hours—in length.

ing that his arguments were constantly interrupted by appeals to the conscience and the heart. No sooner had he by thorough discussion discovered and dislodged a stone from the quarry of truth, than as a wise master-builder he began working it into its place in the spiritual edifice. While his contemporaries resembled a body of antiquarians, painfully occupied in collecting a store of rusty armor wherewith to establish a museum, Wesley no sooner lighted upon these disused weapons than he remodeled them for present use and turned them against the foe. He never forgot that he had to do with souls whom he must save from the wrath to come. When he argues—as may be seen in his printed sermons—it is not to exhibit the frivolous spectacle of a brilliant theological or philosophical tournament; it is to establish upon immovable foundations the structure he wishes to build. His proofs are more commonly biblical than philosophical, and are addressed to the conscience rather than to the intellect alone.

The applications of Wesley's sermons are never indirect, but always straightforward and aggressive. By a frequent and felicitous use of the second person singular he throws into his appeals an extraordinary power, and this habit, together with that of the employment of a great number of scriptural expressions, not formally cited, but inwrought into the texture of his periods, communicates to his sermons an archaic tinge as well as a salient energy, which often recall the preaching of the prophets.

The success of Wesley's preaching gives us a lofty idea of the character of the Anglo-Saxon race, to whose moral renovation he devoted his life. The nation must have retained great and noble instincts in the depths of its moral being, otherwise such strong meat would never have suited it, and the success of such preaching would never have amounted to more than a momentary enthusiasm. A people capable of appreciating such sermons as Wesley's must have been a great one. Compare the Anglo-Saxon race with another at the same epoch,

crowding around those worldly abbots who were such favorites at Versailles, and one may well ask, Where in the latter is the life, the vigor, the future, in a word, which distinguished the former? The one, polite and amiable, will hear no gospel except that of the Vicar of Savoy, and, without suspecting it, is on the verge of a bloody revolution; the other, rude and coarse, receives the teachings of Wesley and his coadjutors, and gradually rises in the scale of being till it attains real greatness, and is ready for the work to which God, in the order of his providence, has called it.

# WESLEY AS AN EDUCATOR.

INDISCRIMINATE eulogy is but little honorable to the eulogized, and less to the eulogist; but a correct portrayal of the ambitions and accomplishments of a good leader among men may be of service to all who are inclined to "go and do likewise." A portraiture of John Wesley and his work that should omit a proper description of what he did as an educator would be so incomplete as to be practically false. Education was a large part of his life's great work.

Observe his qualifications for it. He was a highly accomplished scholar. From early childhood to the age of twenty-three he was a pupil "under tutors and governors," passing through all the various grades of scholarship, from the primary school to a fellowship, and almost practically to the headship, of a college, in the most famous University in the world. He lost as little time, perhaps, as any man known in history; none from youthful indiscretions, almost none from want of health, and had early reduced his life to systematic industry. He was placed in the Charter House School, London, at the age of ten; entered Christ Church College, Oxford, when seventeen; received the degree of M.A. at the age of twenty-four; and for nine years was a fellow of Lincoln College, where, some of the time, by the choice of the professors, he was vice-rector. This alone would indicate that he was a proficient in the university studies then pursued, in the Greek and Latin languages and literature, in the dialectics of Aristotle, in the history and philosophy then embraced in the ordinary college curriculum. After his election to the fellowship he pursued his studies systematically and earnestly for several years, adding to his previous acquirements German, French, Italian, Spanish,

Hebrew, and Arabic, and some study of the mathematics, embracing Euclid and the writings of Sir Isaac Newton. He could converse readily in Latin and German, and conduct church service in French and Italian. He was an original observer, a close student, a general reader, and a ready speaker.

Such a man must have had strong convictions about education. It would be natural, indeed, for him to entertain a prejudice in favor of schools. His "idols of the tribe" would be likely to be books and established forms of pedagogic culture. What sympathy could such a man have with the untutored thought and speech of rustics? He never talked their dialect; from early childhood he had never eaten their bread. But fortunately, nay, rather, providentially, his earliest years were spent under a thatched roof, and he also became the subject of a radical christianization, deeper and more thorough than had been common in his generation, which made him feel that he was brother to every human being, and that the great object of his life should be to win as many as he could irrespective of all earthly distinctions, as trophies to Christ.

It was not poverty, nor love of adventure, that drove him from the most beautiful classic retreats in the world to a village of log huts in the edge of the American wilderness. He was free to choose between several comfortable posts in his native land; high honors were fairly within his reach. He had had successful experience as a curate of two or three parishes; the rectorship of Epworth was supposed to be within his reach.* But God had a greater mission for him, and inspired him with a restlessness never to be satisfied till he should find his place.

We, therefore, soon see this Fellow of Lincoln College, who has never known any labor but that of a student, now a

* The only parish of which he was ever the rector was Christ Church parish, Savannah, Georgia. He left Savannah to claim the wide world as his parish.—EDITOR.

chaplain among the heterogeneous population gathered from several nations in the then infant colony of Georgia. Here the university Fellow immediately opened a school and employed for it a regular teacher. He himself gave religious instruction to all the pupils weekly. He also established another school, which met on Sundays, in which he and others gave instruction on the Bible and practical religion. This was really a Sunday-school, established forty-three years before Robert Raikes, who was then a babe in his mother's arms, opened a similar school in Gloucester, England. This school was held in the church, and had the best elements of a modern Sunday-school. Its instruction was religious, not secular.

The story of Wesley's brief life in Georgia and his return to England is well known. He returned, not to the University, though he still held his fellowship, nor to assume the limited duties of a parish. He was soon the subject of a religious experience that more fully satisfied him, and concentrated his energies as never before. Then at the age of thirty-five, after all his long preliminary preparation, scholastic and religious, he was to enter upon a work the visible effects of which were to be as boundless as the world and as lasting as time. His preparation for his great work was about as long and thorough as was that of Milton for his.

I have seen an original portrait of John Wesley, taken shortly after this time to satisfy the solicitations of one of his local preachers, who brought it to America and preserved it in his family, and it is now in the museum of the Syracuse University. With well-rounded features, not so prominent as in later years, with his own abundant locks slightly tinged with gray, the picture is much like the ideal which painters have given to the beloved disciple, John.

It was at this time that Wesley began to manifest his strong interest in education, not, as some would say, second only to religion, but actually one with and inseparable from it.

His long experience in Lincoln College, where he had not been idle, but in addition to professional lectures and presiding over the rhetorical and logical discussions of the students, he had pursued special courses of study, and given particular instruction to pupils, and his experience and observation in America and Germany, prepared him for the demand that was about to arise. Had he undervalued education, or—while he saw and felt its inadequacy alone to meet the demands of the individual heart or of the Church—had he not by example and precept earnestly encouraged it among his people, it is certain that the Methodist Societies would not long have held together, and the great revival which he introduced would have rapidly subsided, and probably have had no historian.

In this paper there is room only for a presentation of the general features of his educational work. Nothing would be added to the correctness and vividness of the picture by presenting the detail. All competent to appreciate it can fill out the history for themselves.

As early as 1740 he obtained possession of a school at Kingswood, which, with some changes of forms and situation and enlargement, has existed from that day to this. What a catalogue of worthy names its records present! After 1748 Wesley's interest in the school at Kingswood greatly increased, for at that time it was enlarged, and systematic efforts were made for the instruction of the children of the itinerant preachers. The motto of America's oldest college is "*Christo et Ecclesiæ.*" The inscription on the front of the old Kingswood school was, "*In Gloriam Dei Optimi Maximi, in Usum Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ;*" and in Hebrew letters, "Jehovah-Jireh."

Immediately after the enlargement of this school Wesley entered upon his work of educational authorship. Eight years before he had published a tract, written, indeed, by another man, in which the study of Latin and Greek, and the ordinary education of the day, are spoken of with not a little disappro-

bation and sarcasm; but when he came to lay down for his own school courses of study, he provided for the study of English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, geography, history, rhetoric, logic, ethics, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, physics, and music. He employed six masters or professors, and instituted an original method which probably made it the best school of the grade in England. It failed to be generally recognized as such only because it belonged to a sect then every-where spoken against. To provide for the wants of this school John Wesley himself prepared several text-books. The first was "A Short Latin Grammar," soon followed by "A Short English Grammar," which, thirteen years afterward, was much enlarged and improved.

The publication of this short Latin grammar really marks a new epoch in the study of Latin. Previous to that time the Latin grammars employed in England were all in the Latin language, useless without a living teacher, and really made the study of the language unnecessarily difficult and unpleasant. But this example, then set by Wesley, is now universally followed.

This is but one instance of many in which the striking and fearless originality of Wesley is seen. Niebuhr has been styled the father of philosophical history, because in his lectures, delivered at Berlin, in 1810, he subjected the strange stories of the old Latin historians to criticism, and drew the line between the mythical and the true; but Wesley, in his journal, as early as 1771, in his remarks on Hooke's "Roman History," shows that he had already formed the same opinion. And now, when Wesley came to write "A Short Roman History" of 155 pages in 1773, and also "A Concise History of England," from the earliest times to the death of George III., in four volumes of, respectively, 335, 359, 348, and 292 pages, he evinced the same critical acumen and recognition of the victories and failures of peace as well as of war which have since his time revolutionized the style of historical writings. I do not claim that Wesley's grammars of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French

languages, and his histories, deserve to be ranked with the best later productions; but simply that they were pioneers, not only superior to, but generically different from, any that preceded them, and also like those which now enjoy the approval of the best scholars and practical educators. In the writing of educational text-books, as in the establishment and improvement of Sunday-schools, the publication of tracts for the people, the commendation of the disuse of intoxicants, the establishment of an itinerant ministry yet held under strict regimen, and in several other things, he anticipated the thoughts of later times, and originated forces and machinery which now enjoy general, if not universal, approval and use. He was able, usually, also to make at least a few, sometimes many, perceive that he was right.

It is due to truth to observe, that notwithstanding his varied scholarship he did sometimes manifest a sympathy with those who undervalued the ordinary university curriculum of study of his day, and expressed himself in favor of condensing the study of Latin and Greek into less time, and of devoting more attention to science, ethics, logic, and practical knowledge. But the books which he wrote, and the courses of study which he laid down for the college at Kingswood, show what his real convictions were.

He was too great a man to be always consistent with himself, except on the broad principle of professing what he believed: but often he rectified his observations, and discarded and changed opinions, according to evidence and investigation. His interest in education never abated nor diminished, but rather increased in his later years.

In addition to the grammars and histories above mentioned he published, in 1753, what he called "The Complete English Dictionary, explaining most of those hard words which are found in the best English writers." This was two years before Dr. Samuel Johnson published his great English Dictionary, which shows that Wesley was attempting to fill an actual

demand. But though Johnson's Dictionary just then appeared, Wesley's Dictionary reached a second edition in 1764. For a few years nearly all of Wesley's publications were educational. He prepared editions of selections from several classical writers, with brief original notes. The first was entitled "*Mathurini Corderii Colloquia Selecta. In Usum Juventutis Christianæ. Edidit Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter.*" This was followed by his "*Historia et Præcepta*," "*Instructiones Pueriles*," and editions of Selections from Sallust, Ovid, Phædrus, Erasmus, Cornelius Nepos, Juvenal, Persius, and Martial. In all there were six small volumes of Latin authors. He also wrote an original work on elocution, the oldest we have seen in the English language, entitled, "Directions concerning Pronunciation and Gesture," which, though condensed, contains about all that one really needs to know to speak efficiently before the public, so far as manner is concerned. He was especially opposed to vociferation and ranting. That practiced parliamentarian and critic, Horace Walpole, having listened to one of Wesley's sermons, pronounced him "wondrous clever, but as evidently an actor as was Garrick." The preacher was too rapid and too enthusiastic to suit Walpole's taste. Another school book prepared by Mr. Wesley was "A Compendium of Logic," originally of only 33 pages, but in successive editions greatly enlarged. This book also is worthy of notice as a pioneer in the English language. His small work on Electricity, based on the discoveries of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, which up to that time the British Royal Society had not deigned to notice, though afterward it gave to them and their author great attention, illustrates two facts in Wesley's character—his promptness to see new truths in science as well as in religion, and his fearlessness in publishing his opinions whether the public approved or not. He seems to have spent many hours in original experiments in electricity. His work on electricity was followed by one that cost him much of his leisure time, if he had any "leisure," as its preparation was pro-

tracted through many years. This was entitled, "A Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation; or, A Compendium of Natural Philosophy." In five volumes. This large and truly valuable book was published in his old age, and for many years had a wide circulation. Among his educational books may be mentioned an "Extract of Milton's Paradise Lost, with Notes," which also reached a second edition.

Let any one collect these books, original and edited, together, and calculate the study and labor requisite to prepare and write them; and then let him consider that during every week while he was preparing them Wesley preached on an average thrice a day, and that during those years he traveled thousands of miles, mostly on horseback, and that at the same time he was preparing other books, practical, homiletical, controversial, and attending to the immense detail that must have come before him, and one may form some conception of the prodigious ability and industry of the man.

But we draw this imperfect picture, not to eulogize the ability and industry of this remarkable man, but to show what seems hitherto to have been overlooked, that he deserves a very high rank among educators. He attempted too much both in religion and education to produce any one book that, on its own merits alone, will be recognized as a masterpiece in literature. Many of his writings were designed to serve a temporary purpose, and only his fame as one of the world's greatest men will perpetuate their memory; but they were original, appropriate, strong, efficient, and completely served their purpose. They opened the way for their successors.

Others, solely or principally devoted to education, have entered the field and supplied the demand with works more accurately and fully prepared; but Wesley first felt the demand in many instances, and first supplied it for the thousands of pupils which the great religious revival of the eighteenth century had created. Nothing so stimulates the intellect as true Christianity. A revival always fills the schools. Science

and Christianity are sisters. And in this revival religion and education had the same teacher.

It is noticeable, too, that nearly all of Mr. Wesley's educational books passed through several editions. This alone would have been a great honor.

The provision which he made for the education of the preachers, even after they had entered upon their office, deserves mention also as a novelty, and as the foundation of a practice still largely observed both in Great Britain and America, and wherever Methodism extends.

While, therefore, it must always be understood that the chief work which God permitted Wesley to accomplish was to originate and largely to direct the great revival of primitive Christianity in modern times, it should also be noted that he shone more as a scholar even than as a divine, and that he was no less a pioneer in education than in ecclesiastical organization. If he deserves a rank second to none among the leaders in the Church, at least with such men as Wiclif and Luther and Augustine, so, also, for fertility of invention and commanding influence on succeeding generations, he deserves to rank among educators with Milton and Locke and Pestalozzi and Froebel, and others the most useful and famous of his own and other lands.

We must not fail to notice that the high estimation of mental discipline and instruction entertained by him has exerted an abiding influence on all the religious denominations that have sprung from his labors. Kingswood school has expanded and been multiplied into colleges, theological schools, and academic institutions of every grade. Every Methodist body in Great Britain and her colonies, in the other nations of Europe, in the United States of America, and in all the mission fields, recognizes its duty to provide for and encourage schools.*

* Edward Everett, in his day, said that there was no Church in the United States so successfully engaged in the cause of education as the Methodist Church. —EDITOR.

In John Wesley there was a wonderful combination of qualities well balanced. His liberality and candor were prevented from degenerating into latitudinarianism, his love of order into ecclesiasticism, and his zeal into fanaticism, by what he himself called "common sense," and also by a high degree of harmonious culture controlled by an abiding consciousness of the love of God.

Methodism was so original and radical in its convictions and modes of operation, so inclined to cast aside what seemed to be useless or impediments, so bent on immediate effects, that at first many of its chief men were disposed to undervalue the discipline of the schools. It was providential that John Wesley was a man of thorough culture, and that he had the power to discriminate between the substantial and the accidental in education as in religion. He was, therefore, conservative and reformatory; one of the most successful promoters and improvers of education of the age in which he lived.

# WESLEY AND HIS LITERATURE.*

IN a work professing to bring out all the aspects of Wesley's many-sided life, his use of the press and his voluminous contributions to the literature of his age must not be forgotten. In a brief paper upon this subject it should be premised that he was not by choice an author. The all-pervading consecration of his days to his life-work of evangelism prevented his adoption of literature as a profession, and deprived him both of the leisure and of the will to graduate among the prizemen of letters. All he wrote was subordinate to his supreme design, and not a little of it was wrung from him by the necessities, controversial or otherwise, which arose in the progress of his work. Still, impressed as he was that God had sent him upon a mission of testimony, and casting about for all possible means of usefulness, he could not overlook the press—that mighty agent which molds, for weal or woe, so large a portion of mankind. It is not, therefore, surprising that he began early to write and to compile, in order that he might at once enlarge the constituency to whom he could speak about the things of God, and secure that permanent influence by which printing perpetuates mind, and by which the appeal or entreaty goes plaintively pleading on long after the living voice is hushed in the silence of the grave.

There was something in the state of things around him which operated as a constraint in this regard. England, in the reigns of the first two Georges, had fallen into a sad state of religious degeneracy. If it be true that the literature of any age is a mirror in which the spirit of the age is reflected, the

* The writer cheerfully acknowledges his indebtedness to a series of articles on Wesley's Use of the Press, from the pen of the late Rev. S. Romilly Hall.

image presented of the early Georgian era is not "beautiful exceedingly." Pope's pantheism divided the fashionable world with the bolder infidelity of Bolingbroke. The loose wit of Congreve was said to be the "only prop of the declining stage." Smollett and Fielding were the stars in the firmanent of fiction; and of literary divines, the most conspicuous were Swift and Sterne. Young wrote his "Night Thoughts" about the same period, but his life was not equal to his poetry. He who sang with rapture of the glories of heaven had a passion for the amusements of earth, and he exhibited the "prose of piety," which he reprobates, by his undignified applications for preferment; applications so persistent as to elicit from Archbishop Secker the rebuke, that "his fortune and reputation raised him above the need of advancement, and his sentiments, surely, above any great desire for it." The literature of the Churches, properly so called, was in some aspects equally degenerate. It was a literature of masculine thought, of consummate ability, of immense erudition, and of scholarly and critical taste. To this the names of Warburton, Jortin, Waterland, and especially Butler, bear sufficient witness. But while there was much light, there was little heat. Those were great hearts which were felt to throb in the works of Howe, of Barrow, and of the Puritans, but in their successors the heart element was largely wanting. Spiritual religion—the informing soul of Church literature—was hardly a matter of belief; indeed, in some cases it was a matter of derision. The doctrine of justification by faith, that *articulum stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, was caricatured as a doctrine against good works in not a few of the treatises of the time. Lower motives were appealed to by popular divines. "Obedience, moderation in amusements, prayer, resignation, and the love of God," were enforced in discourses preached in St. Paul's and in Oxford, "on the ground of the reasonableness on which they rest, and the advantages which they secure." Shaftesbury's "Virtue its own Reward," was thus echoed from metropolitan pulpits—

"Virtue must be built upon interest, that is, our interest upon the whole." There was, indeed, a narrowing of theological thought until it was almost circumscribed by questions of evidence, and, as has been well said by Dr. Stoughton, "Miracles were appealed to as the seals of Christianity in the first century, but the work of the Holy Spirit on the souls of men in the eighteenth was pronounced an idle dream."

It may well be conceived that upon a fervent soul like Wesley's, just awakened to the importance of spiritual things, and longing to employ every available resource in his Master's service, the sense of the influence of the press, and the conviction that it was being abused, or at best worked for inferior uses, would be an obligation to labor for its rescue, and for its supreme devotion to the cause of Christ. The singleness of his aim in authorship is a marked characteristic. He wrote neither for fame nor for emolument, but solely to do good. The *rationale* of his life may be given in his own remarkable words: "To candid, reasonable men, I am not afraid to lay open what have been the inmost thoughts of my heart. I have thought, I am a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air. I am a spirit come from God and returning to God; just hovering over the great gulf till, a few moments hence, no more seen, I drop into an unchangeable eternity." Thus consecrated, he desired to attain and utilize all knowledge, and he adds, "what I thus learn, that I teach." The same spirit led him to be independent of any affectation, whether of subject or style: of set purpose he cultivated plainness, "using words easy to be understood." "If I observe any stiff expression I throw it out, neck and shoulders." "I could even now [in his old age] write as floridly and rhetorically as even the admired Dr. B——, but I dare not; because I seek the honor that cometh from God only. I dare no more write in a fine style than wear a fine coat. But were it otherwise—had I time to spare—I should still write just as I do." Whether this estimate of his own power

to rival Blair or Massillon be correct or not, (and diversity of opinion on that point is not treason,) the complete subordination of the scholar and the critic, of the man of culture and the man of taste, to the one purpose of extensive usefulness, cannot fail to win the admiration of right-thinking minds; displaying, as it does, a heroism of self-abnegation which could mark only one of the highest styles of men. Dr. Johnson says, "A voluntary descent from the dignity of science is, perhaps, the hardest lesson that humility can teach." This voluntary descent John Wesley made that he might benefit and bless the world. The first time he ventured to print any thing, in 1733, he published a "Collection of Forms of Prayer" for his pupils at the University, and for the poor who were visited by the early Methodists at Oxford. He wrote on, amid incessant toil and travels, well-nigh without an interval, for more than fifty years, making a recreation and a privilege of his labors, until, at eventide, almost with his dying breath, he lingered in the Beulah-land to express a desire "that his sermon on 'the Love of God' should be scattered abroad and given to every body."

Few but those who have studied the matter have any idea either of the number or of the variety of Wesley's writings. To enumerate his works would be a tax even upon a book-worm's memory. Their titles would swell into a good-sized catalogue, and the variety of subjects touched upon in his original or selected volumes would almost suggest an encyclopedia. Reckoning his abridgments and compilations, more than two hundred volumes proceeded from his fertile pen. Grammars, exercises, dictionaries, compendiums, sermons and notes, a voluminous Christian Library, and a miscellaneous monthly magazine, tracts, addresses, answers, apologies, works polemical, classical, poetic, scientific, political, were poured forth in astonishing succession, not in learned leisure, but in the midst of the busiest life of the age—for the industrious writer was an intrepid evangelist and a wise administrator, a sagacious counselor and a loving friend; gave more advice than John

Newton; wrote more letters than Horace Walpole; and managed, a wise and absolute ruler, the whole concern of a Society which grew in his life-time to upwards of seventy thousand souls.

It is necessary, if we would rightly estimate Wesley's use of the press, to remind ourselves that he wrote under none of those advantages on which authors of note and name float themselves nowadays into renown. There was but a scanty literary appetite. The voracious love of books, which is characteristic of the present age, did not exist. Here and there were those prescient of its coming, who dreamed of a time when a cry should arise from the people, waxing louder and louder until it became as the plaint of a nation's prayer, "Give us knowledge, or we die." But these were the seers of their generation, and they were few. The masses had not awakened from the mental slumber of ages. The taste for reading had to be created and fed. Even if men had wished to make acquaintance with master-minds, their thoughts were only given forth in costly volumes beyond the means of the poor. Though there had been some improvement since those days of famine, when "a load of hay" was given "for a chapter in James," nothing, or but little, had been done to bring wholesome literature within the reach of the hamlet as well as of the hall. So far as we can ascertain, the *first* man to write for the million, and to publish so cheaply as to make his works accessible, was John Wesley. Those who rejoice in the cheap press, in the cheap serial, in the science-made-easy, which, if he so choose, keep the working man of the present day abreast of the highest thought and culture of the age, ought never to forget the deep debt of obligation which is owed to him who first ventured into what was then a hazardous and unprofitable field. The man who climbs by a trodden road up the steeps of Parnassus, or drinks of the waters of Helicon, will surely think gratefully of him whose toil made the climbing easy, and cleared the pathway to the spring. The harvest-man, who reaps amid the plenty and the singing, has not earned half

the reward due to him who, alone, beneath the gray wintry sky, went out for the scattering of the seed. We claim for John Wesley, and that beyond gainsaying, the gratitude of all lovers of human progress, if only for his free and generous use of the press, for the loving purpose which prompted him to cheapen his wealth of brain that others might share it, and for the forecasting sagacity which led him to initiate a system of popular instruction which, with all their advantages and with all their boast, the present race of authors have scarcely been able to improve.

In noticing a little more in detail the nature of John Wesley's works we feel bewildered with their variety. He deals with almost every useful subject, and, considering his incessant public labors, the wonder cannot be repressed that he wrote so much, and that he wrote, for the most part, so well.

His writing of *tracts*—short essays, narratives, letters, or treatises, which could be read without much expenditure of time—was a favorite occupation with him. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was in existence before he began, and one of the objects of its foundation was to disperse, both at home and abroad, Bibles and tracts on religious subjects. Fifty years later another society was started, with a similar object and name, but on a wider basis, and with a freer sphere of action. It was not, however, until the close of the century, that tract societies, as such, came into being; and though, strangely enough, the jubilee memorial of the Religious Tract Society makes no mention of his name, John Wesley was a diligent writer and a systematic distributer of tracts fifty years before that society was born.

In 1745, the year of the Stuart rebellion, he says: "We had within a short time given away some thousands of little tracts among the common people, and it pleased God thereby to provoke others to jealousy; insomuch that the Lord Mayor had ordered a large quantity of papers, dissuading from cursing and swearing, to be printed and distributed among the train-bands."

Wesley's preachers were furnished with these short, plain messengers of mercy, as part of the equipment with which their saddle-bags were stored. Regarding "a great book," as he quaintly said, as "a great evil," he used these "small arms" with great effect and perseverance throughout his unusually lengthened life. Every thing he wrote was practical and timely. Particular classes were particularly addressed: A Word to a Drunkard, to a Sabbath-breaker, to a Swearer, to a Street-walker, to a Smuggler, to a Condemned Malefactor; A Word to a Freeholder, just before a General Election; A Word to a Protestant when Romish Error was especially Rampant and Dangerous; Thoughts on the Earthquake at Lisbon, "directed, not as I designed at first, to the small vulgar, but the great, to the learned, rich, and honorable heathens, commonly called Christians." These show that, while his quiver was full, his arrows were not pointless, and they were "sharp in the hearts of the King's enemies" all over the land.

The circumstances under which some of the tracts were written invest them with much interest, while they illustrate the character of the man of one business, and show that one of his secrets of success was to be frugal of time as well as of words. He got wet through on a journey, and stayed at a halting-place to dry his clothes. "I took the opportunity," he says, "of writing A Word to a Freeholder." At an inn in Helvoetsluys, in Holland, detained by contrary winds, he took the opportunity of writing a sermon for the magazine. After a rough journey of ninety miles in one day, he required rest. "I rested, and transcribed the letter to Mr. Bailey." "The tide was in," in Wales, so that he could not pass over the sands. "I sat down in a little cottage for three or four hours and translated 'Aldrich's Logic.'" These are but samples of his redemption of time for high practical uses, and of the conscientious generosity with which he crowded his moments for God's glory with works of usefulness and honor.

Of his poetical publications it is not needful to write at

length. They have spoken their own eulogy, and are still speaking it, in so many thousand hearts, that they need no elaborate praise. John Wesley is not credited by his critics with much imagination, but he had that even balance of the faculties from which imagination cannot be absent, though it may be chastened and controlled by others. He was wise enough to know that "a verse may strike him who a sermon flies;" and that as a ballad is said to have sung a monarch out of three kingdoms, the power of spiritual song has often been of the essence of that "violence" which "the kingdom of heaven suffereth." Hence he began early to print collections of hymns, (the earliest known having been compiled at Savannah, and published at Charleston, during his stormy residence in Georgia,) and followed these, at intervals, by poetical publications for the space of fifty years. Among these were Moral and Sacred Poems; Hymns for Children; Hymns for the Use of Families; Epistles; Elegies; Funeral Hymns; Extracts from Herbert, and Milton, and Young; Hymns with Tunes Annexed; and Doctrinal Controversies Versified. The intensest pathos wailing forth in the "Cry of the Reprobate," the most caustic sarcasm lurking in the Hymns on God's Everlasting Love; patriotism finding vent in "Song on the Occurrence of a Threatened Invasion." Wars, tumults, earthquakes, persecutions, birthdays, festivals, recreations, were all improved into verse. This summary will suffice to show the fertile variety of topics to which the sacred lyre was strung. Many of the verses were but of limited and temporary interest, but the supply for the service of song in the house of the Lord could not fail to present itself to the foresight of the great evangelist as a pressing church necessity which must be adequately met. Hymnology may be said almost to have had its rise, as a worthy provision for worship, with Watts and Wesley. Tate and Brady had been substituted for Sternhold and Hopkins, but with a vigorous church-life these faint and fading echoes of the

strains of the Hebrew Psalmist were felt to be insufficient. Isaac Watts first realized the need, and did much to supply it. Then Charles Wesley was raised up, endowed with the poetic genius, and enlivened with a cheerful godliness which found themes for its loftiest exercise. The hymns of both, and all others that were deemed evangelical and worthy, were gathered by the taste and skill of John Wesley, and under his prudent censorship, into a series of hymn books such as the Church of Christ had never seen before. The most covetous seeker after fame needs covet no higher than to have sent forth lyrics like these, treasured in the hearts of multitudes as their happiest utterances of religious hope and joy, chasing anxiety from the brow of the troubled, giving glowing songs in the night of weeping, and, in the case of many, gasped out with the failing breath as the last enemy fled beaten from the field.

His homiletic writings, consisting of some hundred and forty sermons, were carefully revised and prepared for the press in some of those quiet retreats where, as it would seem, mainly for this purpose, he snatched a brief holiday from perpetual toil and travel. In the retirement of Kingswood, or under the roof of the Perronets, or at Newington, or Lewisham, he transcribed his well-weighed words. He regarded himself pre-eminently as a preacher: this was the work for which he was raised up of God, and to this all else was subordinated: but he wished a longer ministry than could be compassed in sixty years, and accordingly the truths which, when uttered on Kennington Common or in the Moorfields had produced such marvelous effects, were revised and systematized, that they might preach in print to generations who lived too late to be subdued by the quiet earnestness of the speaker's voice. Wesley's sermons may be said to have been the earliest published system of experimental religion. The press had been used largely for printing sermons before; critical light had been let in upon obscure passages of Scripture; scholarly essays abound-

ed; homiletic literature was rich in funeral sermons, the improvement of passing incidents, and arguments for the external defense of the faith; but no such plain, clear, pungent, practical exhibition of the whole method of God's dealing with a sinner had ever enriched the literature of the English language. He was anointed to prophesy to a congregation of the dead, and he spake of the truths by which the dead can live, and spake with a prophet's singleness, self-unconsciousness, and power.

His expository writings comprised "Notes" on the Old Testament and on the New. It could hardly be that he could overlook, in his search for useful methods of doing good, helps to biblical interpretation and criticism. As in every thing he wrote, the nature and limits of his work were defined by the needs and leisure of those for whom he especially wrote. Hence he announces his design to be "barely to assist those who fear God in hearing and reading the Bible itself, by showing the natural sense of every part in as few and plain words as I can." Again, "I have endeavored to make the 'Notes' as short as possible, that the comment may not obscure or swallow up the text." Not only did he study the means of the poor who could not purchase elaborate commentaries, and the lack of culture of those who were not able to understand them; he wrote briefly and suggestively, with an educational design. "It is no part of my design to save either learned or unlearned men from the trouble of thinking. If so, I might, perhaps, write folios, too, which usually overlay rather than help the thought. On the contrary, my intention is to make them think, and assist them in thinking." His Notes on the Old Testament are mainly an abridgment of Poole's "Annotations," and Matthew Henry's "Commentary," and are so condensed as greatly to detract from their value. The notes on the New Testament were begun in the maturity of his powers, on the 6th January, 1754. His health had partially broken down under his exhausting labors, and he was ordered

to the Hotwells, Clifton. There he began his work; a work which he says he should never have attempted if he had not been "so ill as to be unable to travel and preach, and yet so well as to be able to read and write." Incidental references in his journal show how painfully he toiled to elicit and express the true mind of the Spirit in the word. Doddridge's "Family Expositor" and Heylin's "Theological Lectures" were carefully read, all the passages were compared with the original text, a task for which his own accurate knowledge of Greek eminently qualified him, and several improvements on the received version were suggested which have found favor with competent critics. By far the most valuable help, however, in his work, was furnished by the "Gnomon Novi Testamenti" of the celebrated John Albert Bengel. Wesley became interpenetrated with the spirit of Bengel's teaching, and it colored his exposition. He was, indeed, the first to recognize the claims of the great German critic to the notice of English theologians, as Bunsen and others have acknowledged. Five editions of the "Notes" were published in John Wesley's life-time, and they largely contributed to maintain his early preachers in the soundness of the faith. Hartwell Horne—no mean judge—gives high praise to them as being always judicious, accurate, spiritual, terse, and impressive. By their incorporation into the trust deeds of Methodist chapels, in which they are referred to, (along with certain sermons,) as the authorized articles of standard belief, they have secured, so long as British law is respected, the doctrinal integrity of the English Methodist Church.

Wesley used the press for educational purposes to a great extent. They utterly misconceive his character who suppose that he was an abetter or favorer of ignorance, or that he unduly depreciated the intellectual, and unduly cultivated the emotional, part of the nature. Few men in any age have done more for the mental emancipation of their fellows. He was systematically giving both secular and Sabbath-school

instruction to children in Savannah when Robert Raikes was in his infancy. He had systematized education there before Bell and Lancaster were born. When his ministry was successful among the masses, if he found the people boors he did not leave them without the means of improvement, and was prodigal in his endeavors for their benefit. Wesley had not the large advantage which association affords to philanthropists now. He was almost a single-handed worker. Publishers who had an eye to quick returns would hardly look at a series of educational works, so sparse and ill-prepared was the market for such literary wares. But Wesley was determined to send the school-master abroad, trusting that under the providence of God he would gather his own scholars. He *would* uplift the masses, though they themselves were inert, and even impatient of the experiment. Hence he prepared and published grammars in five languages, English, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He printed, also, expurgated editions of the classics, which, as the "Excerpta ex Ovidio," might be properly placed in the hands of ingenuous youth. A "Compendium of Logic," clear and admirable, also issued from his pen. Under the signature "A Lover of Good English and Common Sense," he published "The Complete English Dictionary," which, in its way, is curious and valuable. An "N. B." is on the title page, to this effect: "The author assures you he thinks this is the best English Dictionary in the world." The preface is a literary curiosity, and is worth reprinting in *extenso* as a specimen of racy wit and modest assurance. It runs thus:

To the Reader.

As incredible as it may appear, I must allow that this Dictionary is not published to get money, but to assist persons of common sense and no learning to understand the best English authors; and that with as little expense of either time or money as the nature of the thing will allow. To this end it contains, not a heap of Greek and Latin words just tagged with English terminations, (for no good English

writer, none but vain and senseless pedants, give these any place in their writings;) not a scroll of barbarous law expressions, which are neither Greek, Latin, nor good English; not a crowd of technical terms, the meaning whereof is to be sought in books expressly wrote on the subjects to which they belong; not such English words as *and*, *of*, *but*, which stand so gravely in Mr. Bailey's, Pardon's, and Martin's Dictionaries; but most of those hard words which are found in the best English writers. I say *most*, for I purposely omit not only all that are not hard, and which are not found in the best writers—not only all law words and most technical terms—but likewise all, the meaning of which may be easily gathered from those of the same derivation. And this I have done in order to make this Dictionary both as short and cheap as possible.

I should add no more, but that I have so often observed the only way, according to the modern taste, for any author to procure commendation to his book is vehemently to commend it himself. For want of this deference to the public several excellent tracts, lately printed, but left to commend themselves by their intrinsic worth, are utterly unknown or forgotten; whereas, if a writer of tolerable sense will but bestow a few violent encomiums on his own work, especially if they are skillfully ranged in the title-page, it will pass through six editions in a trice; the world being too complaisant to give a gentleman the lie, and taking it for granted he understands his own performance best. In compliance, therefore, with the taste of the age, I add that this little Dictionary is not only the shortest and cheapest, but likewise, by many degrees, the most correct, which is extant at this day. Many are the mistakes in all the other English Dictionaries which I have seen; whereas I can truly say, I know of none in this. And I conceive the reader will believe me, for if I had, I should not have left it there. Use, then, this help till you find a better.

Besides these grammars and this dictionary Wesley ventured into the domain of the historian. He wrote a short Roman history, and a concise history of England in four volumes. He had many qualities which fitted him for this particular work. A calm, judicial mind; a sensitive taste, which could separate, almost without an effort, the precious from the vile; a loyal love of constitutional government, as he understood it; and, above all, a reverent insight which saw God moving in history

to the working out of his own plans, whether by vessels of wrath or instruments of deliverance or mercy, are advantages not often found in combination in the same individual. Later in life he also published an ecclesiastical history on the basis of Mosheim, correcting what he deemed erroneous, and appending a "Short History of the People called Methodists," the more necessary, as in Maclaine's translation of Mosheim, Wesley and Whitefield figured in the list of heretics. Natural philosophy and electricity (the latter science at that time just passing out of the region of myth into the region of acknowledged discovery, and Franklin, its prophet, looked upon by the scientific world rather as a Pariah than a Brahmin) also engaged his attention, and he tried to popularize them. Fragments on ethical and literary subjects, on memory, taste, genius, the power of music; remarks on recently published works, or works of standard interest, all tending to familiarize the masses with elevating and improving subjects, proceeded at intervals from his diligent hand. Indeed, it may be fearlessly affirmed that in the forefront of those who deserve to be remembered as the educators of the race, his name should be recorded—a brave pioneer who ventured, ax in hand, to make a clearing in the forest, with no friends to cheer him on, and but for whose early and patient toil the highway to knowledge, upon which so many are easily and gladly walking, would have been delayed in its construction for years.

Connected with this use of the press for educational purposes ought to be mentioned the powerful aid which his writings afforded to the creation of a healthy public opinion on sanitary and social matters, and in reference to existing evils whose foulness was but half understood. While as a practical philanthropist he had no superior, dispensing food and help and medicine, caring for the outcasts who "sacrifice to gods which smite them;" while "Stranger's Friend Societies," dispensaries, and orphan houses grew up around him—the comely expressions of his goodness—he was directing, from his quiet

study, the silent revolutions of opinion. His great warm heart beat tenderly for suffering humanity, and against every evil which degraded the body, or dwarfed the mind, or cursed the soul, he wrote with warmth and freedom. He pitied the harlot, and pleaded for the downtrodden slave. He denounced, in ready and eloquent words, domestic slavery, cruel intemperance, and other social ulcers which eat out the vigor of national life. His political economy, if not philosophically sound, was practically uplifting and charitable. No regard for class interests was allowed to interfere with his one purpose of doing good and bettering the individual, the nation, and the world. For the healing of the sick he disregarded the prejudices of the faculty, and though wits make merry at his "Primitive Physic," no medical works of that day are more free from folly or empiricism. For the simplification of necessary legal documents he wrote so as to incur the wrath of the lawyers, whose "villainous tautology" moved his righteous anger; and in Church matters he denounced pluralities and absenteeism as vigorously as the most trenchant Church reformer in the land. He cheered philanthropists, like Howard and Wilberforce, in their arduous work, and they blessed him for his loving words. There is scarcely an active form of charity now blessing mankind which he did not initiate or dream of; scarcely an acknowledged good which he did not strive to realize. In fact, he was far beyond his age, and his forecasting goodness projected itself, like a luminous shadow, upon the coming time.

Of Wesley's *polemical* writings it were not seemly, in an article like this, to speak at length. He was not naturally inclined to controversy, and personally was one of the most patient and forgiving of men. He framed his United Societies on the principle of comprehension: any could be Methodists who accepted the essentials of the Christian system, and lived godly and peaceable lives; and though he warred ceaselessly against sin, he was tolerant of intellectual error, except so far as it was connected with or tended to sin. In matters of mere

opinion he displayed the broadest liberality, and avoided the too common mistake of making a man an offender for a word. In comparatively early life he records that he spent "near ten minutes in controversy, which is more than I had done in public for months, perhaps years, before." Later he says, "I preach eight hundred sermons a year, and, taking one year with another for twenty years past, I have not preached eight sermons upon the subject." The reference is to mere opinions. He was not likely, therefore, needlessly to embroil himself, nor to enter upon controversy without constraint of over-mastering motive, or that which to him seemed to be such. His first controversy was with his former friends, the Moravians, among whom he thought he discovered a dangerous mysticism in sentiment, and some unworthy license in practice; but the interest of this was limited, and it is now forgotten. The three great controversial subjects which engaged him were, first, to repel the slanders and correct the mistakes which were current about himself and his work. To this end he wrote and published his "Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion." These earnest and dignified defenses deserve to be mentioned by the side of the Apologies of the early Church. In the first Appeal, after noticing and dealing with objections, he appeals to men who pride themselves on their reason, as to the unreasonableness of an ungodly life, thus wounding them with arrows taken out of their own quiver. The second is almost wholly on the defensive in the first part; the second part is a fearless and scathing exposure of commonly practised sin; and the third restates the defense, and reiterates the rebuke of transgression.

Wesley's second controversy gave rise to his largest and ablest contribution to controversial literature—his treatise on "Original Sin," in reply to Dr. John Taylor, an acute and eminent Unitarian minister of Norwich. In this work he treats his opponent with uniform courtesy, while he freely handles and does his best to demolish his scheme. He considers the subject first in relation to the state of mankind, past and present. After the

historical review, which he confirms by a black list of corroborating facts, he proceeds to the scriptural definition and proof of the doctrine, dealing with his opponent's method of dealing with Scripture. He then answers Dr. Taylor's answers to writers who had contended with him before, and gives lengthened extracts from these writers where he judged them worthy of quotation. Dr. Taylor had answered others, but to Wesley's treatise no reply was forthcoming. The third and most voluminous controversy in which Wesley engaged was the Calvinistic one, in which the Hills and Toplady on the one hand, and Wesley and Fletcher on the other, were doughty combatants for a series of years. The good men who tilted at each other's shields, sometimes with rude assaults, have long since met in the land where they learn war no more, and have doubtless seen eye to eye in the purged vision of the New Jerusalem. It were idle, nay cruel, to revive these controversies now. For the purposes of this paper it need only be affirmed that Wesley did not wrangle about trifles. "Religious liberty, human depravity, justification by faith, sanctification by the Holy Spirit, universal redemption"—these were the truths which he explained with convincing clearness, and defended with indomitable energy, and with a temper which, if not absolutely unruffled, rarely forgot the counsel, although terribly provoked to do so,—

> "Be calm in arguing, for fierceness makes
> Error a fault, and truth discourtesy."

A large portion of Wesley's contributions to the literature of his time consisted of his *abridgments* of the works of other men. These number one hundred and seventeen, inclusive of the Christian Library, which consists of fifty volumes. Perhaps a more unselfish boon was never given by any man in any land or age. It was a largeness of intellectual and spiritual wealth flung royally out for the masses, without thought of personal gain or grudge of personal trouble. Wesley's pur-

pose was to bring to the notice and within the reach of his Societies and others the best works of the best minds on the best subjects, that by the light of this sanctified intellect "sons might be as plants grown up in their youth, and daughters as corner-stones polished after the similitude of a palace." In this Christian Library the great Christian minds of the generations are brought together. Clemens, Ignatius, and Polycarp—St. Ambrose, Arndt, and John Fox—Hall, Leighton, Patrick, and Tillotson—are parts of the renowned company. South, Cave, Manton, Cudworth, and Jeremy Taylor, are in friendly companionship with Charnock, Howe, Flavel, Baxter, and Owen. Brainerd and Janeway lay bare their spiritual experiences. Chief Justice Hale and Young are pressed into the service, and authors from foreign lands, such as Pascal, De Renty, and Bengel are naturalized for the same liberal and useful end. The experiment, as has been well said, "had never been attempted before, and has never been surpassed since."

His *miscellaneous* works were numerous, and so various as to defy classification. On whatever topic it seemed to him that the people needed guidance he was ready to offer it; he provided for them instruction and counsel on the great problems of life and its more serious duties, and did not forget, either in his poetical selections or in "Henry, Earl of Moreland," to indulge them with morsels of lighter reading for their leisure hours.

All mention of the *Journals* has been reserved to the last. They must be studied by any who would see the man. They are his unconscious autobiography. His versatility, his industry, his benevolence, his patience under insult, his indifference to human honor, his single-mindedness, his continual waiting upon providence, (which involved him in inconsistencies which he was not careful to reconcile, and which gloriously vindicate the disinterestedness of his life,) his culture, his courtesy, his combination of the instincts of a gentleman with the blunt honesty of a son of toil, his true dignity, his woman-

ly tenderness of feeling, his racy wit, his discriminating criticism, his power of speech, his power of silence, all the elements which go to make up the symmetry of a well-compacted character,—if any want to find these let them go, not to the pages of his biographers, who from various stand-points and with much acuteness have told the story of his life, but let them gather what he was and what the world owes to him from these records, as he daily transcribed them, in which he has shown himself, as in a glass, with the self-unconsciousness and transparency which only the truly great can afford to feel. We need not anticipate the world's verdict. It has been already pronounced :—

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

The slander was hushed into silence, and men woke up to know that a prophet had been among them ere yet he had passed from their midst. A life of such singular blamelessness and of such singular devotion is a rich heritage for any people. He was not covetous of any fame but God's; but fame has come to him, notwithstanding, and sits upon his memory like a crown :—

> "The path of duty was the way to glory,
> He that, ever following her commands,
> On with toil of heart and knees and hands,
> Through the long gorge to the far light has won
> His path upward and prevailed,
> Shall find the toppling crags of duty scaled,
> And close upon the shining table-lands
> To which our God himself is moon and sun.
> Such was he: his work is done;
> But while the races of mankind endure
> Let his great example stand
> Colossal, seen of every land."

# JOHN WESLEY AND SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

JOHN WESLEY'S love of children was proverbial, Robert Southey being the witness. The poet says: "When I was a child I was in a house in Bristol where Wesley was; running down stairs before him with a beautiful little sister of my own, he overtook us on the landing, where he lifted my sister in his arms and kissed her. Placing her on her feet again, he then put his hand upon my head and blessed me." Little did the stranger know that that boy was to become the poet laureate of England, and one of his biographers. Well might Southey say in after years, his eyes glistening with tears, and his tones softened by grateful and tender recollection, "I feel as though I had the blessing of that good man upon me still." It is a beautiful picture; many knew it to be true; children were always welcome, and "never in his way." His knowledge of their wants and ways made him interested in their concerns, and that interest was a key to the affections of the little ones.

In olden time rules were strict, and parental maxims somewhat rigid; but the training of John Wesley was such as to bear its fruit in after life, and make him avoid the austere toward children that he might win their confidence by love. At his early Epworth home his mother was his teacher, and she began to educate very early. "At one year old he was made to fear the rod, and to kiss it when he cried," and that passion might be controlled, "his very crying was only allowed in *softened tones*."

As he grew to be a boy he was only allowed three meals a day, and eating and drinking between meals was strictly forbidden. He was one of the younger of nineteen children, and,

though nine had died, there were enough left to make the rule of early retiring press hard upon him, for since all had to be in bed by eight o'clock, his turn would probably come very early.

Two other rules were in force, one good, the other doubtful; "Never give a child what it cried for; and never allow any one to sit by the cot after the child was put to bed." This child had nerves which were finely strung, and great fears held possession of his little heart; he cried for fear; no help came, and he paid the penalty in after life of wonderful illusions, credulities, and dreams.

Religion, however, was the foundation of all teaching in that household; the children were taught to pray as soon as they could speak, and they were taught what prayer was. It is said that rudeness was never seen among them; and on no account were they allowed to call each other by their proper names without the addition of brother or sister, as the case might be. School was kept for six hours a day, and psalms were sung at the beginning and close, after which one of the elder children took one of the younger and read to them from the Bible and heard the evening prayer. This was the home teaching of the sons till they were sent to school in London; and one who observed the order of the Epworth family said, "Never was there a family of children who did their mother greater credit." And what a mother was she! She trained her son for the Lord; she watched his youthful follies; she prayed continually for his safe-guiding as well as for his safe-keeping. She followed him with her letters, with her entreaties, and her counsels, and she rejoiced in her life in London shortly before she died, that she might "establish, strengthen, and settle" him; and when she died John was, indeed, the chief mourner who stood by the open grave in Bunhill-fields and delivered that wonderful sermon to the assembled multitude. It was his filial act which placed a stone at the head of her grave, to record something of her worth:

"In sure and steadfast hope to rise,
And claim her mansion in the skies,
A Christian here her flesh laid down;
The cross exchanging for a crown."

The peril of the great city was soon found by John Wesley, to whom his father wrote in 1715, when he was at the Charter House School, "I hope now I shall have no occasion to remember the things that are past; and since you have for sometime bit upon the bridle, I have now joy in thee, my son." It is sad to be informed by him, that at the age of twenty-two he had to write: "Till now I have had no religious friend, but I begin to alter the whole form of my conversation, and am set in earnest upon a new life. I set apart an hour or two for religious retirement; I watch against all sin, whether in word or deed; I begin to aim at and to pray for inward holiness." Thus it was, that from the age of ten to the age of twenty-two, the restraints of home being cut away, the experience of many young men of godly families was partially the experience of one of God's holiest and most useful servants, at least so far that there was a marked lessening of religious influence and power.

All this discipline prepared the way for the full sympathy of his mind with childhood and youth, which was shown by Mr. Wesley from the beginning of his ministry, leading him to enforce earnestly family religion and school instruction. In 1745 he wrote his "Instructions for Children, addressed to all Parents and School-masters," in which he treats upon the true principles of Christian education, and that these should be instilled into their minds as soon as they can distinguish good from evil. He then furnishes lessons in the form of a catechism, and we there see the old family rules of his own home peeping out when he exhorts teachers, that "they who teach children to love praise, train them for the devil; and they who give children what they like are the worst enemies they have."

His knowledge of the hearts of children leads him in his well-known sermons on "Training Children" and "Family Religion" to say, "the wickedness of children is generally owing to the fault or neglect of their parents." And further, "that the souls of children should be fed as often as their bodies." His "lessons" are taken from Moses, and are fifty-four in number. These he commends to his preachers, saying, "Beware how you tend these deep things of God; beware of that common but accursed way of making children parrots instead of Christians. Regard not how much, but how you teach. Turn every sentence every way, and question them continually on every point."

How the personal influence of Wesley and Whitefield all over the country, and the instructions of the former to his preachers, must have opened the way for the great Sunday-school movement of later years. Of those organizations he says, at the age of eighty-one years, when he preached at Bingley, in Yorkshire, on July 18, 1784, "Before service I stepped into the Sunday-school. . . . I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but that some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?" This is Mr. Wesley's first mention of these schools in his Journal; and he caught the idea with wonderful precision. Robert Raikes had started his school in Gloucester in 1781, and in 1784 Wesley says of the Leeds school: "The plan is this; boys and girls are kept separate. There are four inquisitors who spend the afternoon in visiting the twenty-six schools, to seek the absentees in the public streets. The masters are mostly pious men who are paid from one to two shillings a Sunday for their services. The expenses of the first year were £234." Visiting Oldham, he says, "The children clung around me; the streets were lined with little children, and such children as I had never seen till now. After singing, a whole troop closed me in and would not be content till I had shook

each of them by the hand." At Bolton, where he preached at Easter, 1785, he wrote: "Some five hundred Sunday-school children present; such an army got about me when I came out of the chapel that I could not disengage myself from them." Well may all this display of infant zeal have called forth the prediction and the prayer of the aged saint. He could not fail to remember his own early efforts in his school for colliers' children, at Kingswood; in his school at the Foundery, in London, from 1742, under the direction and tuition of Silas Told; and earlier still in his parish at Savannah, in 1736, where he had commenced the work which Raikes was permitted to accomplish in England more than forty years afterward.

Bishop Stevens, in his "History of Georgia" has made this record of Mr. Wesley's earliest efforts in school work:

"As a part of John Wesley's parochial labors he established a school of thirty or forty children, which he placed under the care of Mr. Dellamotte, a man of good education, who endeavored to blend religious instruction with secular learning; and on Sunday afternoon Wesley met them in the church before evening service, heard the children recite their catechism, questioned them as to what they had heard from the pulpit, instructed them still further in the Bible, endeavoring to fix the truth in their understandings as well as in their memories. This was a regular part of his Sunday duties, and it shows that John Wesley, in the parish of Savannah, had established a Sunday-school fifty years before Robert Raikes originated his noble scheme of Sunday instruction in Gloucester, and eighty years before the first school in America, on Mr. Raikes' plan, was established in the city of New York."

To whomsoever we are indebted for the first thought of Sunday-schools, to God only would we give all the praise, for such a work could only be an inspiration from him. The Sunday-school is now a great fact, one of the most potent for good on the face of the earth. Its influence controls the conscience and guides the will of nations; and from America and England the system of Sunday-schools is being extended all over Europe, and by the aid of missionaries to people in every country on the globe.

On the rolls of our Sabbath-schools are the names of millions of scholars; and the godly unpaid teachers are counted by hundreds of thousands. The results cannot be registered; no pen of the statist can figure them; the record is on high! A century of Sunday-school work is just closing, and we are about to celebrate the completion of that period; but the world has not yet seen the power of the Sunday-school. Had he lived so long, no one would have more rejoiced at the glorious results of Sunday-school labors during a century than would John Wesley.

# WESLEY JUGÉ PAR DE PRESSENSÉ.

Paris, ce 19 *avril*, 1879.

A M. le pasteur Matthieu Lelièvre, Nimes :

Mon cher Monsieur : Vous m'apprenez que l'on prépare aux Etats-Unis, à la grande mémoire de Wesley, un monument plus durable que ceux de pierre ou de marbre. Ce monument doit être un livre, dans lequel toutes les diverses fractions du christianisme évangélique exprimeront leur respect et leur sympathie pour ce puissant serviteur de Dieu. C'est à ce titre que vous m'avez demandé de joindre mon témoignage au leur. Je le fais avec empressement, dans la mesure où je le puis, c'est à dire en me contentant d'un simple témoignage d'admiration et de gratitude ; car, je ne suis pas capable d'essayer une caractéristique de cet illustre serviteur de Dieu, illustre malgré lui-même, l'humilité étant l'un de ses traits distinctifs. Les Eglises méthodistes d'Amèrique ont eu bien raison de faire appel à la chrétienté évangélique tout entière, car un homme comme Wesley lui appartient, tout en ayant marqué son œuvre d'une empreinte particulière, par l'influence générale et considérable qu'il a exercée sur l'Eglise contemporaine.

Laissant de côté ce qui se rapporte plus spécialment aux Eglises que portent son nom, et, qui ont bien raison de demeurer fidèles à leur caractère propre, tant que n'a pas sonné l'heure de la grande fusion, dans la synthèse élargie d'un christianisme complet—heure qui me paraît devoir coïncider avec celle des dernières consommations—je relèverai quelques uns des grands services rendus par Wesley à la Réformation tout entière. Tout d'abord, au point de vue doctrinal, il a réagi contre la scholastique dogmatique, dans laquelle s'était figée la sève généreuse du seizième siècle, et il a restauré l'élément moral, la lib-

erté humaine sacrificé au dogme de la prédestination absolue, sans tomber dans l'erreur pélagienne. Je ne m'arrête pas aux conséquences, qui ont été tirées de cette revendication au sein des Eglises wesleyennes, et, sur lesquelles je n'aì pas à me prononcer ici. Je retiens seulement cette grande affirmation du libre arbitre, en dehors de laquelle, je déclare ne pas comprendre une lutte sérieuse contre le panthéisme contemporain, et cette insistance sur la sainteté, quì était bien nécessaire en face d'une orthodoxie plus disposée à rassurer l'âme qu'à la stimuler à la lutte.

En second lieu, Wesley, sans rompre prématurément avec l'Eglise officielle, a été l'un des plus puissants initiateurs de la vraie notion de l'Eglise, qui la fait reposer, non sur la naissance, mais sur la foi personnelle, et l'amène, sans détrôner le ministère, à une large pratique du sacerdoce universel, du sacerdoce laïque. Cette première réforme ecclesiastique portait dans son sein l'indépendance de la société spirituelle vis-à-vis de l'etat: aussi, à la seconde génération, le wesleyanisme a-t-il presque partout rompu le lien avec le pouvoir civil.

En troisième lieu, Wesley a donné le plus magnifique élan au mouvement missionnaire, sans séparer la mission du dedans de celle du dehors, car c'est une vraie mission qu'il a entreprise avec Whitefield dans les terres dites chrétiennes. Je ne connais rien de plus admirable que cette propaganda ardente, infatigable dans les deux mondes, suspendant les multitudes aux lèvres de ces vrais apôtres qui, pour employer l'expression d'un de leurs plus fidèles disciples, le Rev. Arthur, portaient oraiment une langue de feu, et, dans le siècle de Voltaire et de Bolingbroke, ramenèrent de vraies Pentecôtes. Ils ont été les initiateurs d'un réveil général qui s'est produit dans tout le protestantisme. Les os secs se sont ranimés à leur voix, qui a été entendue par toute la terre. La mission intérieure a enfanté la mission extérieure, qui lui a dû cette incomparable expansion, la gloire de l'Eglise évangélique du dix-neu-vième siècle. Grâce à eux et à leurs émules, l'ange de l'Apocalypse a vrai-

ment repris son vol sous tous les cieux pour porter l'Evangile éternel aux peuples de toutes langues.

Enfin, car je me borne à indiquer ces idées sans les développer, Wesley a fait descendre de nouveau l'Evangile des hauteurs plus ou moins glacées d'une sorte d'aristocratie religieuse. Il l'a porté aux déshérités, aux ignorants, aux esclaves. On a pu dire de nouveau : "L'Evangile est annoncé aux pauvres." Les partisans d'une religion *comme il faut*, lui en ont fait un reproche, et lui ont dit comme Celse au christianisme primitif : "Vous ne vous occupez que de cette tourbe de carrefour, de tous ces misérables qui sont le rebut de l'humanité." Wesley aurait pu répondre, comme Origène dans sa réplique immortelle au philosophe grec : "C'est vrai ; nous nous préoccupons de ces misérables pour les relever, parce que vous n'y avez pas pensé. Nous représentons un Mâitre qui a dit : 'Je ne suis pas venu pour ceux qui sont en santé, mais je cherche tout ce qui est perdu !'"

Il faudrait maintenant, mon cher Monsieur, montrer toutes ces grandes idées vivantes dans la personne de Wesley, retracer cette figure si noble, cette vie d'infatigable dévouement. Ce n'est pas en vous écrivant que je le ferai, car je n' ai garde d'oublier que vous êtes un de ceux qui nous avez le mieux fait connaître ce grand chrétien, grand surtout parce qu'il redit du fond du cœur avec Jean Baptiste : "Il faut qu'il grandisse et que je diminue."

Sans donte vos Eglises, comme toutes les fractions de la chrétiénté, ont eu leurs imperfections et leurs étroitesses. J'avoue franchement que ma pensée a besoin de plus d'air et d'espace que l'orthodoxie du réveil, qu'il soit wesleyen, luthérien, ou réformé. Chaque époque recoit des lumières nouvelles de Celui quì s'appelle le Soleil de justicè et de vérité. Je souhaite seulement que ces lumières soient pénétrées d'une flamme aussi ardente qui celle que anima les Pères de nos Eglises. Les grands serviteurs de Dieu, qui nous ont quittés, sont comme des Elies enlevés dans un char de feu. Il faut ramasser, non

pas leur linceul, qui représente la part des infirmités et des erreurs humaines, dont il faut bien se garder de faire des traditions mortes—mais leur manteau : je veux dire, ce qui symbolise leur activité large et féconde.

C'est le seul moyen pour les Elisées de continuer les Elies. Croyez, cher Monsieur, à ma haute estime et à mon affectueux dévouement,

E. de Pressensé.

# WESLEY JUDGED BY DR. DE PRESSENSÉ.

PARIS, *April* 19, 1879.

TO THE REV. MATTHEW LELIÈVRE, NIMES.

MY DEAR SIR: You tell me that a monument more lasting than one of stone or marble is being prepared in the United States to the grand memory of Wesley. This monument is a book in which the various evangelical communions will express their respect and sympathy for that powerful servant of God. Wherefore you ask me to join my testimony to theirs; and I eagerly do so in the measure of my ability, confining myself to a simple testimony of admiration and gratitude. For I am not able to attempt a characteristic of this illustrious servant of God, illustrious in spite of himself, humility being one of the traits which distinguished him. The American Methodist Churches have done well to appeal to Evangelical Christendom generally, for a man such as Wesley, although his work bore a special stamp, belongs to it by the wide and deep influence which he exercised over the contemporary Church.

Leaving aside what more particularly regards the Churches which bear his name, and which are right in remaining faithful to their own principles, so long as the hour has not struck for the grand fusion in the widened synthesis of a perfected Christianity—which hour methinks will coincide with the end of all things—I shall point out a few of the great services Wesley rendered to reformation generally. In the first place, as regards doctrine, he reacted against scholastical dogmatics, in which the noble sap of the sixteenth century had been congealed, and, without falling into Pelagian error, he restored the moral element—human liberty—which had been sacrificed to the dogma of absolute predestination. I pass over the conclusions which

have been drawn from this claim by the Wesleyan Churches, and on which I have not here to pronounce. I only mark that grand affirmation of the free-will—without which I declare I do not comprehend any serious wrestling against contemporary pantheism—and that insistence on holiness which was a necessity in presence of an orthodoxy more fit to reassure the wavering soul than to excite it for the struggle.

In the second place, Wesley, without prematurely breaking with the Established Church, was one of the most powerful initiators of that true ecclesiastical notion which establishes the Church, not on birthright but on personal faith, and, without dethroning ministry, teaches her to practice universal priesthood—lay priesthood. This first ecclesiastical reform carried in itself the independence of the spiritual society toward the State; consequently, as early as the second generation, Wesleyanism had nearly every-where freed itself from civil power.

Thirdly, Wesley gave the most magnificent impulse to missionary movement at home and abroad; for that was a true mission which he undertook with Whitefield [in Georgia] in a so-called Christian land. I know nothing more worthy of admiration than the ardent propaganda, indefatigable in both worlds, of those true apostles on whose lips crowds hung spell-bound, and—to speak in the language of one of their most faithful disciples, the Rev. William Arthur—who had tongues of fire, and in the age of Voltaire and Bolingbroke produced true pentecosts. They were the means of beginning a general revival of Protestantism. At their voice—which is gone into all the earth—the dry bones revived. The home mission brought forth foreign mission, which has been followed by that incomparable expansion, the glory of the evangelical Church in the nineteenth century. Thanks to them and their associates, the angel of the apocalypse has indeed resumed his flight in the midst of heaven to carry the everlasting gospel to every tongue and people.

Finally—for I am merely pointing out these ideas without unfolding them—Wesley brought down the gospel anew from the rather icy summits of a religion of aristocracy. He took it to the disinherited, to the ignorant, to the slaves. It might again be truly said: "The gospel is preached to the poor." The followers of a fashionable religion have made this a reproach to him, saying, like Celsus to primitive Christianity: "You only attend to those cross-way mobs, to those miserable creatures who are the refuse of humanity." Wesley might have answered, like Origen, in his immortal reply to the Greek philosopher: "True, we employ ourselves to restore those miserable people, because you have not thought about them. We represent a Master who said: 'I came not for those who are whole, but I seek all who are lost.'"

Now, dear sir, all these grand ideas ought to be shown alive in the person of Wesley, and that noble figure, that life of unwearied self-denial, ought to be delineated. I cannot do this in a letter to you, for how can I forget that you* are one of those who have best acquainted us with this great Christian—great, just because, like John the Baptist, he said from his inmost heart: "He must increase, and I must decrease."

Surely, your Churches, like all other Christian communions, have had their imperfections and their narrow-mindedness. I frankly confess that my thought wants more air and space than the orthodoxy of revival can give, whether Wesleyan, Lutheran, or Reformed. Every epoch receives fresh light from him who is the Sun of Righteousness and truth. I only wish that this light be penetrated by so ardent a flame as that which animated the fathers of our Churches. The great servants of God who have left us are like so many Elijahs taken up in a chariot of fire. We must pick up, not their shroud, that is to say, their infirmities and errors—which we must be careful not to make dead traditions of—but their mantle, by which I

* Pressensé has reference to Lelièvre's most admirable "Life of Wesley."—Editor.

mean every thing that represents their wide and fruitful activity. Only thus will the Elishas be the continuators of the Elijahs. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionately devoted

E. DE PRESSENSÉ.

# EPWORTH.

## I.

MOTHERLAND across the sea,
Home of bards and sages,
Crowned amid the ages,
Shrines unnumbered are in thee,
Where the pilgrim reverently
Stands like one upon a shore,
Looking far the billows o'er;
Waiting till the echoes float
From the wastes that lie remote;
So we lean, with ear attent,
For some wingéd message sent.

## II.

In the distance here we stand;—
'Tis a deep devotion,
Mother isle of ocean,
Speaks a blessing on thy land,
For thy heroes, strong of hand,
Brave of heart, the ages through;
'Tis a shining retinue,
Thou hast given for the lead
Of a world in restless speed;
Seas are wide, but chains of gold
Bind us each, the New and Old.

III.

Where the Trent with easy flow
Seeks the Humber, gliding,
Winding oft, and hiding,
Through the "levels" rich and low,
There a manor long ago
Rose beyond, on heights of green,
Looking down the river sheen;
That is Epworth, parish old,
Of a date that is not told;—
Hence the echo o'er the sea,
Worthy theme of minstrelsy.

IV.

Parsonage of Epworth! where
Came there brighter angel,
With a glad evangel?
Never on the burdened air
Was a sweeter breath of prayer,
Than the words by priest intoned,
When the mother, love-enthroned,
Gave the new-born one caress,
With God's seal of blessedness;—
Write that mother's queenly soul,
England, on thy royal scroll!

V.

Thatched the cottage where he dwelt,
Shepherd and protector,
Epworth's saintly rector;
Dim the chancel where he knelt,
'Neath the mossy tower that felt

Shock of storm, and sunlight kiss,
Pointing from the world that is
To the higher towers of gold,
In the glory manifold;
Bless St. Andrew's with its chime,
Relic of the olden time!

VI.

From the parish of the priest,
  Humble in its story,
  Spread a wave of glory;
Like the day-star in the East
To the daylight broad increased;
Till a morning song is heard
Like the carol of a bird;
Song of prisoned souls unbound
Rising all the wide world round;
Palaces have heard the strain,
And the lowly keep refrain.

VII.

Epworth hath its legends old;
  Tales of ancient Briton,—
  Chivalry unwritten,—
Deed of Dane and Saxon, told;
But no dauntless chief or bold
Gives the manor such renown,
Gives its beauty such a crown,
As the knight with shield and lance,
Leading on the world's advance
From the river isle Axholme,
Over land and ocean foam.

VIII.

Epworth born, and Oxford bred,
Student, fellow, master,
Thence a world-wide pastor;
Where the rubric had not led,
There his parish field was spread;
Mid the Newgate felons bold,
On the Moorfields, temple old,
Where the Kingswood colliers met,
While he spread the gospel net;
Wider than a bishop's see,
His a priesthood by decree.

IX.

Westward rolled the glory-wave
With the wave of freedom;
As from ancient Edom
Came the mighty One to save,
So the stalwart and the brave
Entered through the forest doors,
Trod the great cathedral floors,
With their arches old and dim,
Where, as from the cherubim,
Fell the beauty and the gold
With a rapture never told.

X.

Now the marble tells his fame
Where the kings are sleeping,
Guards the meanwhile keeping
Watch o'er his illustrious name;
While his words, an angel flame,

On the breath of morning fly
With a trail of victory,
From the rock of Plymouth old,
To the western gate of gold;
Vale to vale, and State to State,
Rolls the song "free grace," elate.

XI.

Lo, we add another shrine,
With a new hosanna,
In the far Savannah,
Where he came with zeal divine,
'Mid old trails of oak and pine;
Where the red man darkly trod,
Where he blindly worshiped God!
Here we drop our gifts of gold;—
'Tis a tale forever told,
Of the old colonial time,
As he stood in early prime.

XII.

Where the brave Pulaski fell,
With a shaft uplifted,
For the hero gifted,
Let the shade of Wesley dwell;
Let this fond memorial tell,
Of the royal brotherhood,
Ransomed all by Jesus' blood;
From all lands of earth are we
Hither brought from every sea;
One dear land is ours—the best;
One dear cross—our pledge of rest.

XIII.

On to old and distant climes,
O'er the wild Pacific,
Speeds the light omnific;
Hark, the hurried crash betimes
Of the old embattled crimes,
In the Tycoon's crowded isles,
'Mid the Rajah's palace piles;
From zenana and bazar
Hear the "Amen" rising far;
See the guns dismantled stand,
Spiked by Christ's own princely hand.

XIV.

Through the Flowery Kingdom wide,
Up its river passes
Thronged with teeming masses,
O'er the mountains which divide
Dynasties of wealth and pride;
Lands of Caliph, Czar, and Khan;
In the shade of Vatican;
'Tis the same old conquering charm,
'Tis the heart made strangely warm;
Swifter than the Moslem's sword
Flies the everlasting word.

XV.

Onward is the sacred march
Through revolted regions,
Filled with hostile legions;
Wild sirocco storms but parch
All the way to victory's arch;

"God is with us," best of all;
He will smite the bastion wall;
We shall write upon the bells
Of the horses, as he tells,
"Holiness" for his renown,
His the glory and the crown.

## XVI.

'Tis a birth-song we have sung;
Whispered as we listened,
When a babe was christened;
When the parish bells were rung,
And two souls together clung,
Child and mother. Onward time!
'Tis a battlefield sublime;
Turn the kingdoms; islands wait;
Chimes the jubilee elate!—
Parish of the world! behold!
Christ is crowned with stars of gold.

# WESLEY AND WHITEFIELD.

THE title of this paper might, under other circumstances, lead readers to expect a great deal more than we propose to attempt. A full discussion of all that is involved in the names Wesley and Whitefield would form a history of the great religious movement of the last century, of which, under God, they were the chief promoters. It will readily be seen, however, that a chapter in this Memorial Volume on the subject of these two mighty men must simply exhibit them in their relation to each other.

In the history of the English nation and of the Christian religion the two names are inseparably linked together. Some great men seem to have had no associates, of equal name and fame, engaged with them in their work. We sometimes compare the names of Paul and Silas, or of Paul and Barnabas, yet this is as we mention sun and satellite together, rather than as we speak of two twin stars. Wiclif did his work alone. We couple no other name with that of John Calvin, or of Jonathan Edwards. Butler thought out by himself the glorious argument of his imperishable "Analogy." John Milton's soul was

"Like a star, and dwelt apart."

On the other hand, there are names which, despite of dissimilarities, we associate with each other. Luther and Melanchthon are a familiar instance. These two men were in all their mental and moral idiosyncrasies "wide as the poles asunder," but they were co-equals, associates, fellow-helpers, in some respects the complement or correlate of each other. The union of their names is natural, and will, no doubt, be perpetual.

In like manner the names of Wesley and Whitefield stand

together on the page of history. To the initiated, who understand the difference between the two men, and who know of the separation which took place early in their public history, this union may appear unnatural, and it is more than possible that on both sides some followers of the one may not think he is honored by being classed with the other; but, rightly or wrongly, the two names are braced together, and we believe will be so even to the end. The association, too, we believe, is quite natural. The differences between them were important if not vital; but they were inward. To the outside world the connection and resemblance were much more apparent than the divergence and the dissimilarity. They lived in the same era and were both identified from the first with the same religious movement. Both bore the nickname "Methodist," which the happy genius of some scoffing collegian invented after "Sacramentarian," "Bible-moth," and "Bible-bigot" had been tried. Some doctrines which were repudiated with vehemence by the ecclesiastics of their day they held in common, and these each continued to preach after they had pronounced very opposite opinions on the doctrine of the divine decrees. Both were eminent preachers, and both were distinguished by a splendid irregularity in the way in which they exercised their ministry. In their early life they were intimate and endeared friends, and in their early labors they were close associates. The junction of their names on the page of history, under such circumstances, was to be looked for, and let high Calvinist or low Arminian like it or not, they must reconcile themselves to it, for it is inevitable and unalterable.

If we are asked which of the men should be reckoned the greater, perhaps our safest answer would be, "We are not careful to answer thee in this matter." We are taught by the apostle not to glory in one Christian teacher over another, on the principle that all the qualifications and endowments of ministers in general are for the benefit of the Church of God. "All things are yours." Hence, if we could not give a com-

parative estimate of these two men without seeming to despise or depreciate one of them, we should certainly hesitate ere we expressed an opinion. But as we devoutly reverence the memory of Whitefield, we may, perhaps, be permitted to say that we think Wesley was incomparably the greater man. We regard him as the master spirit of the last century's revival. In some things Whitefield undoubtedly led the way. He was the first to perceive the simplicity which was in Christ. Wesley continued as a ritualist and a legalist long after Whitefield had obtained peace in believing. Not till after Wesley's melancholy visit to Georgia did he experience that "strange warming of heart" which was his induction into "the peace which passeth all understanding." Whitefield had passed from death unto life while yet at the University. Whitefield, when access to the pulpits of the Church of England was denied him, was the first to go to the highways and hedges to compel men to come in. Wesley felt some reluctance to follow his friend's example. He verily thought within himself, at an earlier period of his history, that it was almost a sin for souls to be saved out of a church; and now he had a shrinking from the unwonted step which Whitefield had taken. He knew, however, how to crucify the flesh, and he resolutely made himself more vile for his Master's sake. We think that Whitefield more fully emancipated himself from Church of England trammels than Wesley ever did. He had no brother of intense Church proclivities impeding his movements toward freedom. However we account for it, Wesley, to his latest day, showed a predilection for the Established Church. A terrible indictment against the Church of England could be easily framed from the writings of John Wesley, yet he was a Churchman to the last. His followers in England are often reproached for their alienation from the Established Church, and they are told in good set terms that in leaving the Church they departed from the spirit and counsel of their founder.* These taunts would be

* See Dr. Rigg's "Wesley and the Church of England" in this volume.—EDITOR.

difficult to meet if Methodists regarded their founder as infallible, or maintained the duty of following him in every thing; but men may have the highest admiration of a Christian hero and yet be faithful to their Lord's command, "Call no man master on the earth."

In the matters named we may acknowledge that Whitefield had the pre-eminence; but after all, we give the palm without hesitation to Wesley. His greatness grows upon us. Study his character and life, and he will loom larger and larger upon you. Dr. John Campbell had an inveterate dislike to the form of church polity set up by Wesley. He had more than one controversy with its upholders, but his veneration for the man Wesley was so great that he declared his belief that he would yet be regarded as the greatest Englishman that ever lived. This opinion will appear extravagant to many, but it will be thought less so by and by, when martial glory, high rank, intellectual greatness, will be thought less worthy of honor and distinction than turning many to righteousness and widening the bounds of the kingdom of God.

We have said that Wesley and Whitefield had much in common in the doctrines they preached. Still it was unity in diversity. In the funeral sermon he preached for his friend, Wesley summed up the fundamental doctrines on which Whitefield every-where insisted as consisting in the new birth and justification by faith. On these "good old-fashioned doctrines," as Wesley described them, the two friends thought and spoke the same, and cordially agreed. So far there was "no schism in the body" of Methodist teachers. But with these doctrines on which they were in unison, Whitefield preached dogmas which Wesley rejected with all the energy of his nature. The friends of Whitefield would not, indeed, admit that Wesley had drawn a full or faithful portrait of their deceased leader. Unconditional election and the perseverance of the saints were with Whitefield matters of high importance and paramount belief. These ought to have been included in any summary of his doc-

trinal tenets. Perhaps they ought. No doubt Whitefield was a thorough-paced Calvinist; but Wesley showed his good taste by shunning, in the funeral sermon, what had been matter of controversy between him and his sainted friend. Had he alluded to them at all he could not well have avoided stating his disbelief of them; and had the peculiarities of Calvinism been touched on, what could have been expected from him who embodied those peculiarities in the famous formula, that some will be saved do what they will, and the rest will be damned do what they can.

Regret is sometimes expressed that Wesley and Whitefield should have separated. We cannot say we share in the regret. Matters being as they were, separation was natural, unavoidable, desirable. "How can two walk together except they be agreed?" Union no doubt is strength, but then it must be union, not simply juxtaposition or nominal association. Whitefield might deplore Wesley's publication of his sermon on general redemption: Wesley might blame Whitefield for mentioning names while attacking what he considered doctrinal errors: but these mutual criminations and recriminations were needless. What men believe to be a part of the counsel of God they must proclaim. Continued unity of action to Wesley and Whitefield, therefore, was only possible on the concealment of their personal sentiments on matters of grave concernment. To men of such ardent zeal and high conscientiousness suppression of the truth was impossible. Some attempts at compromise and healing the breach, no doubt, were made. That in seeking to promote reconciliation Wesley "leaned too much toward Calvinism," we believe, on his own confession; but fire and water cannot be made to coalesce. The systems of Calvin and Arminius, in agreement up to a given point, are utterly at variance beyond that point, and the yawning chasm between them cannot be bridged over. Even now we do not see how, in a connectional system, the "five points" of disagreement could be left an open question. Men can preach

Christ whether they be Calvinists or Arminians, but it is better for them to do it from different pulpits.

Despite their doctrinal divergence there can be no doubt that these two saintly men retained an earnest affection and esteem for each other. What Whitefield would have felt, or how he would have acted had he lived to know of the controversy that broke out after the publication of the Minutes of Conference for 1770, can only be a matter of conjecture. With his avowed Calvinism, we cannot suppose that he would have sympathized with the saintly Fletcher in his defenses, but neither will we believe that he would have homologated the unprincipled assaults of Toplady. The splendid legacy left to the Church of God by the vicar of Broadhembury in his magnificent hymn,

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me,"

will endear the name of Toplady to all lovers of sacred song, but our admiration would be higher if we were ignorant of the low scurrility, the unmeasured abuse, which he poured out on the devoted head of an aged and venerable servant of God. Wesley had to endure the pelting scorn of half an age, and some of the vilest things uttered concerning him were spoken by those who thought themselves the peculiar favorites of Heaven. Christians are the salt of the earth, and they were the salt of the salt.

Happily Whitefield died in the year when this embittered controversy had its origin. He was taken away from the evil to come.

In doctrinal accuracy we give the pre-eminence to Wesley. We are far from saying that he sounded all the depths of the truth of God. And we readily admit that his teachings may exhibit some slight discrepancies; yet we know of no interpreter whose doctrines commend themselves more to our judgment and conscience as in harmony with the word of Scripture and the facts of human experience. Nor do we expect

that with the lapse of time his system of theology will be greatly improved upon.

Poets may sing

"Ring in the Christ that is to be,"

yet if the Christ of the future has to be a true Christ, then he is the Christ that is now. We do not believe that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, in which the Church of God has believed from the beginning, will ever be disproved. Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, said that God had much truth yet to break out of his holy word. We do not doubt it. But the truth yet to be found in Scripture cannot contradict the truth which it has already made plain. We cannot believe in a revelation that does not reveal; and we believe that the faith of the future will very largely be that which we find in the sermons and treatises of John Wesley, and the hymns of his gifted brother.

As preachers it is not easy for us to compare the two men. Oratory can hardly be judged of at second-hand. Both were great preachers. Wesley was the more logical, Whitefield the more eloquent. Yet it seems a mistake to suppose that Wesley was a calm and dispassionate preacher, to whom a sermon was only like a little fireside chat. He counseled his preachers not to scream, yet he himself could at least be vehement. His preaching pace was not always an amble or a canter; he sometimes rode his steed at a fiery rate.

In courage, physical and moral, the two men were equally remarkable. They could face a mob, they could resist a world. There are many men of known and tried courage who would quail before an angry crowd. The waves of the sea, when tempest-tossed, are terrible in their pitiless power, yet holy Scripture classes them with the tumult of the people: "Which stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves, and the tumult of the people." This tumult Wesley and Whitefield could brave. Their moral courage was as marked as their physical bravery. Raillery, taunts, opposition, vituperation,

none of these things moved them. To their faith they added courage. Had they not, then, humanly speaking, the great revival of the eighteenth century could not have taken place.

In singlemindedness the two men were alike. No one can doubt the entire devotedness of them both to God. The zeal of God's house ate them up. If they had ambition—the last frailty of great minds—it was of the most noble and commendable kind. Their ambition was to honor their Master and extend his kingdom, save souls from death, and hide a multitude of sins. That some grains of earthly alloy were mingled with the fine gold of their religious zeal we may admit, for they were men. Yet, on the whole, we believe that Church history of any age, of all ages, would find it difficult to produce two men of more apostolic character and spirit. They were dead to the world, they gloried only in the cross. To them to live was Christ, and to die was gain. Paul would have hailed them as brethren beloved, like-minded with himself, fellow-workers for the kingdom of God.

They were both successful preachers. In this matter it may be done to men according to their faith, but not always to their puremindedness and zeal. Piety is not the sole requisite to ministerial success. There is such a thing as aptness to teach, and sanctified sagacity in turning men to God. Not every man wise unto salvation is wise in winning souls. God had given this wisdom to both Wesley and Whitefield in large measure. They each turned many to righteousness. How many were converted to God through their instrumentality the day shall declare. In one week of Whitefield's life we know he received a thousand letters from persons who, through his preaching, were awakened to spiritual anxiety. This circumstance was without precedent in the history of the Church, and probably had no parallel in the subsequent life of Whitefield. Yet it shows the amazing spiritual power that attended his preaching, a power not confined to that ever-memorable week. Wesley's preaching was also attended with amazing

power from on high, and many souls will be the crown of rejoicing of each in the day of the Lord.

In one thing Whitefield was obviously inferior to Wesley. He did not possess the organizing faculty. Wesley was distinguished for it almost beyond any other man. Whitefield was a spiritual force, an impulse; Wesley was this, and a wise master-builder besides. We are far from thinking that every great religious leader that arises should seek to perpetuate his name by the formation of a new sect. The divisions of Protestantism are undoubtedly its weakness, and we long to see its breaches healed rather than widened and multiplied. We commend Charles H. Spurgeon, that, wielding the mighty influence he does in England, he founds no sect of Spurgeonites, but retains his place in the rank and file of the Baptist ministry. Yet even he has thought of conserving his work by new methods and new organizations. His Pastor's College was notably an innovation, and its annual gatherings bring together a number of men all bound, no doubt, to the denomination, but bound by peculiarities to each other. We hope that the fruits of Whitefield's ministry were not lost, though he did little to bind his converts together. Churches, both old and new, gathered many of them into their communion. Wesley saw the importance of watching over the souls that had been brought to God by his own labors and those of his "fellow-helpers to the truth." He saw, too, how the work of God could be extended by the employment of men who, it might be with small culture, but much shrewdness and abundant zeal, could labor in word and doctrine. Hence his class-meetings, his leaders, stewards, and itinerant preachers. Hence the formation of a system which has spread over the English-speaking world, laid hold of portions of the continent of Europe, invaded Hindostan, is known in the isles of the southern seas, and is making converts to-day in China. We may not all approve of the precise form which Methodism assumed in the hands of its founder. The exclusion of the laity from its supreme counsel

soon led to agitation, upheavals, and convulsions. Both in England and America, Churches in the direct line of descent from Wesley have found it needful to remedy what they thought was an original defect of their constitution. Yet this must be said for Wesley, that, unlike the paper constitutions of the first French Revolution, he devised a form of government that would work. And what a tribute to the constructive genius of the grand old man, that, amid all changes that have been adopted, and divisions that have taken place, the distinctive characteristics of his system are retained in every Church that claims to be of Wesleyan origin. There is a homogeneity in all the branches of Methodism; having affinities with all Christian Churches, they have special affinities with each other. "Lo, the people shall dwell alone." Nor is there the least likelihood of these peculiarities being lost, although, no doubt, modifications will take place. In all probability, while sun and moon endure, Churches will exist which trace their paternity to the venerable Wesley.

Whether Wesley or Whitefield was the more intense man we do not know; but certainly Wesley was a wiser man than his friend. Whitefield was a preacher, and so was Wesley. But Wesley was also an acute logician, an able scholar, an accomplished hymnist, and a discriminating critic.

Some of Wesley's views were far in advance of those of Whitefield. We will not specify Wesley's political opinions. These are certainly not to our taste. Few Englishmen of any type could be found now who would defend his views and utterances on the subject of the American War of Independence. On the subject of slavery, however, how clear and advanced were his views! Once and again he denounces it in the strongest terms; and it is interesting to think that

"In age and feebleness extreme,"

he wrote to William Wilberforce, encouraging him to persevere in his benevolent but Herculean task. Whitefield, on the other

hand, held property in slaves. Some men with strong vision are yet color-blind.

Briefly we have compared and contrasted these two great names. Yet, be it ever remembered, they never regarded themselves as rivals, and perhaps would scarcely approve of us weighing them against each other in the critical balance. Certainly we have cause to thank God for them both, and our thankfulness will be best shown by trying to follow their precious example:—

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time."

# JOHN WESLEY AND HIS MOTHER.

IN the study of the marvelous fact of Methodism in Church history certain names occur to you, and the persons represented by these names pass and repass before your mental eye. Of course, the chief figure in the picture is that extraordinary man, second to none since the great apostle to the Gentiles. Grouped around that central object of attraction are several whose names shall be as imperishable as the system which, under God, he was instrumental in organizing, and which to-day is more vital with spiritual power than ever before.

In this picture appears Charles Wesley, the sweet singer of our Methodist Israel, who rendered invaluable services to the great religious movement known as Methodism. To-day his influence as a Christian poet of the highest order is recognized in the fact that his hymns are sung in every land and in every section of the Church of Christ. While there is sin to be repented of, while there is pardon to be rejoiced over, and heaven to be anticipated, the pĕnitential, praiseful, and rapturous hymns of Charles Wesley shall be sung to earth's remotest bound. Near the center of the group stands the seraphic John Fletcher, the saintly man, but powerful controversialist and defender of the generous gospel proclaimed by the fathers, and now by the sons of Methodism in every part of the habitable globe. There, on the same canvas, appear George Whitefield, and Adam Clarke, and Joseph Benson, and Vincent Perronet, and many of lesser fame too numerous to mention. And there, too, appear the saintly women of earlier Methodism, Susanna Wesley, and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and the Lady Maxwell, and Mary Fletcher, and Hester Ann Rogers, and Elizabeth Ritchie, and

many others, whose holy lives, godly examples, and pious offices were its chiefest glory. The two central figures of this splendid picture—the sainted founder of Methodism and his equally sainted mother—claim our undivided attention.

Can we think of the women of Methodism without remembering that woman who, above all others, had most to do in fashioning the character of our illustrious founder? My eye rests with peculiar satisfaction upon the queenly form of that "elect lady," whose influence upon John Wesley and upon Methodism cannot be overestimated. The mother of John Wesley was a woman of singular beauty, of rare character, and of extraordinary intellectual accomplishments. Methodism owes a debt of gratitude to Susanna Wesley which can be paid only by fidelity to the principles which have made Methodism a power, if not a praise, in all the earth.

Susanna Wesley, to indicate her influence over her son, has been called the foundress of Methodism. That we may see the influence of this richly-gifted woman upon her son, let us glance at her remarkable history. In Stevens' classic "History of Methodism" the reader may see a portrait of Mrs. Wesley which is a study for an artist.

She was one of the most beautiful women of her day, or of any day. It was a stately, commanding beauty, giving evidence of great mental and moral power. In her girlhood this power displayed itself in a choice which led her to abandon the Puritan Church of her father for the Church of England. Her father, knowing her thoughtful turn and great determination, did not exercise his parental authority in compelling her to go with him to a non-conforming Church.

It is, however, in the parsonage, as wife and mother, that she shone with brighter luster. As a wife she was independent in thought and vigorous in action in her own sphere, but religiously recognized the headship of her husband.

When Mr. Wesley was from home Mrs. Wesley felt it her duty to keep up the worship of God in her own house. She

not only prayed for, but with, her family. At such times she took the spiritual care and direction of the children and servants upon herself, and sometimes even the neighbors shared the benefit of her instructions. This, in one case, led to consequences little expected, which showed a remarkable trait in the character of this extraordinary and excellent woman. The account was first published by Mr. John Wesley, who remarks that "his mother, as well as her father and grandfather, her husband and her three sons, had been in her measure a preacher of righteousness."

Some neighbors happening to come in during these exercises, and being permitted to stay, were so pleased and profited as to desire permission to come again. This was granted; a good report of the meeting became general; many requested leave to attend, and the house was soon filled—more than two hundred at last attending; and many were obliged to go away for want of room.

As she wished to do nothing without her husband's knowledge and approbation, she acquainted him with the meeting, and the circumstances out of which it arose. While he approved of her zeal and good sense, he stated several objections to its continuance.

To his objections she wrote in substance as follows:—

I heartily thank you for dealing so plainly and faithfully with me in a matter of no common concern. The main of your objections to our Sunday evening meetings are: first, that it will look particular; secondly, my sex; and lastly, your being at present in a public station and character. To all of which I shall answer briefly.

As to its being particular, I grant it is; and so is almost every thing that is serious, or that may any way advance the glory of God or the salvation of souls, if it be performed out of a pulpit, or in the way of common conversation; because in our corrupt age the utmost care and diligence have been used to banish all discourse of God or spiritual concern out of society, as if religion were never to appear out of the closet, and we were to be ashamed of nothing so much as of professing ourselves to be Christians.

To your second I reply, that as I am a woman, so I am also mistress of a large family. And though the superior charge of the souls contained in it lies upon you, as head of the family, and as their minister; yet in your absence I cannot but look upon every soul you leave under my care as a talent committed to me, under a trust, by the great Lord of all the families of heaven and earth. I thought it my duty to spend some part of the Lord's day in reading to and instructing my family, especially in your absence, when, having no afternoon service, we have so much leisure for such exercises; and such time I esteemed spent in a way more acceptable to God than if I had retired to my own private devotions. This was the beginning of my present practice; other people coming in and joining with us was purely accidental.

Your third objection I leave to be answered by your own judgment.

If you do, after all, think fit to dissolve this assembly, do not tell me that you desire me to do it, for that will not satisfy my conscience; but send me your positive command, in such full and express terms as may absolve me from all guilt and punishment for neglecting this opportunity of doing good when you and I shall appear before the great and awful tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ.* .

Such was the spirit of the earnest Christian worker, and yet the submission of the godly wife!

Mrs. Wesley was the mother of nineteen children. Her means were slender, but her energy, tact, and wisdom were better than thousands of gold and silver. Home was her providential sphere for Christian as well as for maternal services. The parsonage was a school as well as a home; the mistress of the house was teacher as well as mother, and with a discipline bordering upon severity, yet prompted by love, she taught and trained her numerous progeny as few families have been educated at home. Mr. Wesley, doubtless, seeing his wife's special talent for the work, wisely left it to her, and seconded her efforts in every possible way. Ever after the fire in which their home was consumed, and from which John, while a child, was almost miraculously rescued, the mother felt that he was spared for some great purpose,

* See Moore's "Life of Wesley" and "Wesley's Journal" for a fuller text of this letter.—EDITOR.

and therefore devoted special attention to his character and studies.

When John Wesley left home for school or college, his loving mother followed him with a watchful sympathy and a judicious counsel that molded his character and helped to fit him for his great destiny, and which was highly prized by him down to his latest breath. We see the wealth of her mind, and the religious turn of her thoughts, not only in her wise and motherly letters to John, but in her more formal compositions, such as her exposition of the Creed.

She was prepared to meet the spiritual difficulties of her son, and to direct and encourage him by preceptive teachings of the highest order. Indeed, she seemed to combine the wisdom of a professor of divinity with the beautiful tact of Christian womanliness and tender motherhood. To her John Wesley looked, and never in vain, for help and sympathy which stood him well in times of perplexity.

There is some doubt as to the time of her conversion, Dr. Clarke and others believing that it must have occurred in early life, while, on the other hand, persons likely to be as well informed and as deeply interested, place it in the evening of life's day. This, doubtless, is based upon the incident of that special sacrament, in the observance of which she was filled with the Holy Spirit. "In receiving the sacrament from her son-in-law, Mr. Hall, when he presented the cup with these words, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for you,' she felt them strike through her heart, and she then knew that God, for Christ's sake, had forgiven her all her sins."

No one, I think, can read Dr. Clarke's "Wesley Family" without regarding Mrs. Wesley as a true child of God from early life. The blessed privilege of knowing of our acceptance in the Beloved was a strange doctrine in those days, and many struggled along in comparative gloom, not daring to rejoice in the witness of the Spirit. The experience of blessing in the sacrament was likely that of a baptism of the Holy Ghost,

giving her a sweet and more unmistakable evidence of conscious salvation. All the evidence of salvation that could be seen in a holy every-day life was evinced in the walk and conversation of Susanna Wesley.

The following sentiments from her own pen will establish the point beyond controversy:

If to esteem and have the highest reverence for Thee—if constantly and sincerely to acknowledge thee the supreme, the only desirable good, be to love thee—*I do love thee!*

If comparatively to despise and undervalue all the world contains which is esteemed great, fair, or good—if earnestly and constantly to desire thee, thy favor, thine acceptance, thyself, rather than any or all things thou hast created, be to love thee—*I do love thee!*

If to rejoice in thy essential majesty and glory—if to feel a vital joy overspread and cheer my heart at each perception of thy blessedness, at every thought that thou art God, and that all things are in thy power—that there is none superior or equal to thee, be to love thee—*I do love thee!*

In these reflections and meditations the reader will see something of the mind, the spirit, the heart, and the piety of Susanna Wesley. Of her last moments her son John gives the following account:—

I left Bristol on the evening of Sunday, July 18, 1742, and on Tuesday came to London. I found my mother on the borders of eternity; but she had no doubt nor fears, nor any desire but as soon as God should call, to depart and be with Christ. . . .

About three in the afternoon I went to see my mother and found her change was near. I sat down on the bedside; she was in her last conflict, unable to speak, but I believe quite sensible. Her look was calm and serene, and her eyes fixed upward while we commended her soul to God. From three to four the silver cord was loosing, and the wheel breaking at the cistern; and then, without any struggle, or sigh, or groan, the soul was set at liberty. We stood round the bed and fulfilled her last request, uttered before she lost her speech: "Children, as I am released, sing a psalm of praise to God." . . .

Almost an innumerable company of people being gathered together, about five in the afternoon I committed to the earth the body of my

mother to sleep with her fathers. The portion of Scripture from which I afterward spoke was: "I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead small and great stand before God; and the books were opened. And the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works." It was one of the most solemn assemblies I ever saw or expect to see on this side eternity.

We set up a plain stone, inscribed with the following words:—

Here lies the body of Mrs. Susanna Wesley, the youngest and last surviving daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley.

"In sure and certain hope to rise,
And claim her mansion in the skies,
A Christian here her flesh laid down,
The cross exchanging for a crown.

"True daughter of affliction, she,
Inured to pain and misery,
Mourned a long night of griefs and fears—
A legal night of seventy years.

"The Father then revealed his Son,
Him in the broken bread made known;
She knew and felt her sins forgiven,
And found the earnest of her heaven.

"Meet for the fellowship above,
She heard the call, 'Arise, my love!'
'I come,' her dying looks replied,
And lamb-like, as her Lord, she died."

Dr. Clarke was utterly dissatisfied with the epitaph, and with that sentiment in the poetry: "A legal night of seventy years." The doctor makes out a clear case of spiritual life before the season of special blessing at the table of the Lord.

John Wesley and the movement called Methodism may be studied and understood without reference to his father; but it would be impossible to do so without recognizing the place and power of the mother. More than any other, she restrained and guided her illustrious son in the wonderful work to which God had manifestly called him.

What would Methodism have been in the absence of lay

preaching? It could never have accomplished what, under God, it has been enabled to do, without its powerful aid. But for the emphatic advice of Mrs. Wesley to her son, and but for his respect for his mother's judgment, it is hard to imagine what might have been the result.

Perhaps the most irregular part of Mr. Wesley's conduct was his employing lay preachers—persons without any ordination by the imposition of hands; and the fullest proof that we can have of Mrs. Wesley's approving most heartily every thing in the doctrine and discipline of her son was her approval of lay preaching; or, to use the words of her father-in-law, John Westley, of Whitchurch, "the preaching of gifted men without episcopal ordination." This began in her time, and she repeatedly sat under the ministry of the first man, Mr. Thomas Maxfield, who attempted to officiate among the Methodists in this hitherto unprecedented way.

It was in Mr. Wesley's absence that Mr. Maxfield began to preach. Being informed of this new and extraordinary thing, he hastened back to London to put a stop to it. Before he took any decisive step he spoke to his mother on the subject, and informed her of his intention.

She said, (I have had the account from Mr. Wesley himself,) "My son, I charge you before God, beware what you do; for Thomas Maxfield is as much called to preach the gospel as ever you were."

This one thing in the life of Mrs. Wesley renders her worthy of the grateful remembrance of all who have derived spiritual benefit from the lay preachers of Methodism.

John Wesley was a very devoted son, and felt, as his mother advanced in years, that he must take his father's place in caring for her, and smoothing her passage to the tomb. There never lived a more self-denying mother than Susanna Wesley. Here is an incident which equally reflects credit on mother and son. John Wesley, when a young man, was invited to go out upon a mission to the Indians of North America. He at once and firmly declined. On being pressed for a statement of his objection, he referred to his recently widowed mother, and to his own relation to her, in these touching words: "I am the staff of her age; her chief support and

comforter." He was asked what would be his decision were his mother agreeable to such a thing. Not thinking that such a sacrifice could be made by his mother, he at once said, that if his mother would cheerfully acquiesce in the proposal, he would be led to act upon it as a call from God. The venerable matron, on being consulted, gave this memorable reply: "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice if they were all so employed, though I should never see them more." Rarely has history recorded the names of such a couple.

It is a high compliment to say that they were worthy of each other. It is little wonder that Adam Clarke, in his enthusiastic admiration of Mrs. Wesley, said: "Had I a muse of the strongest pinion I should not fear to indulge it in its highest flights in sketching out the character of this superexcellent woman."

Who can glance over the Methodist world to-day, and see its stately churches, its crowded congregations, its vast missionary operations, its Sunday-schools with millions of scholars, and its educational institutions of every grade and for both sexes, without looking back over the record of its limited history, and wondering at the stupendous result?

If God ever raised up a man for a great work, God surely called and sent forth John Wesley to be the organizer and leader of the hosts of Methodism; and if God ever prepared a handmaid of his to be the mother of one specially commissioned and qualified to revive his Church, God surely raised up Susanna Wesley to be the mother and spiritual guide of the great reformer of the Churches in the eighteenth century.

Much as John Wesley saw of the goodness of the Lord in the salvation of sinners, and in the gathering of the saved into societies, he was permitted to see little as compared with what has been accomplished since his death. Though dead, he still liveth and speaketh in the system which he originated, in the hymns which he sung, and in the glorious doctrines which he preached, "not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance."

In the impartial review of John Wesley and his mother, we are constrained to acknowledge that more, far more than any one else, she not only influenced her honored son as to his own character, but also stamped the impress of her discipline and doctrinal views upon the Methodist system. In many of John Wesley's opinions we see the reproduction of his mother's teaching, as revealed in her letters to him.

Every Christian wife and mother throughout Methodism should make the life and character of Susanna Wesley a constant study, and the good effect would soon be manifest upon the discipline of our families, the welfare of our children, and the piety of our Churches. The distinguished son and no less distinguished mother are reaping the rich reward of their consecrated lives in a "better country, that is, a heavenly."

C. Wesley

# JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY.

AS John and Charles Wesley were united in heart and aim and work while living, so are they united in immortality of fame and glory. If John was the head, Charles was the heart, of Methodism. As Providence destined John Wesley to originate and perpetuate the great Methodist revival, the organizing faculty was given to him in large measure, and men were raised up for all departments of the work. The student of the history of those times can never cease to wonder at the constellation of talents that revolved around John Wesley as a center. But all were utilized by his master mind. Humanly speaking, John Wesley's work would have been a comparative failure without the luminous minds, the heroic hearts, and fiery tongues providentially prepared for the epoch. All this assemblage of stalwart strength, splendid genius, and rapt piety, would have soon consumed itself in the fires of fanaticism or chilled itself in the frosts of formalism, if a commanding mind had not been providentially furnished to give coherency and permanency to the movement. We never weary of reading and rereading the deeds of heroism of the colleagues of Wesley. But they can scarcely be considered apart from John Wesley without destroying or obscuring their historic significance.

Among the coadjutors of John Wesley, Charles Wesley must ever hold the pre-eminent place. These two were so related and interdependent that the historic John Wesley could scarcely have existed without Charles, and Charles Wesley could scarcely have become the lyric soul of Methodism but for his brother's methodizing mind, that made Methodism possible as a continued system.

These two brothers were *double stars*, whose lights cannot

well be spared. They have inner and vital and organic relations that do not appear at first sight. The Omniscient Providence raised up these brothers as fellow-workers, one and inseparable in spirit and aim. They exerted a reciprocal influence, which made each a more complete instrument for the working out of the grand and gracious designs of Providence.

Consider this wonderful and beautiful relation of the illustrious brothers. Charles was a divinely ordained agent and helper of John Wesley.

1. *Charles Wesley was the helper of John in their years of struggle for saving faith.* Their legal service, their gloomy dispensation of the law, their period of asceticism and penance and struggle, was long and terrible. But for the union of these sympathetic hearts in mutual faith, Methodism perhaps had never been known as a force in history.

2. *Charles Wesley was the first called "Methodist."* Associated with his band of earnest souls in Oxford University, he was using all means of grace, all self-denial, all deeds of charity, in order to find the peace of the gospel. But this band, earnest as they were, would, in all probability, have dissolved, had not John Wesley returned to Oxford at the right time, and placed himself at their head.

3. *Charles, some days earlier than his brother, was made a happy partaker of saving faith.* We know not how different might have been the currents of modern Church history if Charles Wesley's conversion had not occurred as it did and when it did. Their biographers tell us that the joyous conversion of Charles greatly encouraged his brother John, and in a few days he, too, rejoiced in like precious faith. Without this clear, triumphant conversion of Charles, as a prototype for all Methodism, John might have stopped short of his sublime possibilities, and Methodism, if existing at all, might have been a mere revised system of theology.

4. *Charles Wesley was the first preacher of the new faith.* The true Methodist evangelism was begun by Charles Wesley

while John was in Germany. The testimony of Charles in public and private was followed by happy conversions amid shouts of exultation, so characteristic of Methodism from the first. Who can estimate the influence upon John Wesley of these evangelistic tours of Charles in the glow of his earliest love? The effects of the preaching of Charles were wonderful, and doubtless influenced all the subsequent revival movement.

5. *The enthusiasm of Charles was a help to John Wesley.* A great general is both brave and prudent, but more prudent than brave. Without some coadjutors who are more brave than prudent, the best general can scarcely succeed in a difficult and perilous campaign. Charles Wesley knew nothing of prudence or caution in his warfare against the hosts of sin. He dashed into the enemy's ranks like a whirlwind. But the incarnate whirlwind was needed in that heroic period. Marshall Ney himself was not more brave than Charles Wesley. It is but reasonable to believe that John Wesley could not have won his first decisive victories without the dash and daring of his brother. John's philosophic coolness needed the contact and contagion of the flaming enthusiasm of Charles. Methodism is doubtless indebted to Charles Wesley for somewhat of its hopefulness and buoyancy of spirit. That such a great, glowing soul should have poured itself into Methodism in its plastic period was no accident, but a part of the particular plan whose unfoldings have been the wonder of modern Church history.

6. *Charles Wesley was the companion and friend of John Wesley for three fourths of a century.* Through a long life of eighty years Charles was the trusted, true, and intimate friend of his illustrious brother. We shall never be able, with the mathematics of earth, to calculate the debt of John Wesley and of Methodism to Charles Wesley for his sympathetic companionship and unchangeable friendship through the first half century of Methodism. If ever man needed intelligent and sympathetic companionship, surely John Wesley needed it

amid all his unparalleled trials, perplexities, and persecutions. Again, we express the doubt whether John Wesley would have achieved his colossal work as a reformer without his learned and lion-hearted brother Charles, whose faith and friendship never failed.

7. *Charles Wesley's chief glory, as co-worker with his brother John, was his gift of lyric poetry.* While John Wesley put the new theology into logical forms for all future time, Charles versified the doctrines, and sang them to his generation and all generations. As Luther's Reformation was carried all over Germany on the winged words of song, so the Wesleyan Reformation was assured of success when all England and America began to sing Charles Wesley's hymns. Very few, comparatively, read John Wesley's exact statements of doctrine, but the millions sing Charles Wesley's no less exact statements of doctrine in his wonderful hymns. These hymns immediately commanded the admiration of the cultivated and the sympathy of all. Strange as is the statement, Methodism is better known through Charles Wesley than through its illustrious founder. Millions every Sunday sing or hear sung the burning words and breathing numbers of Charles Wesley, while John Wesley, the founder, is less directly known by the masses.

Such was the work of Charles Wesley as the coadjutor of his brother; such the influence he exercised on his brother, and for his brother. But this influence, as we have seen, was reciprocal. Charles owed an immeasurable debt to his brother. Without John Wesley's clear, crystalline mind, Charles could never have formulated and enunciated the new faith. His poetry might have been brilliant, but his theology, without the microscopic criticism of his brother, could not have been trusted. John Wesley was a natural and trained theologian, and soon shaped his doctrines into transparent formularies which had an incalculable influence in guiding the soaring genius of Charles. We accordingly are not surprised to read of the criticisms of John on the poetry of Charles.

To prepare Charles Wesley for his sublime mission providence brought together most favorable influences and agencies. And why should not providence reveal a solicitude in preparing this chosen vessel of mercy and benediction for the millions of earth?

1. *Charles Wesley was fitted for his mission by inherited genius.* The Wesley family, in point of genius, was, perhaps, the most remarkable family of modern times. It has been said that "no drop of blood in the whole Wesley family, in all its branches, was destitute of genius. For generations they were poets, musicians, preachers, and scholars." But we may add, the full effervescence of this ancestral genius was found in Charles Wesley. It is both rational and scriptural to believe that the godlike gift of genius was bestowed on him expressly to make it possible for him to achieve his high mission as the chief singer of the Methodist revival.

2. *He was fitted for his mission by rare scholarship.* His thirst for knowledge was insatiable. His scholarship was marvelous.* God gave him this sublime aspiration for knowledge to make it possible for him to do his work for the ages. Without his rich, elegant, and exact culture he could not have been fitted for his mission as hymn writer for all classes of minds.

3. *He was fitted for his mission by God-given pangs for sin.* His work was the task of writing words for all hearts and for all time. It behooved him to suffer in all points like his brethren. The Holy Spirit unveiled the horrors of sin to his inner vision. No man can sympathize with heart-pangs till he has felt the same. No man can express the horrors of conviction for sin till he can speak from the depths of his own experience. Charles Wesley was made to feel all this for himself and for the millions whose experience he was destined to interpret in immortal song.

4. *He was fitted for his mission by an experience of the joys of salvation.* The bold imagery of prophet and psalmist was

* "He was a thorough scholar in classical and biblical literature."—ABEL STEVENS.

more than poetry to him. To his glad heart the "trees clapped their hands," and "the hills were joyful together." The triumph of his soul over the guilt and gloom of sin was ecstatic and complete, fitting him to sympathize with souls in loftiest heights, and to sing their joys for them. Charles Wesley could never have tuned his harp to sing so sublimely of the joys of salvation if he had simply heard or read of them. He must first feel them and then express them. When his heart-strings quiver with the melody of heaven his harp-strings must sound responsively. He sings because he must sing. He sings as the birds sing—for very joy. No saint can climb so high as not to be able to sing his joys in the hymns of Charles Wesley.

5. *He was fitted for his mission as the lyric interpreter of the inner life by a wondrous gaze and grip of faith.* His nervous verses are "vital in every part" with an all-pervading and all-conquering faith. His faith was the special gift of God, and made him more than a match for all tasks, all toils, and all trials. It was fitting that it should be so. He was destined to sing for the millions who need words to voice their struggling, conquering faith.

6. *He was fitted for his mission by great afflictions.* We can conceive of his exemption by providence from all bitter affliction, personal and domestic. But this would have unfitted him for half his mission as the interpreter and singer of the griefs of the worshiping millions whose devotions he was destined to voice in immortal hymns. Thus the Omniscient Providence sent grievous afflictions to blight his home, and then sent grace to bear all in patience and sweetness of soul. Thus his heart was tuned to sing of the cup of bitter grief, and then of the cup of sweetest consolation.

7. *He was fitted for his mission by fierce persecution.* All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must and shall suffer persecution, more or less. And they need a fitting hymn to utter their complaint, their faith, and their victory. Charles Wesley

felt the cold steel of persecution enter his own heart. But it only wounded his heart to cause it, like the spice-tree, to shed a sweeter aroma. Those who insulted and persecuted Charles Wesley with such relentless fury knew not that they were the occasion of fitting him to sing with a new melody the grace that triumphs over men and devils.

8. *He was fitted for his mission by wondrous knowledge of Bible truth and language.* His poetry was not inspired by Homer and Virgil. It was not sentimental, like that of Watts. It was not philosophical, like that of Addison; but it was intensely and singularly scriptural in spirit and language and metaphor. His soul was filled and fired with scriptural truth. The attentive reader will wonder how exactly Charles Wesley can confine the rushing tide of his emotions in the Scripture channel, expressing all things in the language and imagery of Scripture. In many of his hymns verse after verse is a mosaic of Scripture gems.

9. *He was fitted for his mission by an inexhaustible fertility of mind.* His poetic fountain was perennial. There seemed to be no bound, no end, to his power to produce poetry. Poems blossomed forth from his soul as easily as blossoms are shed from an orchard in spring-time. On every occasion, grave or gay, a poem was ready to pour itself out in a fervid torrent in crystalline thought and musical numbers. Never did a lyric poet write so much and so well. After publishing ten volumes duodecimo, he left ten more in manuscript. And if some poems were confessedly superior to the rest, none of his productions were without a spark of the genius that has immortalized his name.

10. *Lastly, Providence, by a happy blending of all brilliant gifts, fitted him for his mission as the sweet singer of the new evangel.* Watts was and is Wesley's only rival. This is generally admitted. But in all the elements that make the *Christian* lyric poet, Wesley is superior. Indeed, Watts generously admitted the superiority of Wesley in his famous eulogy of

Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob." The great difference between Wesley and Watts is in the experimental character of Wesley's hymns. Watts *describes* Christian virtues and sentiments as a looker-on; Wesley *expresses* them as from the depth of his own being. Watts hymns his aspirations; Wesley does this and more, for he expresses his *fruition* of the gladdening grace of the gospel.

Wesley goes as far as Watts up the "mount of redeeming love," and then goes on and up till he ceases to climb, and soars away into the skies. Watts sings sweetly as the caged bird; Wesley sings as the bird free, and winging his flight heavenward. Watts was more of a general poet; Wesley was more of a lyric poet for the Church. Watts was more of a poet of nature; Wesley was more of a poet of grace. Watts was a poet of the old prophetic dispensation; Wesley was a poet of the new pentecostal dispensation. Watts was the poet of *aspiration;* Wesley was the poet of *inspiration.* Watts was the poet of hope; Wesley was the poet of fruition. A single stanza from each will reveal the contrast. Watts *looks* longingly toward the summit of Pisgah, and sings:

> Could we but climb where Moses stood,
> And view the landscape o'er,
> Not Jordan's stream, nor death's cold flood,
> Should fright us from the shore.

Wesley has already climbed the mountain top, and sings:

> The promised land, from Pisgah's top,
> I now exult to see:
> My hope is full, O glorious hope!
> Of immortality.

Now, all these gifts of mind and heart and grace God gave to Charles Wesley to prepare him for his place as the hymnist of the new theology. His collections of hymns have been published to the number of *millions* of copies. They are found in all the Protestant hymn books throughout the Chris-

tian world. They are translated and sung in heathen lands. These wondrous lyrics—depicting the pains of the penitent, the raptures of the pardoned, the triumphs of the tempted, and the beatific visions of the dying—will live, and must ever live, while man shall need words to express the deepest and loftiest experiences of the immortal soul.

Such was Charles Wesley—the trusted companion of his illustrious brother John, the first preacher of the new evangel, the seraphic saint in life, the fairest efflorescence of Wesleyan genius, and of all the Christian lyric poets of modern times, the prince.*

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* "He (Charles Wesley) was the first member of the 'Holy Club' at Oxford; the first to receive the name of Methodist; the first of the two brothers who experienced regeneration; and the first to administer the sacraments in Methodist societies apart from the Church; . . . the first, and for many years the chief, man to conduct Methodist worship in Church hours, which he did to the last in the London chapels. . . . As a preacher he was more eloquent than his brother.—ABEL STEVENS.

"Many of Wesley's hymns are bold, daring, and magnificent.—MILNER.

"I would give all I have ever written for the credit of being the author of Charles Wesley's unrivaled hymn 'Wrestling Jacob.'"—ISAAC WATTS.

"I would rather have written that hymn of Wesley's,

'Jesus, lover of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly,'

than to have the fame of all the kings that ever sat on the earth. It is more glorious. It has more power in it. I would rather have written such a hymn than to have heaped up all the treasures of the richest man on the globe. He will die. His money will go to his heirs, and they will divide it. But that hymn will go on singing until the last trump brings forth the angel band; and then, I think, it will mount up on some lip to the very presence of God."—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

"It may be affirmed that there is no principal element of Christianity, no main article of belief, as professed by Protestant Churches; that there is no moral or ethical sentiment peculiarly characteristic of the Gospel; no height or depth of feeling proper to the spiritual life, that does not find itself emphatically and pointedly and clearly conveyed in some stanzas of Charles Wesley's hymns.—ISAAC TAYLOR.

"A body of experimental and practical divinity.—JOHN WESLEY.

"No poems have been so much treasured in the memory, or so frequently quoted on a death-bed.—ROBERT SOUTHEY.

"For fifty years, Christ, as the redeemer of men, had been the subject of his effective ministry and of his loftiest songs, and he may be said to have died with a hymn of Christ upon his lips."—THOMAS JACKSON.

"His last sickness was long, but was borne with 'unshaken confidence in Christ, which kept his mind in perfect peace.' He called his wife to his bedside, and, requesting her to take a pen, dictated his last but sublime poetical utterance:

'In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful world redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart:
O could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity!'"

—ABEL STEVENS.

The above notes have been added by the EDITOR.

# PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN METHODISM.

A GREAT river may be traced to a single fountain, but the fountain itself is a stream from some other source. The springs of the Amazon and the Mississippi are merely outflows of water-courses that are hidden from the eye, and, on emerging from the bosom of the earth—the secret place of Omnipotence—they bring from the darkness those mighty forces which sweep them onward through fertile lands to the awaiting sea. We speak the language of the eye when we say that the river originated at such a point of latitude, for it was flowing in another realm before we had knowledge of its geography. So, too, with providential movements. The circumstances attending them are exposed to view while their causes lie concealed beneath the surface. If we consider only their proximate sources, we may explain them to the intellect of observation. But this is partial. It is as unsatisfying to insight as to faith, since it leaves the core of the inquiry untouched. In all this world's affairs instinct is resolute in finding out the beginnings of things. Nor is the instinct unrewarded. Second causes repay the backward search. Only the lowest utilitarianism—the animal brain in the senses—is content with explanations that stop on the outside. A very meager philosophy of æsthetics would that be which taught us to admire the chisel that carved the Apollo Belvidere of the Vatican, without reference to the ideal of thought whence the statue came. And equally impoverishing to all our higher nature is that sort of reasoning which sends us from the majestic oak to the little acorn, and then, by not showing the power of the Creator couched in the acorn itself, fails to complement the first impression of grandeur.

Where religious revolutions are concerned, the method of investigation which seeks to understand their original sources is all the more important. Such revolutions, sublime in character and infinite in results, cannot be located among phenomena that simply address the intellect. Reaching beyond mere thought, they appeal to the mind, to the whole spiritual nature, and hence the claims of sentiment and feeling, both as to modes and ends of culture, must be taken into account. If history were one of the earliest *media* of divine manifestation—if it were placed under the guardianship of the Almighty, and deemed worthy of direct inspiration—it would surely commend itself to our careful and painstaking study, now that God has resigned it to the hands of men. And where Christianity, as the main factor in any particular history, is directly involved, it becomes us to feel the pressure of a supreme obligation to search the annals of the past as those who would "justify the ways of God to men." Moreover, these historic providences, working out their issues on vast arenas, and incorporating them into the hereditary laws of society, are the conjoint products of divine and human agency. As such they become bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh; and as such they go, without abatement or exaggeration, into the common stock of a race under God's training. Only in this sense does history speak with a voice of infinite meaning. It tells us of God in the past, that we may see him in the present and expect him in the future.

To comprehend Methodism as a great religious movement, we must trace the antecedent operations of providence, by which it became possible for this system to assume a certain organic form. The distinctive shape it put on, the place it took among the foremost economies of the age, and the marvelous influence it has exerted, cannot be referred to any happy conjuncture of circumstances. By no accident was England its birthplace. The cradle, the nursery, the parental home, were made ready for its advent. Ancestral traditions whispered

some such development of providence; and if no prophecy sounded the note of near approach, the signs of the times encouraged large expectations. The instincts of private hearts—the instincts, too, of society, which statesmen rarely notice till they are published in actions—pointed clearly enough to an era close at hand when a vast religious and social change would occur. Had not materials been slowly collecting for an edifice that should shelter the homeless multitude—wanderers, exiles, and outcasts? And what was needed now but an architect skilled to find the corner-stone from which the structure should rise in symmetry of parts and stateliness of proportions?

Nor was it a matter of chance that the eighteenth century, which witnessed the rise and rapid progress of Methodism, furnished a field for its activity. The field, indeed, was broad, open, and diversified. It included mountain heights and obscure valleys; hidden solitudes and thronged thoroughfares; hamlets and cities. Within its range were found the ancient seats of metropolitan refinement, and not far distant the abodes where barbarism lurked undisturbed. Almost side by side stood the mansions of the rich and the huts of the poor; the libraries of the student and the workshops of the mechanics; cathedrals and universities; factories, dock-yards, foundries, and coal-pits; alike in this, that they were outwardly united in the gothic variety of modern civilization, while wanting a supreme force to give them a unity more solid and compact. But this great field that the England of the eighteenth century presented had been prepared by Providence for the occupancy of Methodism. Had Wesley appeared at any time in the seventeenth century he could have found no sphere like that which he so successfully filled. For during that period English society existed by force of extremes; the most startling contrasts were every-where the current form of life; all opinions were convictions, and all convictions were in the state either of an armed truce or of violent hostility. Long after the civil war had ended, Christianity still dwelt in camps that frowned sullenly

on one another. By chronic necessity each religious organization stood in martial attitude. This was mainly owing to the fact that in those days men could scarcely hold decided views on spiritual subjects without being the fierce partisans of political measures. The union of Church and State was no worse than the union of Christianity and hate, as they were then unnaturally connected. If under such anomalous circumstances Methodism had sprung up in England, how could it have escaped the fate of other Christian bodies?

But all this was changed in the eighteenth century. No longer was England the England of Elizabeth, or of Cromwell, or of Charles II. The Revolution of 1688, that placed William and Mary on the throne, put an end to divine right, and likewise to hereditary right, except as determined by law; and from that day English sovereigns have been such by act of Parliament. If this was the triumph of old-time political instincts —England's historic past shaped to suit the present—it also brought back the clear common sense, the vivid every-day wisdom, the broad-minded sagacity, the sturdy virtues and the noble temper of liberality, which were native to the blood of Anglo-Saxons. Once more England's greatest intellects were reinstated in their high seats of dominion, never again to be denied their authority over mind. Then it was that the true career of Bacon, Shakspeare, Milton, Bunyan, Stillingfleet, Baxter, Taylor, Hooker, and Tillotson, began. Business had resumed its old channels and carved out new ones for the flow of commerce. Enterprise was all aflame with enthusiasm. If Watt did not appear with the steam-engine, nor Adam Smith with the "Wealth of Nations," till the latter half of the century, the industrial energy of the country was fully aroused, and the way was fast opening for the genius of Brindley, in 1761; for Hargreaves, in 1764; for Crompton, in 1776; and for Arkwright, in 1768. The strong giant, wearied by years of bloody struggle and intestine strife, had stretched his limbs for an interval of repose on the renewing earth, and now he had

arisen mightier than before, girded for conquests surpassing all former achievements. But although England was making such strides on the pathway of empire, her progress was not without heavy clogs that the previous century had fastened on her strength.

Chief among these oppressive evils was England's moral and spiritual condition. If in 1724 king and people could rejoice in "peace with all powers abroad, at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights," it was certain that their mutual congratulations could not extend beyond industrial prosperity. Nearly every other aspect of the times was painful to thoughtful minds, and the more so as the contrast was sharp between material progress and religious decay. Parliamentary corruption, organized into a system, dispensed with the palliation of impulse and the plea of temptation, and recommended itself to public favor no less by the cool audacity of its logic than by the expertness of its practice. It only blushed when it failed, and never repented except on the score of shortcomings in success. Amid the scenes of those days—the days of the second George—Walpole, who was as subtle in sagacity as he was unscrupulous in the use of means to carry his purposes, stands forth as a conspicuous figure. He was literally truthful when he declared, "I am no reformer;" and if there be doubt whether he said, "Every man has his price," no one would have been surprised had he uttered it. Lord Chesterfield, in the interludes of politics, was busy transforming sensuality into a fine art. If these men were not exact types of upper English society, unquestionably they were exponents of some characteristic qualities which had then the support of fashion. Turning to religious interests, we often see the prelate sunk in the politician; while the clergy, for the most part, were "the most remiss of their labors in private, and the least severe in their lives." Green quotes Montesquieu as saying of the higher circles of England: "Every one laughs if one talks of religion;" and at a later period

Hannah More writes: "We saw but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar, and that was used to prop a flower-pot."

To the intellect of the senses the signs of the times—especially during the first quarter of the eighteenth century—were gloomy enough for despair. Beneath an inert religion, the philosophy of sensation was practically in league with the creed of materialism. The pendulum of opinion and theoretic morals played between Hobbes and Locke. If all metaphysical speculations were drifting toward a yawning gulf, the main idea of many as to the Church was, that of a safeguard against Popery. With this idea they were content. Beyond it they saw little or nothing. Pulpit speech was thin, hesitant, and broken, and the voice of praise lacked the deep inspirations of sacred song. Toward any high ideals the public mind was not only indifferent, but insensate. Literature had lapsed into an after-dinner pleasure. Richardson had not yet come to reform and elevate fiction, nor Hogarth to satirize folly and vice with deeper cuts than those which marked the engraver's plate.* Despite all this, tokens of better days were not wanting. The middle-class—then as before and since—was holding on to good old English traditions, and looking prayerfully and trustingly for a mighty change in the posture of affairs. There was a Jordan with its baptismal waters, though it emptied its current into a Dead Sea. Sheltered spots there were, past which this Jordan flowed; nooks of beauty, glebe and glade not unknown to history and poetry, resting-places for sandaled pilgrims, cloisters for holy meditation, libraries in which the pen thrived at its blessed work, homes where the domestic spirit of the Anglo-Saxon retained all its hereditary virtue and tenderness, parishes and pulpits in which Christianity was still the religion of Christ and his atoning cross.

One of these was Epworth, a name now famous in the world. It was the home of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, father of

* Hogarth finished the "Harlot's Progress" in 1731; Richardson published "Pamela" in 1741.

John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. He was a minister of the Established Church, a most earnest and spiritual man, truthful and sincere and heroic, a piece of incarnate granite, yet most kind and loving, pliant in his own hands when convictions and impulses seized him, but immovable by others if his mind was made up; a strong and varied thinker and writer, cultured as well as educated, and withal far more liberal and catholic in his sympathies than some critics have represented him. To what seem to have been hereditary qualities of nature Samuel Wesley added traits of character distinctly his own. Like his grandfather, Bartholomew Westley, and his father, John Westley, he had an impressible and energetic temperament, full of latent force, and capable of intense action. Like them, he was deeply interested in public matters and held stanchly to the creed in which he believed, whether political, ecclesiastical, or doctrinal. All three, Bartholomew, John, and Samuel, were ministers of the gospel, men of university education, and fine position. The blood improved as it went on, for Samuel appears to have been the ablest man of the three, having an intellect of broader compass and of fuller contact with the movements of the age. His literary labors were remarkable. Smith's "History of Wesleyan Methodism" states that "besides a great number of smaller but respectable poems, he dedicated his 'Life of Christ,' in verse, to Queen Mary; the 'History of the Old and New Testament' to Queen Anne; and his grand and elaborate Latin dissertations on the 'Book of Job' to Queen Caroline. After this he 'plunged into the depths of Oriental philosophy and literature,' to prepare himself for a new edition of the Hebrew Scriptures on an original plan." Besides these works he projected a scheme for the evangelization of the East. That he was an educated thinker, in the best sense of the phrase, cannot be doubted; and that his moral sympathies were as acute and active as his intellectual powers were versatile and commanding is also certain.

Of transmitted qualities in human beings our knowledge is

scanty and imperfect. A veil hangs over the subject inwrought with hieroglyphics, and we have only glimpses of light and interpretation. Yet who can fail to detect the large thought and generous impulses of the father in his son John—a beautiful presence that abode within him, and a surviving power of strength and greatness after the father's death? The indomitable will and dauntless courage, resting upon a temperament competent to sustain them in any crisis of hazard; the spontaneous delight in activity; the missionary spirit of brotherly helpfulness; the love that gathered into its fervent soul all the forms of humaneness, philanthropy, and Christian charity; the alliance of tongue and pen in the service of Christ; have not these descended from ancestral heights to the founder of Methodism, and gained momentum as they sought a lodgment in his nature? Add to these certain characteristics of his mother, Susanna Wesley; her skill in practical affairs, the keen insight and the achieving hand, the happy union of wisdom and sentiment, the quick sense of providence and the instinct of trust ripened into faith, the sweetness of her self-denial and the touches of chastening that brought out the full beauty of her maternal soul—how much of all this was reproduced in John Wesley, and how finely it blended with the father, Samuel Wesley, in his temperament and nature and character!

John Wesley was born June 17, 1703, and he died March 2, 1791. If his life began with the opening years of the century it continued nearly to its close. Few lives have ever run so uniformly with a century, and fewer still have done so much to make their century memorable. Passing over his early years, his university education, labors in Georgia, return to England, visit to the continent, all the experiences and struggles that coalesced to form his young manhood, let us view him in 1740, when the Methodist Society became a distinct organization. On the surface his position and attitude seem strange, if not somewhat eccentric. His natural tastes and inclinations

are not in harmony with his circumstances, and yet these circumstances press him more and more out of himself; so that Wesley, with his richly-endowed mind, with his large scholarship and culture, and especially with his love of order and reverence for Church authority, finds himself being transformed into a new Wesley, a most unconventional person, a companion and associate and kinsman of humble souls, and a zealous sympathizer with the Pauline spirit that sought the evangelization of the world. If the philosophy of the senses could explain this phenomenon, it would cease to be the philosophy of the senses. But, assuming Providence, and the influence of the Holy Ghost on the heart, it all becomes perfectly explicable. Silent and unconscious accesses were found to his inner life; he was slowly and radically changed; he was revolutionized, and he was a wonder and a mystery unto himself. Well that it was so; for had it been otherwise, he would never have become the foremost of modern reformers.

Sensibility to Providence and to the Spirit's operations forms the basic constituent of a great Christian leader. The two are always one in every gifted man called to such a work. Nature—God in nature—supplies the instinctive sensitiveness to unsensuous impressions; and this native sensitiveness to imagination and ideal impulses was gradually matured in Wesley until it became a wise and well-poised sensibility. Yet the reactions would often set in. To preach in the open air cost him a severe conflict with himself. His friend Hervey resisted the glaring innovation. He lost other dear friends—Whitefield, Gambold, and Stonehouse—on other issues, and his brother Charles was shaken as to this policy. Moreover, he was sorely perplexed as to the responsibility involved in building chapels, nor could he see where he might find helpers in the management of the Societies. But never were the words in M. Angelo's sonnet more fully verified:—

> "Just as the marble wastes,
> The statue grows:"

for while he was severely tried in giving up his High-Church principles, in abandoning the most charming associations of his young manhood, in resigning his favorite pursuits, and in separating from cherished companions, he was undergoing the best possible discipline for the attainment of that most marked individuality which shone so resplendently in his subsequent career. Personality, in its free and original type, is the rarest of human developments. Not one man in ten thousand ever reaches the consciousness of his real life. In itself it is a most occult thing, and our modes of life are such that it is constantly retreating to those hidden vaults which chamber the future soul and conceal it from discernment. But Wesley was taught himself, made to see and feel himself, made to realize himself, made to use himself; and thus he was qualified, by the co-operations of Providence and the Holy Spirit, for the wonderful service that he rendered to the world, when the world needed, more than any other providential gift, a man trained just as he was trained.

The occasion soon presented itself for Wesley to learn another lesson under the tuition of Providence. Like all reformers, he drew many of his greatest ideas from the past, his constructive skill displaying itself in the shape he gave those ideas in adapting them to his object. For instance, the conception of societies as adjuncts to the Churches in the work of evangelization dates much farther back than Wesley's times. The "Society for the Reformation of Manners" was first established about the year 1677.* According to Bishop Burnet, such

* Wesley's Societies, however, differed widely from the "Society for the Reformation of Manners," which was begun in the reign of King William, was irregularly continued through the reign of Queen Anne, was defunct from 1730 to 1757, and was revived in 1757 by the Methodist movement. They equally differed from the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," founded in 1699, and from the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," founded in 1701. The Methodist Societies, though not in *name*, were, in many regards, from the first truly a Christian Church. When Wesley adopted lay preaching and lay ordination, his Societies became in *fact* the Church of his own ideal. Wesley did not so intend, nor did he ever admit that this was so. But Lord Mansfield was right when he declared that "ordination is separation," and in this opinion Charles Wesley concurred.—EDITOR.

societies had been active in good works, and had enlisted men like Dr. Beveridge and Dr. Horneck, in their support. Tyerman states, that "the religious societies were altogether composed of members of the Church of England; the Reformation Society was composed of members of the Church of England, and of other Churches as well."

In 1698 Samuel Wesley preached an able and most pungent sermon before the "Society for the Reformation of Manners," wherein many thoughts like these occur: "The sword of justice no longer lies rusting and idle, but is drawn and furbished for the battle, and glitters against the enemies of God and of our country. . . . Let us often read the lives of martyrs. . . . Forbid none from casting out devils, because he follows not with *you*." If, now, these societies had set before John Wesley examples of wide and varied usefulness, it was eminently wise in him to adopt a principle of action that had been fully tested. The obligation was the more stringent because of the fact that the clergy had set themselves against the religious movement he was conducting. There was no hope that the English Church would take care of his converts. His course, therefore, was in the natural order of events; it was simply inevitable; and he had either to abandon his work or give it a secure organization. And now arose one of the most embarrassing questions of his career. It was the question of lay preaching. Once more the personal conflict began; the old prejudices returned; and the Wesley of Oxford sternly confronted the Wesley of the highways and the open fields. How could he tolerate lay preaching? Yet how could he go on without it? This time, as often before, it was no choice of his, but the will of Providence that over-ruled him and the past in him. Certain it was that the wine had again to be drawn off from the lees, and, in this critical moment, a delicate but well-nerved hand was ready to aid in the task.

Nothing could have been more fortunate than that the issue came up in the case of Thomas Maxfield. Maxfield was one

of the early fruits of Wesley's ministry in Bristol, and now he labored in London, meeting the society, praying, advising, exhorting, enjoying God's blessing, and having signal favor with the people. Maxfield began to preach. Wesley heard of it and hurried to London, intent on stopping such a disorderly proceeding. "John," said his mother, "he is as surely called of God to preach as you are." The same wise guide said to him, "Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him also yourself," and he accepted the advice, yielded his prejudices, and took another step from the shades of the past into the light of the future. At this point his career weaves itself again into his father's history, since nearly fifty years before Samuel Wesley had urged the same measure on the attention of the English Church. Providence honors blood. A bud in an ancestor opens into a flower in his descendant and soon swells into fruit. In this case the good results were not only immense but singularly various. Almost the entire economy of Methodism grew out of this decisive action in using lay preachers. Classes and leaders, contributions of money, the conference, and the itinerancy, rapidly followed. So that we may safely affirm that the suggestive force which supplied the ideas embodied in the system of Methodism sprang from Thomas Maxfield's preaching.

Let us pause a moment and examine Methodism. It was the child of providence, and never was offspring more like its parentage. The form, the step, the hand, the eye, the voice, all reduced to earthly conditions and adapted to human relations, show the original source of its life. But it may be profitable to analyze this idea of providence, and see the elements which make its constituents: for if revelation has its evidences, its proofs internal and external, its methods of satisfying reason and preparing the way for the true faith of the heart, so has providence in the affairs of men. Any thing is sheer mysticism—unworthy of credence—that cannot be substantiated in some shape to the open and candid minds of men.

First of all, then, the battle of the Reformation had been fought out in England. After every sign of conflict on this issue had disappeared upon the Continent, the struggle was fiercely protracted in England. Puritanism, as a religious, ecclesiastical, and political influence, had run through all its stages. One platform of principles had been demolished for the erection of another. One phase had succeeded another, till its fertility of aspects had been exhausted. A Puritan of Elizabeth's age had little in common with Cromwell, and a Puritan under Charles II. would have been a stranger and a foreigner to a Puritan of 1688. High-Church and Low-Church parties had gone through vicissitudes and changes equally remarkable. Calvinism and Arminianism had been finally detached from party politics; and Rome, Geneva, and Holland were no longer inflammatory watch-words. The evil in these warring systems, excited to intensity by the state of the country, had expired, or, if not dead, had sunk into inertness. The good elements, so fatally held in abeyance, had survived and taken a prominent form in English thought and life. But we think it obvious that this very condition of things demanded some new religious organization. If not, how were the beneficent results of this terrible ordeal to be preserved? Various as these results were, they nevertheless had common qualities; but how were these to be aggregated and condensed in one massive force so as to reach England? What was needed was, an institution that might gather up the fruits of a century's growth and give them a divine perpetuity. We believe that Methodism was providentially ordained to be just such an institution, and, as a warrant for this belief, we appeal to its principles, its sentiments, its Catholic spirit, its deep sense of human brotherhood, its philanthropic heart, and, most of all because higher than all, we appeal to its reverence for God's sovereignty, its homage to law, and its supreme trust in the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ, as the means of reconciling God to man and man to God.

Look at Methodism, and you find all the best and noblest characteristics of Puritanism, separated from bigotry and cruelty, organized in its economy, and embodied in its living character. Look at it again, and you see certain qualities that Puritanism never had—such as the milder virtues of the gospel, considerateness for the weakness of men, piety and compassion, tenderness for the erring, and the sympathies that bind men together. Its sensibility to truth has not been at the expense of its sensibility to love. With it charity is the "greatest" only because charity is the consummation in which faith and hope realize their completeness of scope and fullness of power. Look, furthermore, at its effects on the middle and lower classes of English society, its influence in bringing them together, its force of assimilation, by means of which one of the most dangerous consequences of a revolutionary century, namely, the estrangement of classes, was greatly meliorated. Did Methodism retain for many years its connection with the Church of England? That gave it an opportunity to act on the religious condition of the Establishment. Did Whitefield separate from Wesley? Because of this, Methodism permeated the Dissenting Churches. If, politically, the nation had advanced to high and solid ground—if the House of Commons had gained immense strength by reducing the power of the Crown—if state ministers had become ministers of the people—it seems indisputable that Methodism, as a complementary movement, did precisely for moral and spiritual interests what the House of Commons had achieved for political interests. It aroused the people. It made the people conscious of themselves and their inherent capacity for growth. It elevated and ennobled the people. Viewed in this light, the seventeenth century fashioned the gigantic mold in which Methodism was cast.

Every student of ancient history knows how the Rome of Pompey and the Senate, and the Rome of Julius Cæsar and the Democracy, were in long and deadly conflict. And he

knows, too, that a very different Rome, the Rome of Augustus Cæsar, emerged from the bloody struggle, and that it was the Rome of the Empire through which Christianity trod her pathway of triumph. So, too, the England of the Puritan and the England of the Cavalier fought and bled. So, too, they passed away in their relative attitudes and aspects. Modern England is neither the one nor the other, but the product of interaction and compromise. And it was just this condition of things that called for such a system as Methodism, and Providence answered the call. But this is not a complete statement of the facts. Suppose that we look forward instead of backward, and may we not ask if England could have withstood, as she did, the shock of the French Revolution, had not Methodism wrought its soul into the masses of her population? Yet another view offers itself. Here, on this western continent, England had her colonies. All sorts of causes—poverty, trouble, persecution, enterprise, philanthropy, religion—had operated to produce the tide that swept westward. Endicott, Winthrop, Penn, Oglethorpe, were very unlike as individuals; but they were all Englishmen. First the Atlantic slope, next the Mississippi Valley, then the Pacific coast, the Northern Lakes and the Southern Gulf—the whole was contained in Plymouth Rock and Jamestown. Standing face to face with the grand forms of nature, the contours and configurations of scenery everywhere magnificent, men not only came to a new world, but to a world that made them new. Such elastic energy, such resolute will, such diversified heroism, such success in winning fields and forests to the domains of civilization, have no parallel in the historic fortunes of our race. And was there no providence in the origin of Methodism at a time when it could be transplanted to a most genial soil, take root, grow up with the States, expand with the population, and spread its branches till the spray of two oceans fell upon their foliage? If Wesleyan Methodism was so well adapted to modern England, what shall be said of the supreme fitness of American Method-

ism to follow the pioneer, to penetrate the wilderness, to occupy the territory by pre-emptive right of missionary ardor, and stand with hands and heart open to embrace the coming multitude?

Society advances under providential law. Modern society is characterized by the number and diversity of these laws, their action and interaction. Problems once simple are now complex. The chief difficulty in all systems and organizations is, to meet the multiplicity of interests which have to be consulted. Often these are at variance, or, if not in downright antagonism, they are hard to unite. The secret of power in any project seeking to act on a broad scale lies in its adaptability. To be adaptive, it must be plastic. To be wisely plastic, it must have firmness of texture no less than facility of accommodation. It must be, in all religious matters, conscientious before it considers expediency. By the conditions of success it must become all things to all men, which can only be when it is one thing toward God. Now, assuredly, Methodism has historically vindicated its claim as an institution of providence on the score of adaptation to circumstances most unlike. On the one hand, we have seen it exhibit its majestic strength in an old country. On the other hand, we have seen it develop the same energy, or even greater, in a new country. As an impulse, it was felt in the air that all men breathe; as a sentiment, it attracted Calvinists; as a principle, it drew thousands to its standard of faith. Speaking of the philanthropic power awakened in England, and "now spreading through the habitable globe," Sir James Stephen says, "It was at this period that the *Alma Mater* of Laud and Sacheverell was nourishing in her bosom a little band of pupils destined to accomplish a momentous revolution in the National Church; and of this little band John Wesley was the acknowledged leader."

Green states, in his "Short History of the English People," that Wesley's movement "changed in a few years the whole temper of English society." It is now generally admitted

that all modern efforts for prison reform, improvements in penal codes, popular education, cheap literature, Sunday-schools, and missionary enterprise, are largely due to Wesley's influence. Whatever the shape assumed by these benevolent labors, the touch of one creative hand was felt alike in them all. There were "diversities of operations," but "the same God which worketh all in all." For, whether the fire is struck from the flinty rock, or drawn from the overhanging cloud, or released from the coal-beds in the deep earth, it is fire from the sun.

It is clear, then, that Wesley was in living contact with the world at very many points. This distinguished him from all other conspicuous reformers. He had a more varied range than Luther. He had far more balance than Savonarola. He had not the exclusiveness of Knox. And he had a much truer and profounder insight than Loyola. Isaac Taylor says: "Not one of the founders of Methodism was gifted with the philosophic faculty, the abstractive and analytic power." And further: "Wesley reasoned more than he thought. . . . He was almost intuitively master of arts. . . . He had the irresistible force, or, one might say, the galvanic instantaneousness of the intuitions." Such fine distinctions, even if accurate, are of no avail in practical matters. It was the mind of Wesley, not the mere intellect, that gave him such sway over men. That he had wonderful capacity as well as ability cannot be questioned. A most compact brain he possessed, sensitive and extremely active, able to reach his constructing hand on short notice. At the same time Wesley's mind was comprehensive—his reflective and perceptive powers were in close alliance. Whatever he acquired was thoroughly assimilated and became a part of his nature, nor did he give any thoughts to others without the stamp of his own individuality. The peculiar emotions that blend with the intellect and impart the highest vitality to its functions, were serving forces that never failed him. Along with these, he had the best educated body that we know of—nerves and mus-

cles that were trained to military obedience. Too much blood seldom overstocked his head. He came as near converting his physical frame into an intelligent automaton as any man ancient or modern, and to this much of his usefulness was due. Free from sudden reactions—still more free from tyrannic moods—he was generally calm, self-poised, and full of healthy repose. His resources constantly grew, but they never outgrew his expertness in their management. Any instrument or agent that came within his grasp borrowed something from his disciplined skill. The seed-producing force in his nature was amazing. Like all men whose genius is rooted in depth of character, he had a strong will, and he enjoyed using it. But he was not locked up in himself. Often, in many ways, he crucified self—the self of the intellect as well as the self of the heart. He had the gift, one of the rarest among men, of hearing the voice of Providence in the voices of human souls. The suggestions of the humblest were never despised. Yet his final test of truth was the divine element which he detected in it, so that his mind was like a great dome, open at the top for light to stream down fresh from the firmament.

Looking at Methodism in its spiritual features, we must not forget to notice the special emphasis it laid on personal religion as the religion of consciousness. This has always been its most salient peculiarity. The sense of acceptance with God by the witness of the Holy Spirit has given Methodism a power not possible from any other source. Without dwelling on its advantages to the individual believer, we can scarcely estimate its value as a specific mode of thinking and feeling in bringing a body of Christians into the simplest but strongest unity. By unity we mean a very different thing from union. More than any thing else, this doctrine, when realized in experience, tends to produce a common sensibility which is sure to expand into a common sympathy. Imagine that Methodism had established its social institutions with only a secondary reference to this great truth: much of its strength would have

been unknown, for it is this rather than other distinctive qualities which has created its family heart. Coincident with this fact, and yet differenced by its connections, we may add, that just such a religious consciousness as Methodism emphasizes is one of the most important present means of resisting the skepticism and materialism of the age. Mind is now threatened by the thralldom of the body. The science of the senses is the science of investigation, of analysis, and synthesis; of blowpipes and microscopes: and it is natural enough that when thinkers reject the testimony of consciousness, laugh at its dictates and scorn its intuitions, doubt and dismay should spread their appalling shadows over the entire realm of sacred things. No other result is possible. If Baal be reinstated as the sun god, our only worship will be the cry of despair. So it was on old Carmel, and so it must be in new America. Approach man from the material side of the universe, and he is insignificant enough. Analogy, with its mighty logic and still mightier fascination, is turned into his worst enemy. Fellowship with brutes, or kinship rather, is soon reached. But change the method of approach, and all else is instantly changed. Draw near to the soul from the spiritual side of the universe, speak to its consciousness, and Christianity is the answering grandeur. And, in this view, Methodism may be regarded as occupying in the order of Providence a specialized sphere of activity. The long strife between faith and disbelief seems narrowing down to an issue between consciousness and sense. In this event, Methodism is worth philosophic study in a new light. It may turn out that the prominence it has given to the religious consciousness may be found of unexpected avail in the progress of this warfare. If so, will it not be remarkable that a system which has accomplished such vast good in the past should be even more a prospective providence, and that the broad wake of light which it has left behind it for well nigh one hundred and fifty years, should be far outshone by the splendor of the future?

The sympathetic and diffusive element in Methodism, to which we have called attention, was largely due to the Pauline mode of preaching that Wesley and his helpers adopted. The same thing is true of the Methodist ministry as a body. Taken as a whole, they choose more of their texts from St. Paul's writings than ministers of other Churches. Their theology is thoroughly Pauline. Their spirit is St. Paul's spirit. Their buoyancy, freedom, and hopefulness, ally them with the Apostle to the Gentiles, and they have much of his chastened independence and steady heroism. But it must not be forgotten that the hymns of the Wesleys, John and Charles, had very much to do with this wonderful extension of Christ's kingdom. Luther knew the power of hymns. So did Cromwell. But it remained for the Wesleys to develop their full excellence and give it the widest range of influence. Methodism has a "hymn book" of its own, a complete hymn book, a library of song, a rich and beautiful anthology from the garden of the Lord. If thrown on its own resources for the language of praise, Methodism could chant every strain that the human soul can breathe forth to Heaven. These hymns are not lyric meditations, but fresh and genuine outbursts from hearts overflowing with emotion, the emotion rising evermore into affection. Not a touch of vitiating sentimentality is in one of them, and they are as free from the effeminate fancy and tainted sensuousness of recent spiritual songs, as they are from the formal starchness of the older hymns. All forms of doctrine, experience, and holy living, they embody in words appropriate, varied, and vivid. Nor is their genius ever put forth at the expense of piety. Charming as is their beauty, it never exists for its own sake, but as a vestment woven with reverential art to clothe a far higher substance. How many voices they have, even as the voices of Pentecost! Whatsoever in penitence is subduing to pride and self-trust; whatsoever in the first gush of pardon, and peace, and joy seeks expression in rapture; whatsoever gathers upon our lonely hours, and upon the

hours of trial and sorrow and bereavement; whatsoever wails in the *miserere* of life, or exults in its *jubilate;* these are all here, to lift the soul to the throne and its Christ. The little children swell out hosannas in the sweetness of these hymns, and manhood and womanhood pour forth halleluias in their rhythmic gladness. If the royal psalmist perfected Judaism in the psalms, the Wesleys, and especially Charles, gave the final touch of strength and grace to Methodism by means of these hymns. Had Methodism done nothing else but produce these articulations of every thought and feeling in Christian life, who could measure the indebtedness of the Church to its genius and its consecration to such a task? Though we cannot yet say, "Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world," we cannot doubt that the day is not far distant when it will be said, "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."

# WESLEY AND THE EVIDENCE WRITERS, ESSAYISTS, AND OTHERS.

THE religious apathy or indifferentism which all parties are agreed settled on the English Church and people near the middle of the eighteenth century, bade fair to end in general, if not universal, unbelief. The unchristian spirit in which the Deistical, Trinitarian, and Bangorian controversies were conducted, even by the orthodox defenders of the Christian religion; the Church abuses—pluralities and non-residence; the prostitution of Church patronage to State purposes; the subserviency of the clergy to king and court, their absorbing devotion to politics, their guilty share in the political corruptions of the times, their political sermons, their cold essays on morality, their disregard of pastoral duties, their antipathy to all that is emotional in religion, and their exclusive reliance on arguments from reason and nature—on the external evidences of revelation to the utter neglect, if not rejection, of that internal evidence which the Holy Spirit witnesses to the human soul whenever Christ crucified is faithfully preached;—these things, and others like them, to say nothing of the worldliness and irreligious lives of the great majority of the clergy, had well-nigh sapped the foundations of Christian faith and hope, and delivered over the English people to deism, if not the dethronement of God from the government of the universe.

In this emergency, the man who, under God, more than any other, saved the English Church and people from spiritual paralysis, if not from spiritual death, was JOHN WESLEY. Had it not been for the timely Methodist reactionary move-

ment, the National Church and the Nonconformist Churches of England were in danger of being borne, by the deistical and free-thinking writers of the century, into the more gloomy and perilous regions of atheism. It was well that Methodism arose and won many of its victories before the more pronounced German skepticism and French atheism came to the aid of those who were seeking to overthrow the defenses of Christian faith. Happily for Christianity in England, those continental antichristian forces came too late to effect the conquests they intended. For John Wesley had already greatly revived the English Church, and rescued it from its gravest perils. If this had not been, dark would have been the day for the Christian religion in England, if English deists and English free-thinkers, triumphant over evangelical Christian thought, had joined their victorious battalions to the proudly defiant and conquering legions of German skeptics and French atheists.

But, while this is so, we do not say that enlargement and deliverance would not have come in some other way; but we do say, that John Wesley was the Heaven-delegated instrument by which evangelical Christianity was preserved to England. No doubt if Wesley had not been divinely sent, or if, having been divinely sent, he had been faithless to his high mission, the great Head of the Church would have raised up some other to do the work. But, as Moses was the Heaven-appointed deliverer of the Hebrews from their bondage in Goshen, so Wesley was the special instrument chosen of Heaven to deliver the English Church and people in the eighteenth century. Nor do we mean to say that Wesley, single-handed and alone, wrought out the great revival. But we do mean to say, with Mr. Lecky, that "beyond all other men it was John Wesley to whom this work was due;" with Mr. Overton, John Wesley "stands pre-eminent among the worthies who originated and conducted the revival of practical religion which took place in the last century;" with Mr. Gladstone, Wesley gave "the

main impulse out of which sprang the evangelical movement;" with Dean Stanley, Wesley "was the chief reviver of religious fervor in all Protestant Churches, both of the old and the new world;" with Isaac Taylor, "the Methodist movement is the starting point of our modern religious history," and "the field preaching of Wesley and Whitefield is the event whence the religious epoch, now current, must date its commencement;" with Dr. Stoughton, "the rise and progress of Methodism may be regarded as the most important ecclesiastical fact of modern times, and that Methodism, in all its branches, is a fact in the history of England which develops into large and still larger dimensions as time rolls on;" with Mr. Abbey, "the Methodist revival marked a decided turn, not only in popular feeling on religious topics and in the language of the pulpit, but also in theological and philosophical thought in general;" that while "William Law in his own way and among a select but somewhat limited body of readers, Wesley in a more practical and far more popular manner, . . . gave a death-blow to the then existing forms of Deism;" that Methodism "stirred the sluggish spiritual nature to its depths; it awoke the sense of sin and an eager longing to be delivered from it;" and that "to the age and Church in general its quickening action was scarcely less important;" with Robert Southey, Wesley is "the most influential mind of the last century, the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long;" and with Mr. Curteis, Wesley (unless we except Mr. Fletcher) "was the purest, noblest, most saintly clergyman of the eighteenth century, whose whole life was passed in the sincere and loyal effort to do good."

In ascribing so much to Wesley's influence on the religious thought of the age, we intend no disparagement of the illustrious men who, in the deistical and trinitarian controversies, defended against deists and Socinians, the orthodox Articles of the English Church. We may, indeed, admit almost all that

Mr. Overton, vicar of Legbourne, claims for them in *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, the recent and very able work of Mr. Abbey and himself. In vol. ii., chap. ii., Mr. Overton thus introduces the Methodist movement:—

The middle part of the eighteenth century presents a somewhat curious spectacle to the student of Church history. From one point of view the Church of England seemed to be signally successful; from another, signally unsuccessful. Intellectually her work was a great triumph, morally and spiritually it was a great failure. She passed not only unscathed, but with greatly increased strength, through a serious crisis. She crushed most effectually an attack which, if not really very formidable or very systematic, was at any rate very noisy and very violent; and her success was at least as much due to the strength of her friends as to the weakness of her foes. So completely did she beat her assailants out of the field that for some time they were obliged to make their assaults under a masked battery in order to obtain a popular hearing at all. It should never be forgotten that the period in which the Church sank to her nadir in one sense was also the period in which she almost reached her zenith in another sense. Seldom has the history of any Church been adorned at one and the same time with greater names than those of Butler, and Waterland, and Berkeley, and Sherlock the younger, and Warburton, and Conybeare, and other intellectual giants who flourished in the reigns of the first two Georges. They cleared the way for that revival which is the subject of these pages. It was in consequence of the successful results of their efforts that the ground was opened to the heart-stirring preachers and disinterested workers who gave practical effect to the truths which have been so ably vindicated. It was unfortunate that there should ever have been any antagonism between men who were really workers in the same great cause. Neither could have done the other's part of the work. Warburton could have no more moved the hearts of living masses to their inmost depths, as Whitefield did, than Whitefield could have written the 'Divine Legation.' Butler could no more have carried on the great crusade against sin and Satan which Wesley did, than Wesley could have written the 'Analogy.' But without such work as Wesley and Whitefield did, Butler's and Warburton's would have been comparatively inefficacious, and without such work as Butler and Warburton did, Wesley's and Whitefield's work would have been, *humanly speaking*, [italics ours,] impossible.

The qualifying words in italics make it possible for us to agree, in the main, with Mr. Overton. "Humanly speaking," it was "impossible;" divinely speaking, it was not. Wesley's and Whitefield's work was pre-eminently spiritual; the work of the great Church writers was intellectual; orthodox, perhaps, it was, but still intellectual. The work of Wesley and Whitefield was a revival of spiritual Christianity; it was divine, in demonstration of the Spirit and of power. It stirred the inmost depths of the human soul; it changed men's hearts; it reformed their lives; it restored them to the image of Him who created them in knowledge, in righteousness, and in true holiness. The work of the others, though intellectually "a great triumph," was morally and spiritually "a great failure." It was "icily regular," but "splendidly null." It left the English Church and people in a worse spiritual condition than before the heated and bitter controversies began. "Intellectually" the argument may have been with them; but "morally and spiritually" it was with their opponents. The latter result must ever be the case when the Christian pulpit and press conduct religious controversy as the Christian pulpit and press conducted the deistical and trinitarian controversies in the eighteenth century.

While, then, it may be true that "without such work as Butler and Warburton did, Wesley's and Whitefield's work would have been, humanly speaking, impossible," it may be questioned whether, after all, the work of the latter was not more hindered than advanced by the work of the former. Whatever assistance Warburton previously may have given to Wesley, it is certain that, if Wesley's work was advanced by Warburton's letters to Des Maizeaux and Dr. Birch, in 1738, and by his fierce onslaught on Wesley, in 1763, it was because a gracious providence overruled for good the scurrilous assaults of William, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. But, of course, it is not about these later exploits of Warburton Mr. Overton is writing. And yet one may, perhaps, be pardoned for mentioning them,

inasmuch as they were suggested by the thought that Wesley's work without Warburton was impossible. Mr. Overton had in mind Warburton's "Divine Legation" and Butler's "Analogy." Great works they are, especially Butler's. But did they revive the nation? If they so silenced assaults on the Christian religion that its enemies had to carry on the conflict "under a masked battery," was the Church made the purer by the victories of her champions? Did any transforming, regenerating power attend their utterances? The unanimous testimony of contemporary authority is, that the age grew worse and worse; that if intellectually the work of these great theologians was a signal triumph, morally and spiritually it was a signal failure. Surely, from every stand-point it may be said, the more lifeless the Church the more difficult the work of revival; the more irreligious and practically ungodly the nation, the more difficult the work of reform. And of all difficult tasks, humanly or divinely speaking, the hardest of all is to revive a Church which has settled on the lees of a cold and icy indifferentism, however rational its faith or orthodox its formularies. But, however this may be, no one will question what Mr. Overton has added: "The truths of Christianity required not only to be defended, but to be applied to the heart and the life; and this was the special work of what has been called, for want of a better term, 'the evangelical school.'"

But, more than this, it may also be questioned whether more credit has not been given to the evidence writers than they deserve. We have already alluded to their exclusive reliance on arguments from reason and nature, and to their neglect of the internal evidences of Christianity—to their contempt for the emotional or whatever savors of enthusiasm. And we have before seen that Mr. Abbey claims that it was Law and Wesley—not Butler and Warburton—who gave the death-blow to the eighteenth century forms of deism. What he says is so much to the point that we give it somewhat at

length. We quote from vol. i, chap. ix, "Enthusiasm," in his and Mr. Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century." "About the time 'When Wesley's power Gathered new strength from hour to hour,' theological opinion was in much the same state in England as that described by Goethe as existing in Germany when he left Leipsic in 1768; it was to a great extent fluctuating between an historical and traditionary Christianity on the one hand and pure Deism on the other. William Law in his own way and among a select but somewhat limited number of readers, Wesley in a more practical and far more popular manner, did very much to restore to English Christianity the element that was so greatly wanting—the appeal *to a faculty* [the italics are ours] *with which the soul is gifted to recognize the inherent excellence, the beauty, truth, and divinity of a divine object once clearly set before it.* Whatever may have been the respective deficiencies in the systems and teaching of these two men, they achieved at least this great result; *nor is it too much to say* [the italics are ours] *that it gave a death-blow to the then existing forms of Deism.*" If Mr. Abbey is right, is it too much to say that Law and Wesley accomplished more than the evidence writers, even in their own domain, were able to accomplish? Nay, more; is it too much to say that Law and Wesley did what the others utterly failed to do? The great religious controversies of the age were "solely of an intellectual character;" and, instead of settling men's minds and resolving their doubts, "disseminated," says the skeptical author of the "History of Civilization in England," "doubts among nearly all classes." Their only practical effect was to divorce theology from the department of ethics, and, by sowing more broadcast the seeds of uncertainty, weaken the restraints of morality, and give greater riot to licentiousness. And since, as John Wesley truthfully wrote, "Deists and evidence writers alike were strangers to those truths which are 'spiritually discerned,'" is there any wonder that the Church which, in the middle of the eighteenth cent-

ury, intellectually "almost reached her zenith," morally and spiritually "sank to her nadir?"

But the great theologians of the eighteenth century were not the only persons who attempted to reform the nation and failed. Equally futile were the efforts of the essayists, painters, philosophers, statesmen, and all others who attempted it till Wesley came. Addison and Steele in the "Tattler" and the "Spectator," Dr. Johnson in "London" and "Vanity Fair," and Richardson in "Pamela" Andrews, with their pens; and Hogarth, with his brush, in the "Industrious and Idle Apprentices," and in the "Harlot's Progress," boldly satirized vice, and turned against it the tide of wit which had been used by the comic dramatists of the Restoration, and their successors in scurrility, to ridicule all that is pure and virtuous in man. The elder William Pitt, in the House of Commons, in the House of Lords, and in the ministry, "with that sense of honor which makes ambition virtue," by an example of pure morals, incorruptible integrity, and transparent disinterestedness, exalted the standard of political honor, and gave such a rebuke to public venality that rarely afterward did corruption in high places lift up its head. The blameless lives of King George III. and Queen Charlotte exerted in fashionable and aristocratic circles some influence for good, and tended to infuse a healthier tone of morality and religion. But all these influences were unavailing to change the character of the nation, or to revive a sleeping Church. Their effects were only partial, circumscribed, momentary. The renewing, transforming Spirit was needed. As well might the leopard attempt to change his spots or the Ethiopian his skin, as a nation by such influences alone to seek reform. Neither did the religious writers who, till Wesley came, exercised, as we have seen, the greatest influence on the times—(and illustrious names they were) Butler and Sherlock and Hoadley and Warburton and Horsley and Waterland and Berkeley and Leslie and Leland and Doddridge and Watts—do much to change for the better the English Church and peo-

ple. Essayists and poets and painters, however well meaning their efforts, tried it in vain. "Taste and culture," says Julia Wedgwood, "attempted to regenerate society, and failed." Pitt and Burke and George III., and the ablest divines of the Establishment and Dissent, were equally powerless. In spite of all their efforts, the age, as depicted by Mr. Pattison, was "one of decay of religion, licentiousness of morals, public corruption, and profaneness of language—an age destitute of depth and earnestness, of light without love, whose very merits were of the earth, earthy." What could cleanse this Augean accumulated mass of corruption? What voice could speak to these dry bones and command the return of sinews and skin and life? No fountain but the fountain opened to the house of David for sin and for uncleanness could do the cleansing; no voice but the voice of some Heaven-inspired Ezekiel could prophesy and say, "Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live;" no breath, no spirit, but the Breath and Spirit of the Almighty could raise up from bleached bones "an exceeding great army." What was needed was the transforming, regenerating, sanctifying Spirit, and a man called of God, as was Aaron, with lips touched with hallowed fire, as were Isaiah's, and with the word of God as a burning fire shut up in his bones, as in Jeremiah's. The boy rescued from the burning rectory at Epworth; the young Fellow of Lincoln, and president of the "Holy Club" at Oxford; the companion of the Moravians in the storm-tossed ship on the Atlantic; the missionary to the Indians of Georgia; the persecuted rector of Christ Church Parish in Savannah; the man who felt his heart "strangely warmed" that night in Aldersgate-street while listening to the reading of the preface to Martin Luther's commentary on the epistle to the Romans, was divinely called, commissioned, qualified, and sent to reform the Church of England, and do what the essayists and poets and painters and statesmen, and the learned doctors of Dissent, and the

Church's archbishops and bishops, and the nation's king and queen, were utterly unable to accomplish.

All that we have in this paper claimed for Mr. Wesley is now almost universally allowed. The good, also, which he at the same time did among the poor and the lower middle classes, is admitted to have been incalculable. But, while this is so, it is frequently asserted that Methodism, as a Church organism, is unfitted for the more educated and aristocratic circles. A very recent writer, for whose opinions we have very great respect, and whose judgment, perhaps, is as impartial as a clergyman's of the Church of England can be, has said—as if it were the gravest charge against Methodism—"It can never make any deep impression on the cultivated classes;" "it can, at best, be only the Church of the poor and of the lower middle classes." If this be so, Mr. Abbey may be reminded that the same thing was true of the gospel in the times of our Lord and his apostles. As it was then, it may be now, that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." "Hearken, my beloved brethren, hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?" If Methodism, in the eighteenth century, was adapted to the poor —to the well-nigh universally neglected poor—and, as neither Mr. Abbey nor any other will question, was adapted to them far more than was any other form of evangelicalism, did not Methodism, in a greater degree than any other Church, have the divinest sanction that the gospel gives? In preaching specially to the poor, in lifting up the poor, in saving the poor, did not Mr. Wesley and his preachers prove that they had drank deeper into the spirit of Him who said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor?" In an age when the gospel itself was most fiercely assailed and Christian faith put to its severest tests, Mr. Wesley and the Methodist preachers could confidently appeal to their successes among the poor as the most irrefra-

gable evidence of the truth of the gospel. By preaching it to the poor and turning thousands of the most degraded and outcast from sin and Satan to God, they gave—far more than the evidence writers—the highest proof of its divinity and of their own commission to preach it.

But it is further said by the same writer, "Great, therefore, as was its moral and spiritual power among large classes of the people, Methodism was never able to rank among great national reformations." Before we give the answer to this, we ask, Is it true that Methodism "can never make any deep impression on the cultivated classes;" that "it can, at best, be only the Church of the poor and of the lower middle classes?" Let us see. The conquests of Methodism in England among "the cultivated classes," however circumscribed, were greater than like triumphs of the gospel in the earlier days of the primitive Church. They were greater in London, in Bristol, and in Manchester, than in Jerusalem, in Nazareth, and in Capernaum; in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, than in Judea, in Achaia, and in Rome. But, after all, why were the triumphs of Methodism in England no greater among "the cultivated classes?" was it from any want of adaptation? How is it, then, that outside of England, and notably in the United States, Methodism has shown equal adaptation to all—to rich and poor, to the learned and unlearned, to the high and the lowly? In the United States, Methodism is found in all the learned professions, in the presidencies of colleges, in the halls of the national Congress, in the highest departments of State, and in embassies to courts of the most exalted of sovereigns; nor has it been unrepresented in the mansion of the nation's Presidents. There is good reason to assign for this. In the United States there is no State religion to allure by its preferments. Methodism in the new world, on far more equal terms than in the old, entered into the work of winning souls. Like results to those in America, and far more significant, would have been witnessed in England, if Methodism had had no

powerful State religion, no Establishment, to hinder its progress. Remove this barrier—give to Wesleyanism an equal field—and see what progress it will make! It is idle, therefore, to say that Methodism "was never able to rank among great national reformations."

What chance has Methodism, or any other Nonconformist body, when it comes into competition with an Establishment of such powerful patronage, such high social position, such boasted prestige, such prideful associations, such an historic past, such great revenues, and such splendid universities? At this day, how many sons of the wealthier and more educated Methodists are enticed into the Establishment! To mention one thing alone, what a power has the Establishment through its great universities! To secure their degrees, to attain their fellowships, how many sons of wealthy Wesleyans have been drawn away from the Church of their Methodist fathers! This thing alone has exercised a powerful influence against Methodism, and in the very line about which we are writing. Just as Pomponius valued the cognomen which he received from Athens more than his illustrious descent from Numa Pompilius; as Marcus Tullius esteemed the praises of the Greek poet Archias more than the honors of the Roman consulate; and as the tyrant Nero prized the wreath which he won in a contest at Olympia above the imperial purple and diadem, so, at this day, there are Wesleyan preachers who prefer the degree of Master of Arts from Oxford or Cambridge to the highest honorary degrees conferred by the best American colleges.

What, then, has prevented Methodism from taking "rank with great national reformations?" The question would better not be pressed, for its true answer makes far more against the Establishment than against Methodism. That the National Church did not comprehend Methodism is a graver charge than that Methodism did not absorb the National Church. It is a graver charge that the temple and the synagogue rejected the

Messenger of the Covenant and the Fulfiller of their Law, than that the promised Messiah failed to pervade the Jewish establishment with his spirit. It was a graver charge that the Porch and the Garden, the Academy and the Lyceum, condemned the preaching of the Cross as foolishness, than that the gospel of Christ was powerless to turn their proud disciples to the truth as it is in Jesus. The philosophers of Athens were more to be blamed for rejecting St. Paul, than St. Paul was for not converting them to the worship of "the unknown God." That a divinely-favored institution—such as Methodism by its mission to the poor and success among the outcast has proved itself to be—made no greater impression upon the Establishment is a charge that lies more heavily at the door of the Establishment than at the door of Methodism. That Methodism did not reach the cultivated classes and become a national reformation is because an institution such as is the National Church can never be wholly pervaded by a great revival. At least, never this side of a millennium—nor even then, for the very causes which hasten a future personal reign of Christ on earth are at variance with the whole theory of a Church under the control of or in union with the secular power. A Church that admits so wide a latitudinarianism and so many self-seekers as a State Church necessarily must, can never approximate to any thing like a Church in which the multitude are of one heart and of one soul—where no man says that aught of the things which he possesses is his own—and where all with great power bear witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. Many, very many, splendid examples of piety it will have; but it must also ever have thousands who, having the form, deny the power of godliness. This is a gangrene to which a National Church more than any other must be liable. Self-seekers will always find a wide place in Establishments; outside there will be but scanty room.

But is it a fact that even in England Methodism has taken no hold on "the cultivated classes," and that it cannot "rank

among national reformations?" Directly this may be so in part; indirectly it is not so. Indirectly, but none the less surely, Methodism has affected the whole nation. The National Church has been largely pervaded by its spirit—notably the evangelical party which, at times, has been the dominant party of the Establishment. The non-conformist Churches have been awaked to new spiritual life by its teaching. The higher middle classes, the learned universities, lordly nobles, high-born ladies, and even the court itself, have all been more or less under the influence of Methodism. Whether a national reformation or not, the whole nation has been made the better by it. Its effects are felt all over England, and throughout all her dependencies. They are seen in the great evangelical enterprises which have made the first half of the nineteenth century the most signal in Church history since apostolic times—in its benevolent and eleemosynary institutions, in its domestic and foreign missions, in its Sunday-school, Tract, and Bible Societies, and above all, in the enlarged Christian charity which binds more closely together Christians of every name, of every land, and of every nation and color, and which has made it possible for thousands of different denominations to unite on a common platform and for a common purpose—the salvation of souls and the subjugation of the world to the cross of Christ.

And thus did John Wesley, by his direct and powerful appeals to the demonstrating and witnessing Spirit, by reclaiming the outcast, by elevating the poor, by reviving the national and non-conformist Churches, and by reforming the nation, do incomparably more to prove the divinity of the gospel than all the evidence and other writers of the eighteenth century.

# WESLEY THE WORKER.

METHODISM is a result of great labor, a concentration of mighty religious forces. In it the facts of Christianity are organized, and its principles applied to human life. That it was founded with much care, both in respect to the wants of man and the spirit of the gospel, appears from the strength and simplicity of its structure, the grace and vigor of its development, the fervor and activity of its spirit, and the character and extent of its influence. While Methodism does not rest entirely upon the work of John Wesley—while there are a thousand facts and circumstances clustering about it and attaching themselves to it, like the confluences of a great river system increasing its volume and momentum—still, in the highest degree of truthfulness and consistency, he must be its acknowledged founder. For the formulation of its doctrine, it depends largely upon the Church of England; for much of its ardent faith and active holiness, upon the Moravians; for its precision, in no small degree upon the character of the men who labored with Mr. Wesley; for its early and wide extension, upon great national and international movements —movements which created new nationalities on the one hand, and on the other annihilated; pre-existing ones for the strength and free course of its principles, upon the character of the Wesley and Annesley families; and, finally, for many of its most admirable features, upon the domestic training of Susanna Wesley.

It does not detract from the greatness of a reformer that the material for his work was already existing, and its foundation already laid. He who discovers congruities and affinities in facts and phenomena is often of more service to the world than he who discovered the facts but was unable to bring them

into practical use. Mr. Wesley was truly a great reformer, though he found helps in the reformation which he wrought. The evidences that he was destined to become a thorough and effectual laborer in the work of reform appeared in his early life. He seized every advantage which was offered to him, turning it to service that he might bless men and glorify God, and despising nothing that would make him wiser or better, ever seeking light from his parents, brothers, and friends, and trying all by the word of God.

The labors of Mr. Wesley may be classified as follows:—

FIRST. *His work of self-improvement.*

SECONDLY. *His work for others.*

In subduing the passions and appetites of the body, bringing all under subjection to the will of God, Mr. Wesley's conduct reminds us of that of St. Paul. The rigid discipline under which he held his physical powers could have been maintained only by one whose heart was fixed more upon spiritual good than upon fleshly enjoyments. He allowed his body as much sleep as was requisite, and that quantity and quality of food and raiment that were necessary, but no more. As for rest, he said he found that in a change of labor. In early life he writes: "I am full of business, but have found time to attend to my writing . . . by rising an hour earlier in the morning and going into company an hour later in the evening." In another instance, finding himself wakeful at nights, he believed it to be the result of giving too many hours to the bed: so he took one hour from the night, adding it to the day, experimenting for three or four days, until he had abridged his nights by as many hours; and found that point of separation between the night and day, which left on the one side the length of time he required for sleep, and on the other that during which he was able to work. Recognizing the fact that "bodily exercise profiteth little," yet, for the sake of that *little*, he so exercised himself that in his body and spirit he might "glorify God, whether in eating or in drinking."

His mental discipline was as severe and as systematic as his physical. His acquaintance with the laws of mind enabled him to marshal the faculties in perfect order, and to have all that was within him to praise the Lord. A course of study prepared by him for his own guidance, before he was twenty-five years of age, shows to what various subjects he applied his mind, and how he confined it to order and regularity. "Mondays and Tuesdays were devoted to the Greek and Roman classics, historians, and poets. Wednesdays, to logic and ethics. Thursdays, to Hebrew and Arabic. Fridays, to metaphysics and natural philosophy. Saturdays, to oratory and poetry, chiefly composing. Sundays, to divinity."

With him the cultivation of the mind was subordinate to nothing excepting purity of the heart, and that in order to have all his powers consecrated to God. Had he lacked this rigid mental discipline and large intellectual culture, he could not have established Methodism. The clarion call that was to summon the sleeping formalist to action, and arouse the far-off and neglected thousands, calling all to the way of faith and the witness of the Spirit, could allow no uncertain sound in those times of dreamy forgetfulness, open infidelity, and misguided religionists: it sounded the notes of reason as well as of excitement; of philosophy as well as of love. It was not a time for superficiality or fanaticism to pass for religion. Every thing that showed signs of making innovations upon the established religion had to go into the crucible; hence Methodism was compelled to be open for the consideration and criticism of all men. It could not be placed under a bushel. Every point of doctrine and every tenet must be seen and read of all men. Who, of all the characters of his age—nay, of any age since that of the apostles—was better prepared for the accomplishment of this great work than he, concerning whom the illustrious Dr. Johnson said: "I could talk all day and all night too with" him?—The man profuse in his readings, thorough in his studies, prudent in his conduct, orderly in his

habits; possessing zeal without rashness, erudition without affectation, and holiness without hypocrisy? Mr. Wesley's accomplishments would have given him a high place in any sphere of life which he might have chosen, military, literary, or political; but with all his ability he laid himself upon the altar of our holy religion to be what God willed.

As has been intimated above, the cultivation which he gave both body and mind had especial reference to the welfare of the soul. With him every thing was connected with religion, and religion with every thing. The state of his soul was always a subject of interest and inquiry. Self-examination was a duty of every day. It is to be doubted if any one ever subjected the heart to a more regular, searching, and candid examination. The *deceitful* heart does not readily turn inward to look at itself. Self-examination is one of its severest tasks; but in Mr. Wesley's case this seemed easy. Finding his religious state below that of a scripturally perfect man, he strove by various exercises to raise it to the desired standard, but found the righteousness which is of the law inadequate to the demands of the heart. He then consulted all the good persons with whom he met, and the works of good men, relative to the question of finding perfect peace.

His correspondence with his parents on this subject shows how truly anxious he was. Nothing less than the fullness of God could satisfy him. His soul fainted, crying out for the living God. His heart was open to both man and God for correction and improvement in the highest sense. It is common for men to pass through life with that character which the world gives them, so far as this is flattering, but he was willing to be known as imperfect that he might become perfect. When the peace and comfort of the Holy Ghost had filled his heart, his zeal was quickened and his energy doubled. He then entered fully upon the work of leading the world to the Lamb of God, that taketh away its sin. "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," and "If ye know these things, happy

are ye if ye do them," were texts well understood by him, and highly exemplified in his life.

He worked for the conversion of others with the same incessant application, the same strong faith, the same frankness and earnestness, with which he labored to become himself like Christ. He considered no labor too great to be undertaken to relieve suffering humanity or glorify a gracious God. "Diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," his labors were as diversified as they were useful: caring for the poor and neglected, alleviating their sufferings, and satisfying their wants; instructing the ignorant, visiting those who were in prison, lifting up the head of the dejected; administering to the wants of the sick; cheering the dying with exhortations, prayers, and songs, as they crossed the flood. One of his biographers says of him: "In mercy to the bodies of men, his friend, Mr. Howard, was the only person I ever knew who could be compared to him."

With reference to his benevolence, it has been said that he gave away every thing which he received excepting so much as was necessary to meet his obligations, resolving to be his own executor.

Besides these blessings conferred immediately upon the bodies of men, he did a great amount of writing. His writings consist of both prose and poetry, and embrace several of the varieties of composition: letters, journals, compilations, commentaries, sermons, etc. Few men have associated so much writing with an equal amount of other labor. All of his writings possess a high degree of character; every-where demonstrating the principle of candor, order, and a design to glorify God. All manifest that spirit of care and appreciation of time which caused their author to remark, in reply to the request, "Do not be in a hurry," "A hurry! No, I have no time to be in a hurry."

His great reasoning powers, patience, and comprehension, rendered him eminently fit to conduct that line of defense

always so necessary in religious reformations, and upon the prudent management of which so much depends. The high ground which Methodism had taken made it necessary that its controversies should be as pure as its character. Few men could have entered into its extensive controversies and conducted them with less selfishness or more godliness; with a more candid acknowledgment of the merits of the arguments of its opponents, or with a more cordial invitation to have the defects of its own advocates pointed out. His arguments were clear, pungent, and forcible; and are of great service to-day in the discussion of subjects to which they apply.

His sermons contain a spiritual richness which show them to be the composition of one whose heart was well informed concerning the gospel, and thoroughly prepared for the work by the Holy Ghost. In all of his sermons there are that depth of thoughtfulness, clearness of statement, fullness of experience, and acquaintance with the great subjects of human want and divine grace which we naturally expect in the words of the messenger of God to man.

In preaching he was instant in season and out of season. All humanity had a claim upon him. In the streets or fields, in the wilderness or upon the ocean, wherever he could obtain hearers, he preached. These hearers might be the leaders of the very mob that was incensed against him, and determined upon either stopping his mouth or killing him; they might be the wild red men, or the enslaved black men of America, or the nobility of England and the governors in America. He became all things unto all men. He says: "Wherever I see one or a thousand men running into hell, be it in England, Ireland, or France—yea, in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America —I will stop them if I can; as a minister of Christ, I will beseech them in his name to turn back and be reconciled to God." Preaching was one of his regular duties, common to every day. Like St. Paul, so far as in him lay, he was ready.

To the world his preaching was as words of authority, in

demonstration of the Spirit and of power, cutting like a two-edged sword, convicting and converting sinners to Christ. Thus in Great Britain and America he laid the foundations of Methodism deep in the hearts of men. In the fifty years of his itinerancy he is said to have preached more than forty thousand times, traveling more than four thousand miles annually.

As the messenger of God he called to the thousands to repent and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ; they obeyed the call, and thus gathered around him as their leader and guide. Excluded from other bodies of Christians, they turned for strength to him who had been the means of enlightening them. This placed upon him new and weighty responsibilities—the organizing of these thousands, scattered over the British Isles and America. He had to discipline as well as indoctrinate them; to become their counselor and defender; to represent them and plead for them in the presence of the dignitaries of both civil and ecclesiastical courts; to bear all the blame for exciting the people to irregular meetings, to meet all the opposition which misguided Christians could instigate, the tongue of calumny invent, or an infuriated mob execute.

He was charged, on the one hand, with being prompted to his great work by a love of money; and on the other, with being controlled by the appetency for power. Only the few who were very closely associated with him, and who partook of his spirit, understood that the almost unlimited power which he exercised over the Societies was not commensurate with the equally unlimited duties which he had to perform in order to preserve their proper equilibrium, and present them blameless before the throne of God. Had he faltered, the work of his life would have been paralyzed. Had he been less temperate than zealous, less prudent than powerful, he might have led his adherents and associates out to suffer the embarrassments of the votaries of Baal. Had his self-consciousness been greater than his godliness, he might have held them to himself, but at the same time have drawn

them from Christ. O, Holy Ghost! what canst thou not do for man to enable him to bear the burden and heat of the day! to endure hardness as a good soldier! Thou implantedst in Wesley the spirit of work, making him like Him who "must be about his Father's business." Thou who preparedst him for the field, and the field for him, what wilt Thou not do for those who will not be "weary in well-doing!"

When we cast the eye over the field, the wide field now occupied and worked by five millions of living Methodists—when we think of the multiplied millions who have fallen asleep—when we begin to think of the incalculable service which Methodism has rendered in exciting the moving hosts of the Lord, under a hundred names, to holiness and to God, we can but exclaim, Surely the little one has become a thousand!

When we consider the firmness and depth which the Spirit of Christ, as taught by Wesley, has in the world, and when we behold the glory of the possibilities of this Spirit, we thank God for the great, indefatigable Wesley, THE WORKER. What he accomplished for man and God can be counted only in eternity. It is more glorious than the work of the conqueror, more effectual than that of the statesman, more beautiful than that of the sculptor, more enduring than that of the author. Yea, it is of a more exalted character than all of these combined; it is connected with the good work of faith in all ages, establishing upon earth that mountain of holiness which is to elevate the entire race up to the very throne of God itself.

In that life preserved beyond the threescore and ten—to do such grand and glorious work, and to continue that work with vigorous mind and strong hand to the very end of life—there are to be found many beautiful examples and useful lessons. That orderly life, looking right onward, impressing every one with its characteristics of exactness, temperance, and faith, has given to Methodism a similar spirit. Without this order Wesley could not have influenced the

world nor glorified God to the extent that he has done. Had this element not been large in his constitution, there would not obtain that general uniformity and those common qualities in the divided Methodism of to-day. By a stricter attention to the holy and systematic manner of life and work of its truly great founder, Methodism would be brought into a closer and higher unity, and thus effect a thousandfold more good than it is doing.

May these branches bring their work into a warmer association, seize the favoring signs of the times, and, with Wesley's zeal and faith, rush to battle to aid in conquering the world to our Lord and his Christ forever!

# WESLEY AND FLETCHER.

IF John Wesley was the great leader and organizer, Charles Wesley the great poet, and George Whitefield the great preacher, of Methodism, the highest type of saintliness which it produced was unquestionably John Fletcher. Never, perhaps, since the rise of Christianity, has the mind which was in Christ Jesus been more faithfully copied than it was in the vicar of Madeley. To say that he was a good Christian is saying too little. He was more than Christian—he was Christlike. It is said that Voltaire, when challenged to produce a character as perfect as that of Jesus Christ, at once mentioned Fletcher of Madeley; and if the comparison between the God-man and any child of Adam were in any case admissible, it would be difficult to find one with whom it could be instituted with less appearance of blasphemy than this excellent man. Fletcher was a Swiss by birth and education, and to the last he showed traces of his foreign origin. But England can claim the credit of having formed his spiritual character. Soon after his settlement in England as tutor to the sons of Mr. Hill, of Terne Hall, he became attracted by the Methodist movement, which had then (1752) become a force in the country, and in 1753 he was admitted into holy orders. The account of his appointment to the living of Madeley presents a very unusual phenomenon in the eighteenth century. His patron, Mr. Hill, offered him the living of Dunham, "where the population was small, the income good, and the village situated in the midst of a fine sporting country." These were no recommendations in the eyes of Fletcher, and he declined the living on the ground that the income was too large and the population too small.

Madeley had the advantage of having only half the income and double the population of Dunham. On being asked whether he would accept Madeley if the vicar of that parish would consent to exchange it for Dunham, Fletcher gladly embraced the offer. As the vicar of Madeley had naturally no objection to so advantageous an exchange, Fletcher was instituted to the cure of the large Shropshire village, in which he spent a quarter of a century. There is no need to record his apostolical labors in this humble sphere of duty. Madeley was a rough parish, full of colliers; but there was also a sprinkling of resident gentry. Like his friend John Wesley, Fletcher found more fruits of his work among the former than among the latter. But none, whether rich or poor, could resist the attractions of this saintly man. In 1772 he addressed "An Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense" to the principal inhabitants of the parish of Madeley, the dedication of which is so characteristic that it is worth quoting in full: "Gentlemen," writes the vicar, "you are no less entitled to my private labors than the inferior class of my parishioners. As you do not choose to partake with them of my evening instructions, I take the liberty to present you with some of my morning meditations. May these well-meant efforts of my pen be more acceptable to you than those of my tongue! And may you carefully read in your closets what you have, perhaps, inattentively heard in the church! I appeal to the Searcher of hearts, that I had rather impart truth than receive tithes. You kindly bestow the latter upon me; grant me the satisfaction of seeing you receive favorably the former from, gentlemen, your affectionate minister and obedient servant, J. Fletcher."

When Lady Huntingdon founded her college for the training of ministers, at Trevecca, she invited Fletcher to take a sort of general superintendence over it. This Fletcher undertook without fee or reward; not, of course, with the intention of residing there, for he had no sympathy with the bad cus-

tom of non-residence, which was only too common in his day. He was simply to visit the college as frequently as he could; "and," writes Dr. Benson, the first head-master, "he was received as an angel of God." "It is not possible," he adds, "for me to describe the veneration in which we all held him. Like Elijah in the schools of the prophets, he was revered, he was loved, he was almost adored. My heart kindles while I write. Here it was that I saw, shall I say an angel in human flesh? I should not far exceed the truth if I said so"—and much more to the same effect. It was the same wherever Fletcher went; the impression he made was extraordinary; language seems to fail those who tried to describe it. "I went," said one who visited him in an illness, (he was always delicate,) "to see a man that had one foot in the grave, but I found a man that had one foot in heaven." "Sir," said Mr. Venn, to one who asked him his opinion of Fletcher, "he was a *luminary*—a luminary did I say?—he was a sun! I have known all the great men for these fifty years, but none like him." John Wesley was of the same opinion; in Fletcher he saw realized in the highest degree all that he meant by "Christian perfection." For sometime he hesitated to write a description of this great man, "judging that only an Apelles was proper to paint an Alexander;" but at length he published his well-known sermon on the significant text, "Mark the perfect man," etc., (Psalm xxxvii, 37,) which he concluded with this striking testimony to the unequaled character of his friend: "I was intimately acquainted with him for above thirty years; I conversed with him morning, noon, and night without the least reserve, during a journey of many hundred miles; and in all that time I never heard him speak one improper word, nor saw him do an improper action. To conclude: many exemplary men have I known, holy in heart and life, within fourscore years, but one equal to him I have not known—one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So unblamable a character in every respect I have not found

either in Europe or America; and I scarce expect to find another such on this side of eternity." Fletcher, on his part, was one of the few parish clergymen who to the end thoroughly appreciated John Wesley. He thought it "shameful that no clergyman should join Wesley to keep in the Church the work God had enabled him to carry on therein;" and he was half inclined to join him as his deacon, "not," he adds, with genuine modesty, "with any view of presiding over the Methodists after you, but to ease you a little in your old age, and to be in the way of receiving, perhaps doing, more good." Wesley was very anxious that Fletcher should be his successor, and proposed it to him in a characteristic letter; but Fletcher declined the office, and had he accepted, the plan could never have been carried out, for the hale old man survived his younger friend several years. The last few years of Fletcher's life were cheered by the companionship of one to whom no higher praise can be awarded than to say that she was worthy of being Fletcher's wife. Next to Susanna Wesley herself, Mrs. Fletcher stands pre-eminent among the heroines of Methodism. In 1785 the saint entered into his everlasting rest, dying in harness at his beloved Madeley. His death-bed scene is too sacred to be transferred to these pages.

Indeed, there is something almost unearthly about the whole of this man's career. He is an object, in some respects, rather for admiration than for imitation. He could do and say things which other men could not without some sort of unreality. John Wesley, with his usual good sense, warns his readers of this in reference to one particular habit, viz.: "the faculty of raising useful observations from the most trifling incidents." "In him," he says, "it partly resulted from nature, and was partly a supernatural gift. But what was becoming and graceful in Mr. Fletcher would be disgustful almost in any other." An ordinary Christian, for example, who, when he was having his likeness taken, should exhort "the limner, and all that were in the room, not only to get the out-

lines drawn, but the colorings also of the image of Jesus on their hearts"; who, "when ordered to be let blood," should, "while the blood was running into the cup, take occasion to expatiate on the precious blood-shedding of the Lamb of God;" who should tell his cook "to stir up the fire of divine love in her soul," and entreat his housemaid "to sweep every corner in her heart;" who, when he received a present of a new coat, should, in thanking the donor, draw a minute and elaborate contrast between the broadcloth and the robe of Christ's righteousness—would run the risk of making not only himself, but the sacred subjects which he desired to recommend, ridiculous. Unfortunately there were not a few, both in Fletcher's day and subsequently, who did fall into this error; and, with the very best intentions, dragged the most solemn truths through the dirt. Fletcher, besides being so heavenly-minded that what would seem forced and strained in others seemed perfectly natural in him, was also a man of cultivated understanding, and, with occasional exceptions, of refined and delicate taste; but in this matter he was a dangerous model to follow. Who but Fletcher, for instance, could, without savoring of irreverence or even blasphemy, when offering some ordinary refreshment to his friends, have accompanied it with the words: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc., and "the blood of our Lord," etc.? But, extraordinary as was the spiritual-mindedness of this man of God, he could, without an effort, descend to earthly matters on occasion. One of the most beautiful traits of his character was illustrated on one of these occasions. He had done the government good service by writing on the American Rebellion, and Lord Dartmouth was commissioned to ask him whether any preferment would be acceptable to him. "I want nothing," answered the simple-hearted Christian, "but more grace." His love of children was another touching characteristic of Fletcher. "The birds of my fine wood," he wrote to a friend, "have almost done singing; but I have met with a parcel of children whose

hearts seem turned toward singing the praises of God, and we sing every day from four to five. Help us by your prayers." And again: "The day I preached, I met with some children in my wood, walking or gathering strawberries. I spoke to them about our Father, our common Father; we felt a touch of brotherly affection. They said they would sing to their Father as well as the birds; and followed me, attempting to make such melody as you know is commonly made in these parts [Switzerland]. I outrode them, but some of them had the patience to follow me home, and said they would speak with me; but the people of the house stopped them, saying I would not be troubled with children. They cried, and said they were sure I would not say so, for I was their good brother. The next day, when I heard it, I inquired after them, and invited them to come to me; which they have done every day since. I make them little hymns which they sing." At another time, when he had a considerable number of children before him, in a place in his parish, as he was persuading them to mind what they were about, and to remember the text which he was going to mention, just then a robin flew into the house, and their eyes were presently turned after him. "Now," said he, "I see you can attend to that robin. Well, I will take that robin for my text." He then gave them a useful lecture on the harmlessness of that little creature, and the tender care of its Creator.

What has thus far been said of Mr. Fletcher was said by me in the "English Church of the Eighteenth Century"—the very recent work of Mr. Abbey and myself. To that sketch I embrace the opportunity, which the editor of the "WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME" has kindly given me, of adding a few words. And this I do, because, if one were merely to read the sketch detached from its context, he might naturally but erroneously assume that Mr. Fletcher, who is described as the highest type of saintliness, is held by me to have been a finer character than John Wesley, who is spoken of as the great

leader and organizer. Those who have read the whole chapter in the "English Church of the Eighteenth Century," will know that this is not the case. But, as others may not, for that cause, and also because this article is headed "Wesley and Fletcher," a few additional remarks seem necessary on the relationship between these two remarkable men.

God uses very different instruments to effect his purposes; and it would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast, in many respects, than that which existed between John Wesley and John Fletcher. Of course all minor differences sink into insignificance when compared with the one great bond of union which attached them to each other. The love of God, and of man for God's sake, was the grand motive power of both. To do all the good he could in his generation was equally the object of both. They were like two concentric circles, each revolving in his own orbit, but both around the same center—and that center was Christ. It may be interesting to trace the working of these two very different types of Christian character, engaged—and most harmoniously engaged—in one common task.

Some of the American readers of these lines may have crossed the broad Atlantic and visited the beautiful land which had the honor of giving birth to John de la Fléchère. They may have sailed on the placid and lovely lake of Leman, which was so familiar to him. And if so, the contrast between the rough ocean and the calm lake must have occurred vividly to their minds. This contrast is no inapt illustration of the difference between Wesley and Fletcher. As one traces the course of John Wesley, he is reminded of that ocean—its magnitude, its invigorating power, its occasional roughness, its aptitude to disagree at times with those who cross its surface. As one studies the character of Fletcher, he is reminded of the peaceful lake, unruffled by a breeze, presenting the most charming scenery on all sides, but now and then exposed to a storm, which seems strangely out of keeping with its general charac-

ter.* Some will prefer the ocean, others the lake; so, some will prefer Wesley, others Fletcher. But as no one with an eye for the beautiful can help admiring the lake; so, no one with an eye for the morally and spiritually beautiful, can help admiring Fletcher. From all his Christian contemporaries who knew that saintly man, there arose one universal chorus of praise. But many will find fault with the ocean; and many of his contemporaries, whom Wesley would have been—nay! *was*—the first to own as true children of God,† found fault with the great reformer. He was sometimes, as his letters and reported sayings still show, rather rough; but, just as almost every body is the better for a sea voyage, so almost every one was the better for intercourse with John Wesley; just as the sea breeze is always pure and bracing, though occasionally rude withal, so it was with him. He may have been brought into collision with some, and ruffled them a little; but his general influence was as healthful and bracing to the spiritual man as the sea-breeze is to the natural man. If the lake is more beautiful, the sea is the grander; and perhaps even the relative magnitude of the two pieces of water represents not altogether unfairly the comparative greatness of Wesley and Fletcher. If it is harder to pick a flaw in Fletcher's character than in Wesley's, yet the latter was decidedly the more interesting, the more suggestive, the more fruitful of good to the community at large. Fletcher could never have originated the work that Wesley did; he was not the born ruler of men that Wesley was. Wesley called Fletcher an Alexander; but he himself was the true spiritual Alexander. Take him for all in all, none of the excellent men who worked with him, or under him—not even Fletcher himself—approached his stature.

* Fletcher and the Calvinistic Controversy.

† Witness his noble testimony to his enemy Bishop Gibson: "that good man who is now, I hope, with God:" also, his repeated and almost enthusiastic encomiums on William Law, etc.

# WESLEY AND CLARKE.

SO long as Methodistic memory and affection shall endure, so long shall the little Irish town of Moybeg be remembered as the birthplace of Adam Clarke. The father of the eminent commentator was a "man standing five feet seven, with good shoulders, an excellent leg, a fine hand, every way well proportioned, and extremely active." He is also represented to have been a superior classical scholar, whose repute was so high that there were few priests, clergymen, surgeons, or lawyers resident in the north of Ireland who had not been educated by him. While the father of Dr. Clarke was of English origin, his mother was a descendant of the Scotch M'Leans, of Mull, in the Hebrides, a hardy race, and remarkable for muscular strength. Her learned son, who ever cherished a tender veneration for his mother, described her as "sensible, but not beautiful; as something above the average height, erect in person, graceful in her movements, and one who feared God." At the time of the marriage of these honored parents the mother was a Presbyterian, and the father was an Episcopalian; but these denominational preferences never interfered with the charm and harmony of their household. Thrice happy was the son blessed with such a parentage! Like the mother of Martin Luther, Mrs. Clarke could not recollect with precision the year of Adam's birth, but to the best of her recollection the event occurred in the year 1760.

There was nothing in Dr. Clarke's youth that gave promise of his future greatness. In this he reminds us of Luther, working with his father in the mines of Mansfield; of Bloomfield, making shoes in a garret; of Herschel, serving as a British soldier; of Davy, working as a wood-carver; and of Whitefield,

as a waiter in his mother's inn. His mental powers developed slowly. He found it difficult to master the alphabet. Harsh words and sore chastisements failed to elicit his genius. His Irish schoolmaster called him a "grievous dunce," and a classmate ridiculed him as a "stupid ass." But this cruel mockery aroused him as from a lethargy; the light of a better day dawned upon him, and all were astonished and filled with admiration at the marvelous change. His memory became capacious and capable of embracing all learning. His understanding resembled the tent in story: "Fold it, and it was a toy in the hand of a lady; spread it, and the armies of the Sultan reposed beneath its ample shade." He ascribed this sudden change to a "singular Providence which gave a strong characteristic coloring to his subsequent life."

From an unpromising intellectual beginning he rapidly rose to scholastic eminence, and his reputation spread wherever the English language was spoken. He was one of the few "encyclopedic scholars" of his age. He was more or less familiar with almost every branch of learning. By the most commendable industry and perseverance he became skillful in the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Coptic languages, and also most of the modern languages of Western Europe. He studied with care and profit nearly every department of literature and of physical science. His knowledge was at once multifarious and, in that age, surprisingly accurate. His great abilities and vast acquirements were honorably recognized by membership in the London, Asiatic, Geological, and other learned societies of his day.

Although he is best known to the Church as a commentator, yet he was the sincere Christian, the faithful preacher, and successful revivalist. His conversion was thorough, clear, and pronounced. One of Wesley's itinerants had penetrated to the north of Ireland, and among his hearers was Adam Clarke, then a lad of seventeen. Under the personal appeals of Thomas

Barker he was led to Christ. His distress of mind was intense. He seemed to pray in vain. His agonies increased, and were indescribable. As the hours passed his darkness deepened; hope departed, despair took possession of his soul. But in his extremity he offered one more prayer to Christ; his grief subsided, his soul became calm—all condemnation was gone. He was converted; all was sunshine; he was filled with ineffable joy.

His call to the ministry was almost simultaneous with his conversion. He longed to tell what great things the Lord had done for his soul. Traveling on foot from village to village, he addressed his rustic neighbors with "words that burn." The zeal and success of the youthful exhorter attracted the notice of the circuit preacher of Londonderry, who wrote Mr. Wesley about the promising young Methodist preacher. The venerable Wesley, with his rare sagacity, invited the Irish lad to attend the Kingswood school. When these two met Wesley inquired, "Do you wish to devote yourself entirely to the work of God?" Clarke replied, "Sir, I wish to do and be whatever God pleases." Wesley laid his hands on the young man's head, prayed a few moments over him, and sent him to Bradford Circuit. Dr. Clarke was wont to call this his "ordination," and never wished any other.

As a preacher and revivalist his popularity became at once universal. His congregations were immense, and he held the people spell-bound by the power of divine truth. He had the wisdom by which he turned many to righteousness, and was not content without visible fruits of his ministry. When he preached, the vast auditories were moved to tears, and many prayed aloud for mercy. The colliers of Kingswood, the merchants of Liverpool, and the *literati* of London melted under his preaching, and responded to his call to repentance. With him preaching was objective. He was an evangelist in the apostolic sense. His mission was to disciple the people. He expected fruit. He spake because he felt; he felt because he

was endued with power from on high. He believed in supernatural aid and in supernatural results. Gifted with such a faith, no marvel that sinners were converted to Christ. "According to your faith be it unto you" was the promise on which he relied when he preached the word of the Lord.

Such, briefly, was the man — saint, scholar, and preacher — whom God had chosen to be an eminent coadjutor of Wesley. In the history of all great revivals God has employed a variety of talents. In the college of apostles we discover every shade of temperament and every variety of talent. In the great Germanic Reformation Luther and Melanchthon were strange opposites, yet, happily for the Church, the supplement of each other. So, in the wondrous revival of the last century, the same fact is observable in Wesley and his co-laborers. Howell Harris, of surpassing eloquence and power, in Wales; John Bredin, eminent for his sense and piety, in Ireland; John Fletcher, seraphic in spirit, analytical in mind, mighty in controversy, and Whitefield, that prince of pulpit orators, in England—each, in his sphere, greatly aided the Methodist movement. And another was to be added to Methodism's band of illustrious workers, who, by his devotion, learning, and pen, was to fill a large sphere and leave an enduring impress upon his own age and the ages to follow.

What Whitefield was to Wesley in pulpit eloquence, Clarke was to Wesley in learning and authorship. They were unlike in their mental structure, literary tastes, and in the character of their productions. Wesley was logical; Clarke was philosophical. The former was precise in his theological definitions; the latter excelled in his generalizations. In direct logic, in accuracy of style, in transparent clearness, Wesley had no superior. While yet at Oxford he was esteemed a competent critic in the classic languages, and when but twenty-three he was Greek lecturer, and moderator of the classes in the university. His skill in logic was extraordinary, and enabled him in his great controversies to touch the very point

where some fallacy lay, which he uncovered to the confusion of his opponents. To whatever department of science and literature he turned his attention he was commendably accurate and profound. He wrote on divinity, poetry, music, history, and on natural, moral, metaphysical, and political philosophy, with equal ability. Like Luther, he knew the importance of the press, which he kept teeming with his publications. His works, including abridgments and translations, numbered about two hundred volumes. Familiar with the classics, his writings are adorned with many of their finest passages; acquainted with many of the modern languages, he became master of their noblest thoughts; and, ever clear and strong as a writer, he seemed at home on almost every subject of learning and general literature. As scholar and author, Clarke was not less accurate, but broader in his range of knowledge, and in Oriental scholarship he had the pre-eminence. In sacred literature his knowledge was extraordinary, and his ability to communicate apparently inexhaustible. Wesley wrote for the common people. *He could write a tract.* Clarke wrote for the learned, and in folios. Wesley excelled as an ecclesiastical legislator and administrator. He was great as an organizer, and had "a genius for government not inferior to that of Richelieu." He could comprehend and manage at once the outlines and the details of far-reaching plans. His Methodism fixes itself to the smallest locality with the utmost tenacity, and in its provisions reaches the ends of the earth, ever maintaining its unity of spirit and discipline. As one born to command, he had the rare power of self-control and calmness of spirit, while he kept all around him in a healthy state of excitement and earnest work. Clarke's was another part in the great religious movement. As a defender and expositor of the oracles of God he holds, notwithstanding his acknowledged defects, a most distinguished position among the illustrious defenders and expositors of the word of God in the eighteenth century.

Dr. Clarke, as we believe, was, *par excellence*, the commentator of the Wesleyan movement. As a commentator he is best known to the Church and the world. In this is the immortality of his name among men. His preparation for that great work was something wonderful. He who would comment with greatest profit to others on the book of books must himself be the master of all books. What other book known to man is so comprehensive? It is the history of histories, the biography of biographies, the philosophy of philosophies. It contains all that is fundamental and beneficent in jurisprudence; all that is essential and beautiful in poetry; all that is eternal and salutary in ethics. It is the only authentic record extant of the first twenty-five centuries of the human dispensation. It was written for universal man, whether his home is on the mountains or in the valleys; whether he is a dweller at the poles or on the equator; whether he is a nomad of the desert or a mariner on the stormy deep. The domestic, social, and national relations of life are therein defined and sanctioned. Therein are enforced the duties of the individual—to himself, to society, to God. Its chief import is with the deep, the indispensable, the everlasting religious concerns of man. It stands alone, sublime in its isolation, as the revelation of God to man, and is the only inspired biography of the Son of God, the Saviour of the world.

To be the commentator of such a book requires a mind of the highest order; learning varied, accurate, and profound; and a devout spirit, ever living in communion with the All-Wise and the All-Holy One. The preparation which Dr. Clarke made for his life-work is something wonderful, and indicative of his appreciation of the task he essayed. He had made himself familiar with the great authors of antiquity, from Homer and Herodotus down to the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria and the Byzantine annalists. By patient application he became a master of Oriental learning. In his study of the Hebrew he mastered Bayley's Grammar, read with zest

Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, and examined with care Leigh's "Critica Sacra," wherein he found the literal sense of every Greek and Hebrew word used in the Old Testament and the New, with definitions enriched with theological and philosophical notes, drawn from the best grammarians and critics. Grabe's Septuagint became his delight, which threw much light on the Hebrew, and which he read to the end of the Psalms, noting down the most important differences in the margin of a quarto Bible in three volumes. In reading Walton's Polyglot he felt the importance of a thorough knowledge of the Oriental Versions described in the Prolegomena, and immediately commenced the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch. He next applied himself to the Syriac, and was soon able to consult the sacred text in that version. To study the book of Daniel with greater profit he turned to the Chaldee, and wrote out a grammar to facilitate his work. While residing in Bristol, on his second appointment to that city, in 1798, he applied himself to learn Persian, using Sir William Jones' Grammar, and reading the gospels in the Persian version. To understand more accurately the Arabisms with which the book of Job abounds, he entered upon the study of Arabic, which, as a cognate of the Hebrew, ranks among the more strictly biblical tongues, and became, in his day, one of the most competent Arabic scholars in England. And to enlarge his acquaintance with Oriental literature he acquired a knowledge of the Ethiopic and Coptic, and especially of the Sanskrit, which opened to him the treasures of Hindu learning.

But other branches of knowledge demanded his attention to qualify him for his great work. To gratify his philosophical tastes, he read with his usual ardor, Derham's "Astro-Theology," Ray's "Wisdom of God in Creation," and Chambers' "Encyclopædia," which masterly works disclosed to his ever-expanding mind the glory of God in the heavens and his wonders in the earth. Intent on beholding the Creator at

work, he sought him in the chemistry of the universe and in the intricacies of comparative anatomy.

And we may form some idea of his vast research and voluminous reading, by the size and richness of his private library, which amounted to ten thousand printed volumes, and a large collection of ancient and Oriental manuscripts of immense value.*

In the year 1826 he completed his "Commentary on the Holy Scriptures," a monument to his learning, industry, and piety. It was the work of forty years of patient application, and accomplished amid the faithful discharge of many public duties. Having written the last line of his long task on his knees, he cleared his large study table of its pile of antique folios, leaving but the Bible upon it, arranged his library, and again bowing at the foot of his well-worn library steps, gave thanks to God that he had been enabled to contribute to the explanation and vindication of divine truth, and that the toils of years were ended.†

Of the healthful influence of that great work upon the Church, it is not easy to speak in terms of adequate appreciation. It has spread its banquet of wisdom and love in untold Christian homes on two continents, and is found to-day in the libraries of ministers and laymen of all denominations. It has its defects; but its excellences are many. In some things it has been excelled by those of more recent date, yet when it is remembered that it was "begun, continued, and ended by one man, and that man engaged in the zealous and faithful discharge of so many public duties, instead of complaining that here and there it has a blemish, our wonder is rather excited that he should have brought it so far as he did toward perfection."

Eminent as they were in scholarship, it is no marvel that Wesley and Clarke commanded the attention and respect of the English nobility. The great religious movement wherein they were engaged was designed by Providence to affect the

* Etheridge's "Life of Clarke." † Stevens' "History of Methodism."

opinions, the characters, and destinies of all classes of men. While it is an inexpressible joy to Methodists, on both sides of the Atlantic, that Methodism has touched and elevated the poorest of the poor, and has also blessed with a new life the great middle classes of society, it is also true, it has enrolled among its most ardent and faithful adherents many who are well known in the higher walks of life. This was so in the beginning. The statesmen of his day found it convenient to secure the services of Mr. Wesley in times of great national emergencies, and not a few of England's nobility heard from his lips the word of the Lord gladly: and now, after the lapse of a century, his memory is perpetuated and his virtues are commemorated by a monument in Westminster Abbey. It was, however, reserved for Dr. Clarke to be recognized by a large number of the English nobility, and by them to be courted and admired. He was invited to attend their sessions and their learned societies; to mingle as a guest in their social gatherings; and he in turn received them as his guests in his own quiet home at Haydon Hall. He was honored with titles of which any man might be justly proud. Learned societies thought it an honor to number him among their members, and the British Government sought his services as an Oriental scholar. And thus, while Wesley touched the lowest of the low, Clarke touched the highest of the high.

By their learning, piety, and zeal, the Wesleys and Clarke foreshadowed the mission of Methodism, and to-day all Christendom is singing their hymns or reading their commentaries. Whether from ignorance of historical facts or from sectarian prejudice, or from both, certain writers have created the impression that the founders of Methodism were indifferent to learning; that they were zealous, but not wise; emotional, but not intelligent; pious, but not scholarly. Sister Churches have graciously condescended to speak of Methodists as the pioneers of Christian civilization, well adapted to the rusticity of the frontier and to the inferior minds of

rural districts; while they have not hesitated to claim for themselves a mission to the cultured and the affluent. The history, however, of the Wesleyan movement, for more than a hundred years, is in proof that the worthy successors of the Wesleys and Clarke were no less at home in palaces than in cottages; in halls of learning than in cabins of illiteracy; and that in every station in life they have made many converts to Christ. "Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." They have neither despised the poor nor neglected the rich. They have gone to universal man, created in the image of God and redeemed by the blood of his Son. While the chief concern of Methodism has been the salvation of the soul, free, full, and present, it has done more for the intellectual, social, spiritual, political, and religious advancement of man than any other branch of the Church of Jesus Christ. It has been a salutary power in the political history of England and America, and the present prosperity of those two greatest of Christian nations is largely due to the intelligent piety of the hundreds of thousands saved through its instrumentality. It has checked Romanism in its march of conquest; it has successfully met in argument the advocates of infidel science; and it has so modified Calvinism that the distinctive doctrines of Wesleyan Arminianism now form the popular theology of the day. Its measures of efficiency and success have been quietly adopted by other denominations whose prosperity has been commensurate with their acceptance of the spirit and teachings of John Wesley and Adam Clarke.

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To Dr. Newman's paper on "Wesley and Clarke" we add the notes which follow.—EDITOR.

"An itinerant preacher, without a spot on the fair escutcheon of his character; one of the most extensively learned scholars of the age; a voluminous author; the friend of philosophers and princes; and a man intensely beloved by nearly all who knew him."—LUKE TYERMAN: "Life and Times of John Wesley."

. . . "The most eminent scholar, and one of the most effective laborers, of Methodism."—Dr. ABEL STEVENS: "History of Methodism."

. . . "Since the time of Adam Clarke they [the Wesleyans] have not had

among them a single scholar who has enjoyed a European reputation."—Mr. BUCKLE: "History of Civilization in Europe."

"Clarke became as remarkable, after he had entered the Methodist ministry in 1782, for his exemplary discharge of pulpit and pastoral duties as for the attainment of vast stores of learning."—Dr. STOUGHTON: "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges."

"Dr. Adam Clarke's 'Commentary on the Holy Scriptures' is, on the whole, one of the noblest works of the class in the entire domain of sacred literature.—Dr. ETHERIDGE: "Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D."

"It is undoubtedly the most critical and literary, and at the same time the most spiritual and practical, of any work of the kind that was ever published in any living tongue."—SAMUEL DUNN: "Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S."

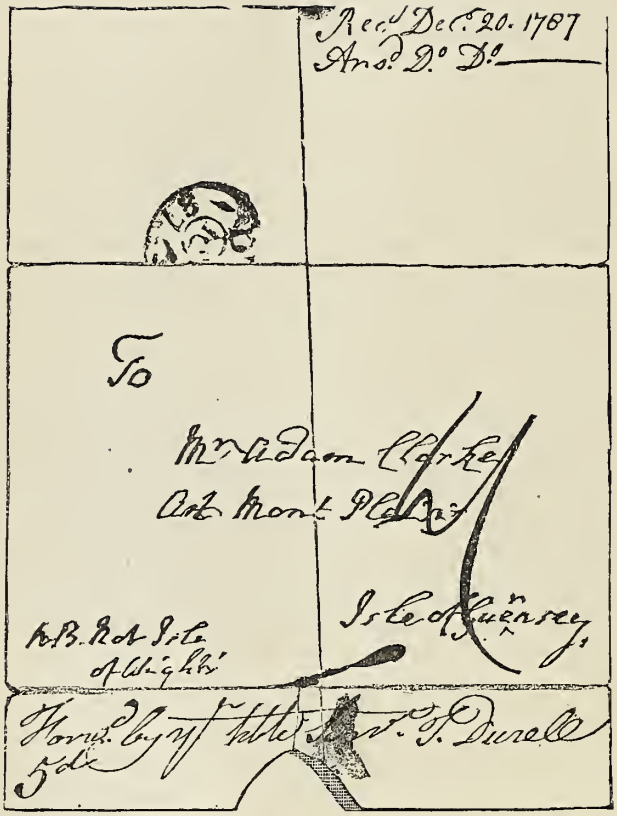
"In point of erudition and acuteness it [Scott's Commentary] is not equal to that of Adam Clarke. . . . In solid learning he [John Wesley] was, perhaps, not equal to his friend and disciple Adam Clarke."—Mr. OVERTON: "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century."

. . . "There have arisen out of this body [the Wesleyans] some of the most able and distinguished individuals that ever graced and ornamented any society whatever. I may name one for all, the late Dr. Adam Clarke."—SIR LAUNCELOT SHADWELL, Vice-Chancellor, etc.: from his decision on the "Validity of Wesley's Deed of Declaration."

"The objects, besides many others, which seem to have occupied the greatest and most valuable part of your active life, cannot fail of being most interesting to the historian, the theologist, the legislator, and the philosopher. To these details I shall apply myself, and, as my heart and mind improve, I shall feel my debt of gratitude toward you daily increasing—an obligation I shall ever be proud to own."—His Royal Highness the DUKE OF SUSSEX, in a letter to Adam Clarke.

"Far from not acknowledging our worthy friend [Adam Clarke] as a genuine member of the Church, and of the Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven, . . . we will take him in our arms, we will bear him in our bosoms, and carry him into the presence of his God and our God."—WILBERFORCE.

"Seeing you are such a man, I wish you were altogether our own."—Dr. BLOOMFIELD, Bishop of London, to Adam Clarke.


Recd Decr 20. 1787
Ansd Do Do

To

Mr Adam Clarke
Ast Mont Plain

Isle of Guernsey

N.B. Not Isle of Wight

Forwd by yr title Revd T. Durell
5d

Fly leaf of a Letter sent by John Wesley to Adam Clarke.

London Dec 8th 1787.

Brother Du Quetteville & You do not mind what I say. I do not wonder at Him. (He does not know me:) But I do at You. His Natural temper is Stern: Yours is not. Therefore I expect You to regard me, whether He does or no. We have no such custom among our Societies, nor ever had, as for a man to acknowledge his fault before a whole Society. There shall be no such Custom while I live. If he acknowledge it before the Preachers, it is enough.

J. Wesley.

Sept. 14. 1810

My good Lord,

It will add to the obligations under which your Lordship's kindness has often laid me, if you will condescend to accept a copy of my Notes on the Book of Genesis which, I herewith, have the honour to transmit.

I have laboured much to make the work what it should be, a commentary worthy of such a Text. That I have often failed has been the subject of frequent regret; that I have sometimes succeeded, & that your Lordship & other enlightened readers

will discern this, is a hope which I would gladly indulge To be favoured with any hints from your Lordship for the improvement of the remainder of the work when you shall have had time to look over this last, will be esteemed a singular favour. I have anxiously endeavoured to ascertain the true meaning of my Text in every place, & I hope, have steered perfectly clear of all religious controversies, even while undisguisedly supporting my own views of Divine Truth; & I further hope that no descriptions of Christians

will find themselves in my
respect appointed by my
death. I have never writ-
ten on polemic Divinity
& I abhor all religious con-
tentions - I have lived 46
years in peace with
mankind, not without
errors & endeavours in
my little sphere to do them
good; & I trust thro' the mercy
of God, to die in the same spirit.
Wishing your Lordship
& ~~your grandchildren~~ Family
the choicest Blessings of Heaven
I am, my good Lord
your Lordships obedt
& grateful humble Servt.
A. Clarke

To the Right Honble.
Lord Teignmouth

Copy
Sent to The R. H. Lord Teignmouth
with a copy of my notes on
Genesis.

# WESLEY'S LIBERALITY AND CATHOLICITY.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR.

THE benevolence of John Wesley was equaled by his beneficence. Like his Master he went about doing good, both to the souls and bodies of men. Benevolence in him was ever active and practical; suffering humanity always found in him a willing and ready friend. The sick and poor, the widow and orphan, the outcast and stranger, the African slave and Indian savage, the condemned felons of Newgate, the imprisoned debtors of the Marshalsea, the ignorant miners of Cornwall, the rude colliers of Kingswood, and the French prisoners taken captive in war, were alike the recipients of his boundless liberality, and the objects of his tenderest sympathy. From the beginning of his course at Oxford to the close of his long life in City Road, he was unceasingly employed in devising schemes and raising means for the relief of the suffering at home and abroad.

It was for this he adopted as his motto: "Gain all you can; save all you can; and give all you can." No one ever practiced more fully this self-imposed and self-denying rule than John Wesley. That he might keep it, he was never idle; he was never unemployed, or triflingly employed. He *gained* all he could, "working with his hands the thing which is good." By voice and pen he gained thousands of pounds, every penny of which, except the scantiest allowance for his own absolute necessities, he scrupulously devoted to charity. He also *saved* all he could. That he might save to the utmost, his expenses were reduced to the lowest possible figure. And he *gave* all he could. No man, all things considered, ever gave more to

charity than the founder of Methodism. But besides the sums gained by his literary labors, much larger were the sums raised with voice and pen, by his direct appeals to the liberality of others. Untold, likewise, are the millions which, since his day till the present, have been given to charitable objects by the direct or indirect influence of his example. No such liberality as his was known to the age in which he lived; nothing like it had been seen since the time of the apostolic Churches of Macedonia. John Wesley was not only the revivalist of the spiritual life of the Churches, but of the enlarged liberality which, since his day, has distinguished multitudes within, and many without, the Church. The countless millions which have been contributed in both hemispheres during the last century and a half to the preaching of the gospel, to missions, to education, and to eleemosynary institutions of every kind, received their most powerful impetus, outside of the grace and example of Christ, from Wesley's liberality. It has stimulated not only the rich to give of their abundance, but the poor to save out of their poverty something for those who are poorer than themselves. The apostolic age of liberal giving was restored by Wesley's spirit, and it was kept alive by Wesley's example. Wesley's benevolence flourishes again in the gifts of Peabody; Wesley's faith shines anew in the institutions of Müller. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof," was Wesley's sole plea and sole reliance whenever he needed the means to carry out the schemes which his liberal soul devised; nor did he ever make that plea, or rely upon it, in vain.

The journal of Wesley abundantly testifies to his labors, and their success, in behalf of the unfortunate. Charitable institutions, whether founded by himself, by his preachers, or by others, and the prison-houses of Great Britain and Ireland, were habitually visited in person wherever he went in his apostolic and itinerant journeyings through the three kingdoms; and many were the charity sermons which he preached on their account. Now he visits his orphan house and his infirmary

at Newcastle; now his and Whitefield's colliers' school at Kingswood, and Miss Bosanquet's orphanage at Lytenstone; now his dispensary, poor-school, and widows' house at the Foundery; now the poor-house in Glasgow, and the Gordon hospital in Aberdeen; and now the widows' house at Dublin, the Charter School at Ballinrobe, and the House of Industry at Cork. Now he writes to Adam Clarke and now to John Gardner, approving their plans for the formation of Strangers' Friend Societies, and pledging to Gardner's three pence a week, and a guinea in advance. Now he preaches a charity sermon for the Sunday-school at Wearmouth, and now for the Indian schools in America. Now he visits the French prisoners sent from Carrickfergus to Dublin, surprising them "at hearing as good French spoke in Dublin as they could have heard in Paris, and still more at being exhorted to heart-religion, to the 'faith that worketh by love.'" Now he takes up a collection for the French prisoners at Knowle, preaching from the text, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt;" and now he visits them in prison, and, "in hopes of provoking others to jealousy," again takes up a collection to relieve their wretched condition. Now he proclaims the gospel of free grace to the hardened felons of Newgate, the clink of whose chains—and every other sound—is hushed the moment he announces his text: "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance." And now, "in their cells under ground," or "in their garrets," he visits the sick and "half-starved" prisoners of the Marshalsea, and asks, "If you saw these things with your own eyes, could you lay out money in ornaments or superfluities?"

Many are the charitable institutions to which Methodism has given birth in almost all parts of the world. Among these we here mention one, not only because it illustrates the liberality and catholicity of the founder of Methodism, but because it

enables us to print an address by Dean Stanley, in which these characteristics of John Wesley are candidly affirmed and strongly emphasized. The institution to which we refer is the Children's Home, in Bonner Road, London. For the account of this noble charity, which follows, I am indebted to Mr. G. Stevens, of the "Religious Tract Society," in Paternoster Row. From his excellent article, "Orphan and Outcast," in the "Songs and Stories of the Children's Home," 1877, we quote as follows:—

The Children's Home is the name borne by a group of buildings in the East of London, in Bonner Road, not far from Victoria Park, a populous district too rarely explored by the wealthy citizens of the West. It is both orphanage and refuge, but is the center of a much larger work, having some peculiarities which deserve attention. Like many other institutions, it owes its origin to one man; for happily the doors of Christian usefulness are open to all who will knock at them. In this work among the outcasts of our great cities it is remarkable how little has been done by organizations, and how much by the patient labors of individual men whom God has called to the task by special circumstances. Mr. Stephenson, the founder of this Home, was brought as a minister from country duties to reside in the midst of London, and seven years ago or more found himself in Lambeth, in the neighborhood of the notorious New Cut. "I soon saw little children," he says, "in a condition that made my heart bleed. There they were, ragged, shoeless, filthy; their faces pinched with hunger, and premature wretchedness staring out of their too bright eyes; and I began to feel that now my time was come. Here were my poor little brothers and sisters, sold to hunger and the devil, and I could not be free of their blood if I did not at least try to save some of them." Long before he had been brought to the conviction that "the religion which does not fathom the social deeps, and heal the social sores, cannot be Christ's religion." The work done by Immanuel Wichern at the Rauhe Haus Refuge, and by Theodore Fliedner, at the Kaiserswerth Institute, had especially interested him, and he had set himself to study the methods best adapted to English habits, in hope that some day he might be able to apply them. A few friends were first consulted, and a beginning made, by way of "private venture." A house was taken that was little more than a cottage. "A stable at the back was made the dining-room and lavatory. The loft

above became a dormitory, and the only play-ground was a patch some four yards square, with a gate-way, meant for the passage of a single cart. And this was workshop, too!" But here they contrived to receive and shelter twenty poor lads. The work rapidly grew upon them, and in like proportion the means came in, so that week by week all debts were paid. A small committee was formed; and a year had hardly passed when the adjoining house was taken, and the number of boys under care increased to thirty-seven. The more that was accomplished, the greater seemed the need; the applications for admission were soon too numerous; children were being turned almost daily from the doors, and beyond them and around them was a great world of wretchedness all untouched. Another effort was made, and premises at length were found on the site of the present buildings, which were adapted to the purpose, and gradually fitted to the still growing work.

The institution has since developed over a wider field; it has now a Certified Industrial School associated with it near Gravesend; it has a Farm Branch, near Bolton, in Lancashire; and it has a Reception Home in Canada. It has now four hundred and thirty-five children in residence in these four branches; and it has sent forth four hundred to earn their living by honest labor. Mr. Stephenson is a member of the London School Board; he is widely known as a Wesleyan minister, and his special work, gradually demanding his almost exclusive attention, could not but be recognized with thankfulness by his brethren in the ministry. The Children's Home has, therefore, been adopted as a Methodist institution; it makes its annual report to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, and Mr. Stephenson holds his place of right as Principal with the sanction of the connectional authorities; but we believe it is the only Methodist institution so recognized, the committee of which is not wholly Methodist; and the association with them of other experienced laborers on the same ground, such as Mr. James Macgregor, is pledge that denominational ends are lost sight of in the single aim to rescue and elevate these neglected children.

We are gratified to learn that during the nine years the institution mentioned above by Mr. Stevens has been in existence, it has helped more than a thousand children "to rise from neglect, and ignorance, and wretchedness, and become virtuous, honest, and religious."

While on a visit to the Children's Home, September, 1878,

it was our pleasure to ask the Rev. T. Bowman Stephenson, M. A., its gifted founder and head, to contribute Wesley the Philanthropist to the Wesley Memorial Volume. His answer was, that, being already overworked, and tasked to the utmost of his time and strength, it would not be in his power to write the article required; otherwise it would be his delight to contribute to such a work. This great-souled man, who, as a philanthropist, is following so closely in the footprints of John Wesley, was in perfect accord with the Memorial Volume itself and the Monumental Church in Savannah. To show his interest in the latter, he promised that the children of the Home should give to it the benefit of one or more of their memorable exhibitions. What more beautiful! What a spectacle for men and angels! how appropriate is it for children rescued from poverty and shame, and saved to virtue, honesty, and religion, to aid the building of a monument to the man who pleaded so earnestly the cause of the homeless waifs and orphans of his native land! And to show his interest in the former, Mr. Stephenson, while reluctantly declining to write an article for it himself, pointed out how he might, as he thought, render a more important service. It so happened that Dean Stanley, a short time before, had delivered an address before the Children's Home, and had put the manuscript into his hands for publication. This address, which had not been published, Mr. Stephenson—the Dean approving—kindly offered to me for the Memorial Volume. The proposition was accepted, because the address embraced not only the subject assigned to Mr. Stephenson, but another, on which I had requested the Dean to write. A short time before this interview with Mr. Stephenson I had asked Dean Stanley to give me not only his address on unveiling the Wesley monument, in Westminster Abbey, but to contribute an article on Wesley's catholicity. In answer the Dean most courteously gave permission to use the address delivered in the Abbey, and said, if sufficient time were allowed, he could give me

"Wesley's Catholicity," also. Hence I gladly accepted the address pronounced before the Children's Home, a copy of which, printed for the Wesley Memorial Volume, at the press of the Children's Home, in London, and revised and corrected by Dean Stanley himself, has been sent to me by Mr. Stephenson. Than the address given below, nothing more briefly and appropriately illustrates the liberality and catholicity of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism:

*Address delivered at the opening of the New Chapel and Schools of the Children's Home, Bonner Road, London, by the Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., LL.D., Dean of Westminster.*

MY DEAR FRIENDS: There are two peculiar characteristics of this meeting, which have been brought before you by your distinguished chairman, and which induce me to say a few words to you.

First, there is the object for which this institution exists. It is the gathering of children out of the bad circumstances in which they are placed, and trying, by education, to form new characters within them. Now, if I were to put this into the language of the Bible, the attempt is to *convert*, *redeem*, *regenerate* them.

But before I proceed, let me, for a moment, explain more exactly those words as applied to cases like this.

To *convert* means to turn round the whole mind in a direction different from that in which it has been walking before. That is what is attempted with these children. They have been wandering to and fro, with no fixed object. Your object is to put them in the right way; to make them walk straight forward; to give them a fixed purpose in life, and direct their aim.

To *redeem* means to deliver from bondage. These children have been in the bondage of cruel circumstances, of bad homes, of bad company. Your object is to set them free from this bondage, and give them that liberty of becoming good to which every Englishman is entitled, but which can hardly be attained when all outward things are so much against it as has been the case with these children.

To *regenerate* is to create a new disposition; to give to the intellect and the heart a new moral birth. That, also, is what is attempted with these children; the greatest of all tasks, even with the most favorable circumstances. How much more difficult under circumstances like theirs!

Now, the question which sometimes arises in our minds as we consider such attempts as this, or even as we consider any set of human beings, is this:—

Is it possible to effect such a change in our character? We know that a great many good and evil dispositions, a great many intellectual excellences and defects, are born in us. Can we change them, or, at any rate, if we cannot change them, can a new mind be born again within their precincts? Can the grooves of our pathway be enlarged and rectified? Can the bonds be broken? I do not now speak of the mysterious workings of a higher power. With Him we know all things are possible; without Him we may almost say all things are impossible. But can we trace in experience what are the means by which the divine Spirit guides us, and which we must lay hold of? You remember Oliver Cromwell's speech to his soldiers: "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry." What is the powder which we must keep dry and pure in order for it to explode when the spark comes?

Now here there are two or three reasons which ought, in the face of the greatest difficulties, to give us courage and hope. First, there is the chance of the change of circumstances, especially with such circumstances as those with which we have to deal here. Imagine a child brought up in an atmosphere darkened with filth, loaded with impurity, bristling with curses, crowded with temptations. May we not say that in such an atmosphere his character must, by a dreadful necessity, take a shape and color from the circumstances around him? Our sailors in the Arctic regions, when wrapped in six months' darkness, almost like the birds and beasts which in those parts become white as the surrounding snows, lost their fresh and ruddy complexion, and became pale and bloodless, till the veil of darkness was lifted up, and the sun once more shone upon them. No doubt, in these dens and nurseries of vice it is possible that by a miracle of grace a little child may remain pure among the impure, gentle among the cruel, intelligent among the brutes. But what is far more common is, that they, and we, and all of us, like all those Arctic sailors, lose for a time the very life-blood of our souls. What we have to do is to change the circumstances; to change the air. What we have to pray is, that petition in the Lord's prayer, "Lead us not into temptation." To break the force of temptation, or, as a wise scholar has said, to alter the unfavorable conditions against which no average human being can stand, is one chief object of Christian endeavor. And when these conditions are changed, then it is astonishing to see how the human spirit shoots upward, like a bird from a cage,

like a plant to meet the sunlight. I myself have seen an example of a boy brought up in bad, lawless ways; fierce as a wild animal, ungovernable as a savage; yet in a few months, when these foul traditions had faded away, and he had been placed under kinder influences, it was as though a demon were cast out; he sat clothed, and clean, and in his right mind, destined, in all probability, to grow up a good and useful man.

But, of course, it is not enough for the recovery of lost souls, or lost children, that they should merely be redeemed or delivered from evil; they must have a new influence for good brought to bear upon them; what Dr. Chalmers used to call "the expulsive power of a new affection." And this begins with the very first awakening of self-respect, by the thought that there is any one to care for us.

It was a saying of one who afterward became a distinguished philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, that he owed every thing to the feeling excited in his own mind by the kindness of the late Lord Lansdowne: "He took me out of the bottomless pit of humiliation; he made me feel that I was something." And when not only this feeling of self-respect is engendered, but new pursuits and new characters are placed before us, then also whatever there is good is drawn toward them, and the transformation, the regeneration, of our characters begins indeed. Let me give you two examples of this from very different quarters. Not long ago I was traveling on the railroad, and was accosted by a stranger, who said, "I owe my whole fortune in life to your father." I asked, "How?" He replied, "I was a little boy in the small town near which he lived. He came over, years ago, at a time when such things were unusual for clergymen, and delivered a lecture on geology. I went there out of curiosity, a little boy, without shoes and stockings, and listened, and the lecturer stimulated me to think and to study, and I advanced from one place to another, until I became what you now see me, a member of a flourishing house in the same town where I received this new birth of my character, and from that day to this I have never ceased to revere the memory of the man to whom I owed so much." That is an example of the moral effect of a new intellectual interest being kindled. And now let me give you another instance from a country far away, which shows how, under conditions of race and soil altogether different, still the same awakening impulse may be communicated. Three years ago I visited at Moscow a small establishment of boys somewhat like those who are in these schools, but from a lower and worse grade. It was supported and kept alive by the energy and example of a young Russian merchant,

who lived entirely with those boys, and who had converted them from their evil ways to be true-hearted, loyal, affectionate scholars. Even now I seem to hear the hymn which they sang with their sweet, plaintive voices—the prayer of the penitent thief, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." That hymn I have never forgotten, nor have I forgotten the expression of the young merchant's countenance. He could speak no word of English, nothing but Russian, but his face told what he was; and when I left the place I could not help saying, that I had seen written upon it not only the ten commandments of Sinai, but the eight beatitudes of the Galilean mount.

You will see that we have come to the conclusion at which I was aiming, that it is possible to change the characters of little human creatures by taking them out of bad circumstances, by putting them under good influences, and that those good influences are chiefly such as come from the stimulating power of new thoughts, new interests, new examples.

And this is the process by which Christianity itself has worked upon mankind; by dispersing the foul atmosphere of the bad parts of paganism; by creating the good atmosphere of freedom, purity, and gentleness; by giving a new and upward direction to our thoughts; by giving us the holiest and brightest representation of what God is, and what men ought to be.

And when I ask whence it was that the spirit was derived which in our latter days has given birth to these schools, I answer, that it came from one man, who, with many failings and many weaknesses, is yet one of the finest examples of Christian culture that this country has produced —John Wesley.

There are two particular aspects of these schools in which he would have delighted, and which may fairly claim his sanction.

One is, that of which I have already spoken—the determination to reclaim and recover the lost. Many other virtues and many other graces the English nation and the English Church possessed in the times before John Wesley rose. But this mission was pre-eminently his own, and nobly he fulfilled it; and since that time it has been taken up within the Church and without the Church, with equal zeal throughout the country.

Bethnal Green was at that time a suburban hamlet, and very different from the crowded town which it has since become. But there was already much distress, and that cry of distress called John Wesley to the rescue. It is just one hundred years ago that he heard the cry and came among you here. "Many," he says in his journal of June 15, 1777, "I find in such poverty as few can conceive without seeing it. O, why do

not all the rich that fear God constantly visit the poor? Can they spend part of their spare time better? Certainly not; as they will find in that day when every man shall receive his reward according to his own labor." That was the first entrance of the spirit of Wesley into Bethnal Green; and well has it been carried out since in these schools.

The second peculiarity of this institution is, that in the face of the great moral evils from which these children are rescued, it knows nothing of the divisions which separate English Christians; it knows only the good which unites us all. And in this again John Wesley rose above not only his own age, but above ours also. What especially distinguished him above the teachers of his time was, what he himself called the catholic, that is, the comprehensive spirit of religion. "The whole world," he said, "will never be converted except by those of a truly catholic spirit." Then I find another entry in Wesley's journal of a visit to Bethnal Green. "I preached," he says on November 20, 1785, "in Bethnal Green Church, [the Church of my excellent friend the present rector, who no doubt would have welcomed John Wesley as he welcomes this good object to-day,] and spoke as plainly as I possibly could on having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. And this I judged," he says, "far more suitable to such a congregation than talking about justification by faith." He meant, no doubt, what he repeats again and again throughout his sermons, that even the most favorite expressions of our own particular opinions ought to be kept in comparative subordination to the great moral truths of Christianity, which we all hold in common. Toward the close of Wesley's long career he thus expressed himself: "Near fifty years ago a great and good man, Dr. Potter, then Archbishop of Canterbury, gave me an advice for which I have ever since had occasion to bless God. 'If you desire to be extensively useful, do not spend your time and strength in contending for or against such things as are of a disputable nature, but in testifying against open and notorious vice, and in promoting real spiritual holiness.'" "Let us keep," adds Wesley, "to this, leaving a thousand disputable points to those that have no better business than to toss the ball of controversy to and fro—let us keep close to our point. Let us bear a faithful testimony in our several stations against all ungodliness and unrighteousness, and with all our might recommend that inward and outward holiness without which no man shall see the Lord." He knew that it was not an easy task to make this his chief object. "I set out," he says, "near fifty years ago," (at the

same time that he received the advice from Archbishop Potter,) "with this principle: 'Whosoever doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother.' But there is no one living that has been more abused for his pains, even to this day; but it is all well, and by the grace of God I shall go on."

Let us follow the advice of "that great and good man, Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury," and that still greater and better man, John Wesley, and it will be all well with us, and by the grace of God we shall go on to the end.

# THE WESLEYAN LYRIC POETRY.

THE lyrical literature of Methodism is pre-eminent both for its character and its extent. It was a necessary condition of the evangelical reformation of the eighteenth century that an improved psalmody should be provided. Sternhold and Hopkins, though not entirely obnoxious to Wesley's charge against them of "miserable, scandalous doggerel," were unsuited to both the intellectual and moral advancement which the new religious movement was to introduce; and Tate and Brady were so extremely deficient in these respects, that in comparison with them Sternhold and Hopkins have been called David and Asaph. The necessary psalmody was not only provided as a result of the new movement, but was begun even in anticipation of it. The Wesleys published their first Hymn Book as early as 1738,* the year in which they date their regenerated life; and the next year—recognized as the epoch of Methodism—was signalized by the appearance of their "Hymns and Sacred Poems," two editions of which appeared before its close. And now rapidly followed, year after year, sometimes twice a year, not only new editions of these volumes, but new poetic works, which were scattered more extensively than any other of their publications through England, Wales, Ireland, the British West Indies, the North American provinces, and the United States, till not less than forty-nine poetical publications were enumerated among their literary works; and before Wesley's death a common psalmody, sung mostly to a common music, resounded through all the Methodist chapels of the English and American world. The achievement accomplished by

* The Savannah Hymn Book was published at Charles-town in 1737.—EDITOR.

Methodism in this respect is alone one of the most extraordinary historical facts of the last century. Its influence on the popular taste, intellectual as well as moral, could not fail to be incalculably great. So thorough has been the subsequent revolution in the popular appreciation of sacred poetry, that much of the psalmody sung in the churches of England at the advent of Methodism would not now be tolerated. Its effect, in many instances, would be even ludicrous.

Watts deserves the credit of leading the way in this important reform. The first poetical publication of the Wesleys was largely made up of his hymns, but Charles Wesley soon became his rival in popular estimation. The Wesleys soon towered above all their predecessors and contemporaries in this department of literature, and no later writer of hymns can dispute their common superiority. Their example, and the new religious wants of the times, prompted the emulation or genius of many able but inferior writers,* most of them directly or indirectly under the Methodistic influence, and the hymns of Doddridge, Toplady, Newton, Cowper, Cennick, Steele, and Beddome rapidly appeared and promoted the lyrical reform. The comparative claims of Watts and Charles Wesley are yet undetermined, but their common pre-eminence is undisputed. The verdict of literary criticism has generally been in favor of Watts; but Charles Wesley has suffered from the undeserved prejudice of the literary world against Methodism—a prejudice now fast giving way. In proportion as it has subsided has his extraordinary genius come to be recognized; and it has become probable that sooner or later he will be pronounced the equal, if not the superior, of his great contemporary. Watts himself acknowledged that he would give all he had written for the credit of being the author of Charles Wesley's unrivaled hymn, entitled "Wrestling Jacob."

Every important doctrine of Holy Scripture, every degree

* This remark does not detract from Cowper's poetical excellence in other respects. Milton, it has been said, composed but one good psalm.

of spiritual experience, almost every shade of religious thought and feeling, and nearly every ordinary relation and incident of human life, are treated in Charles Wesley's abundant and ever-varying verse. No poet surpasses him in the variety of his themes. Rarely can any man open his volumes without finding something apposite to his own moods or wants.

The whole soul of Charles Wesley was imbued with poetic genius. His thoughts seemed to bask and revel in melody and rhythm. The variety of his meters (said to be unequaled by any English writer whatever) shows how impulsive were his poetic emotions, and how wonderful his facility in their spontaneous and varied utterance. In the Wesleyan hymn book alone they amount to at least twenty-six, and others are found in his other productions. They march, at times, like lengthened processions with solemn grandeur; they sweep at other times like chariots of fire through the heavens; they are broken like the sobs of grief at the graveside, play like the joyful affections of childhood at the hearth, or shout like victors in the fray of the battle-field. No man ever surpassed Charles Wesley in the harmonies of language. To him it was a diapason.

He never seems to labor in his poetic compositions. The reader feels that they were necessary utterances of a heart palpitating with emotion and music. No words seem to be put in for effect; but effective phrases, brief, surprising, incapable of improvement, are continually and spontaneously occurring, "like lightning," says Montgomery, "revealing for a moment the whole hemisphere." His language is never tumid; the most and the least cultivated minds appreciate him with surprised delight; his metaphors, abundant and vivid, are seldom far-fetched or strained; his rhymes seldom or never constrained. His style is throughout severely pure.

The biographer of Watts acknowledges "the faulty versification and inelegant construction of some of his hymns, which have been pointed out as their principal defects," but adds,

"they would have never occurred had they been written under the same circumstances as those of his Arminian successor." * The difference of "circumstances" may account for the fact, but does not cancel it. He contends for the superiority of Watts, but admits the talent of Wesley. "In estimating," he says, "the merits of these two great hymnists—the greatest, unquestionably, that our country can boast—I should not hesitate to ascribe to the former greater skill in design, to the latter in execution; to the former more originality, to the latter more polish. Many of Wesley's flights are bold, daring, and magnificent." "Originality" and "skill in design" are among Charles Wesley's most peculiar excellences. A critic, whose theological predilections are all in favor of Watts, remarks: "The opening couplets of his hymns and psalms often give brilliant promises; they seem to be the preludes of faultless lyrics—outbursts of genuine song, which need only to be sustained to be without superiors in uninspired verse. But often they are not sustained. They are followed by stanzas which doom them in every pulpit." † The wings of Charles Wesley's muse seldom or never droop in her flight.

Through most of his life the poet of Methodism incessantly surprised its Societies by the appearance of new poetical publications. Besides his hymns for Sunday public worship, special "Hymns for the Watch-nights," "Hymns on the Lord's Supper," "Hymns for the Nativity of Our Lord," "Hymns for our Lord's Resurrection," "Hymns for the Ascension," "Gloria Patria, or Hymns to the Trinity," "Hymns for Public Thanksgiving," "Hymns occasioned by the Earthquake," in 1750, "Hymns for Times of Trouble and Persecution," in 1756, "Hymns for the expected Invasion," in 1756, "Hymns for Methodist Preachers," in 1758, "Hymns for New-year's Day," "Hymns for

* Milner's Life of Watts. Creamer makes it appear probable that Milner was ignorant of the "far greater mass" of Wesley's hymns. Impartial critics will at least agree that Milner has mistaken the chief traits of Wesley's genius.

† Bibliotheca Sacra, January, 1859, art. "Hymnology."

the Use of Families," "Hymns for Children," etc., "Funeral Hymns," "Hymns written in the Times of the Tumults," in 1780, "Hymns for the Nation," in 1782, and, last of all his publications, poetic "Prayers for Condemned Malefactors," in 1785 —but three years before he ceased at once to sing and live—kept the Methodist community, and the popular mind generally, more or less astir by the rapturous strains of his lyre. Many of them related to contemporaneous events, which could not fail to give them special interest and influence. His funeral hymns, unrivaled by any similar poetry, were sung along the highways as the dead were borne to their graves. His "Hymns for Families" are admired by some of his critics as the best examples of his genius. They are, at least, the best exhibition of his own pure and genial heart, as many of their themes were drawn from incidents of his domestic life. They consist of pieces, "For a Woman in Travail," "Thanksgiving for her Safe Delivery," "At the Baptism of a Child," "At sending a Child to Boarding-school," "Thanksgiving after a Recovery from the Small-pox," "Oblation of a Sick Friend," "Prayers for a Sick Child," "A Father's Prayer for his Son," "The Collier's Hymn," "For a Persecuting Husband," "For an Unconverted Wife," "For Unconverted Relations," "For a Family in Want," "To be sung at the Tea-table," "For one retired into the Country," "A Wedding Song." This volume contains also many other hymns for parents and children, masters and servants, for domestic bereavements, for the Sabbath, for sleep, for going to work, for morning and evening.

In the Wesleyan Hymn Book are six hundred and twenty-seven hymns by Charles Wesley; but these are not one tenth of his poetical compositions. About four thousand six hundred have been printed, and about two thousand still remain in manuscript. In the space of twenty-two years he revised his publications eight times; but the almost perfect literary finish of his hymns, as contained in the Wesleyan Collection, is, to no small extent, the effect of his brother's revision.

John Wesley was rigorously severe in his criticisms, and appeared to be conscious that the psalmody of Methodism was to be one of its chief providential facts—at once its liturgy and psalter to millions. Throughout his life, therefore, he frequently returned to the task of its laborious revision. He enriched it himself with some fine original contributions, and with about twenty-four translations from the German. He has not only given the latter better versions than they have received from any other hand, but has excelled the originals. The biographer of Watts regrets that no sufficiently able hand has remedied the defects of his style and versification. He would, doubtless, compare better with Charles Wesley in these respects had he possessed so skillful a corrector as the latter found in his brother.* The Methodist psalmody was, in fine, the life-long labor of both the Wesleys, and is one of the noblest monuments of the religious movement of the eighteenth century. The spirit of that great evangelical revolution is embodied forever in the poetry of Charles Wesley. Nothing else of human origin, not even the sermons of John Wesley, more fully expresses the very essence of Methodism. A competent judge has said: "These very hymns, if the writer had not been connected with Methodism, would have shown a very different phase; for while the depth and richness of them are the writer's, the epigrammatic intensity, and the pressure which marks them, belongs to Methodism. They may be regarded as the representatives of a modern devotional style which has prevailed quite as much beyond the boundaries of the Wesleyan community as within it. Charles Wesley's hymns on the one hand, and those of Toplady, Cowper, and Newton on the other,

* Wesley's occasional emendations of Watts are striking examples of his own poetic skill. The grand hymn, "Before Jehovah's awful throne," is an instance.

"Nations attend before his throne
With solemn fear, with sacred joy."—*Watts.*

"Before Jehovah's awful throne,
Ye nations bow with sacred joy."—*Wesley.*

mark that great change in religious sentiment which distinguishes the times of Methodism from the staid, Nonconforming era of Watts and Doddridge." * His hymns are of such pure and idomatic English that their style can never become obsolete, unless our language shall become thoroughly corrupt; their sentiments are so genuine, not only to Christianity but humanity, that they can never cease to command the response of the common human heart. His services to Methodism in this respect can never be over-estimated. A half century since, the Methodist hymns were sold at the rate of sixty thousand volumes annually in England; they have been issued at an immensely larger rate in America. Their triumphant melodies swell farther and farther over the world every year, and their influence, moral and intellectual, is beyond all calculation.

While they have been of inestimable service as exponents of Methodist theology and piety, they have also served to correct that tendency to doggerel verse which is so frequent among the common people in seasons of strong religious excitement. Methodism has had often to resist this tendency; it has been able to do so chiefly by the power of its hymns; they are so varied, so vivid, and so simple, that they hardly leave a motive for the use of any other lyric compositions. Justly does John Wesley say, in his preface to the "Collection for the Use of the People called Methodists," that "in these hymns there are no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. Here is nothing turgid or bombastic on the one hand, or low and creeping on the other. Here are no cant expressions, no words without meaning. Here are (allow me to say) both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language; and, at the same time, the utmost simplicity and plainness, suited to every capacity."

While giving the masses divine songs, Wesley also endeavored to make them sing. He was continually urging his preachers to set the example, and not only exhort the people to follow it,

* Isaac Taylor, "Wesley and Methodism."

but to induce them to learn the science of music. "Preach frequently on singing," he said, in the Minutes of the Conference; "suit the tune to the words;" "do not suffer the people to sing too slow;" "let the women sing their parts alone; let no man sing with them unless he understands the notes, and sings the bass;" "exhort every one in the congregation to sing; in every large society let them learn to sing; recommend our Tune Book every-where." As early as 1742 he issued "A Collection of Tunes set to Music, as sung at the Foundery." He published a small work on "The Grounds of Vocal Music." Three other publications followed these, at intervals, on "Sacred Harmony," adapted to "the voice, harpsichord, and organ," for he was not opposed to instrumental music in divine worship; though, for the prevention of disputes in the Societies, he directed them to set up "no organ anywhere till proposed in the Conference." It was not long before he could justly boast of the superiority of the Methodist singing over that of the Churches of the Establishment: "Their solemn addresses to God," he says, "are not interrupted either by the formal drawl of a parish clerk, the screaming of boys, who bawl out what they neither feel nor understand, or the unseasonable and unmeaning impertinence of a voluntary on the organ. When it is seasonable to sing praise to God, they do it with the spirit and the understanding also; not in the miserable, scandalous doggerel of Sternhold and Hopkins, but in psalms and hymns which are both sense and poetry, such as would sooner provoke a critic to turn Christian than a Christian to turn critic. What they sing is, therefore, a proper continuation of the spiritual and reasonable service; being selected for that end, not by a poor humdrum wretch who can scarcely read what he drones out with such an air of importance, but by one who knows what he is about; not by a handful of wild, unawakened striplings, but by a whole serious congregation; and these not lolling at ease, or in the indecent posture of sitting, drawling out one word after another; but all standing before

God, and praising him lustily, and with a good courage." The Methodist hymn music early took a high form of emotional expression. It could not be otherwise with a community continually stirred by religious excitement; it was also a necessity of the rapturous poetry of Charles Wesley, for tame or commonplace tunes would be absurd with it. Handel found in the Methodist hymns a poetry worthy of his own grand genius, and he set to music those beginning "Sinners, obey the gospel word!" "O Love divine, how sweet thou art!" "Rejoice! the Lord is King."

# WESLEYAN HYMN MUSIC.

ABEL STEVENS, in this volume, has alluded to what Wesley did for Church music. His influence upon it was only inferior to his influence upon hymnology. So great was it, Stevens writes, that Wesley soon could justly boast of the superiority of Methodist singing over that of the Establishment. Wesleyan hymns were set to music by Handel, and by other great masters of the tuneful art. Among those who gave expression to them in music were Samuel, the youngest son of Charles Wesley—the great lyric poet of Methodism—and at a more recent date Samuel Sebastian, a son of the former and a grandson of the latter. Both of these were eminent musical doctors and musicians to the English Court.

In the Wesleyan "Collection of Hymns,"—in the "Edition with Tunes,"—are a number of tunes by this father and son. There Charles's hymn, "And let our bodies part," is sung to the tune "Chichester," composed by his son, Dr. Samuel Wesley; and there his hymn, "Come, O Thou Traveler unknown," is sung to the tune "Wrestling Jacob," composed by his grandson, the late Dr. Samuel Sebastian Wesley.

But it is not our purpose to write an essay on Methodist hymn music. We have written what we have solely to introduce the letter and the tunes and hymns which follow. The letter was written by Miss Eliza Wesley, of London—herself an eminent music teacher—to the Editor of THE WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME, in compliance with his request to furnish for it several tunes composed by her distinguished father, and by her equally distinguished brother. The tunes "Bristol"

and "Bach" are by her father. The former, Miss Wesley has accompanied with the hymn, "O Thou, to whose all-searching sight," translated from the German of Count Zinzendorf* by her great uncle while he was a missionary in Georgia; the latter, she has accommodated to one of her grandfather's hymns for watchnight, beginning, "Thou Judge of quick and dead." The tune "Celestia" is by her late gifted brother. The letter and the tunes are as follows:

62 LIVERPOOL ROAD, ISLINGTON, *June* 2, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR:—

Our good friend Mr. Stevenson conveyed to me your kind letter. I have had sincere pleasure in complying with your request, and thank you for affording me the opportunity of contributing to so interesting a work. You are, I hope, already in possession of two tunes, "Bristol" and "Bach." To the tune "Bristol" I would suggest the words of hymn, "O Thou to whose all-searching sight;" to the tune "Bach," "Thou Judge of quick and dead." Should you prefer any other words, pray feel at liberty to exchange them; both tunes require solemn words. The tune I now forward, by my late brother, is a cheerful melody, but I cannot find an appropriate meter, and have requested Mr. Stevenson's kind assistance.

With best wishes for the success of your work,

I remain, dear sir, yours most truly,

ELIZA WESLEY.

To Rev. J. O. A. CLARK, LL.D.

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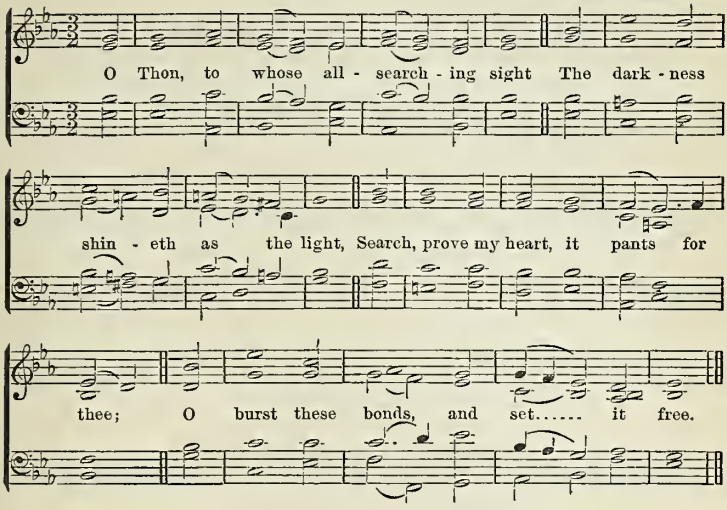
*Mr. George J. Stevenson, M.A., in his "Methodist Hymn Book and its Associations," ascribes this hymn to Count Zinzendorf; in the "Hymnal" of the Methodist Episcopal Church it is ascribed to Gerhard Tersteegen; in "Wesley's Hymns and New Supplement," the Wesleyan "Edition with Tunes," and in the "Collection of Hymns," etc., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, it is simply said to be "from the German, translated by J. Wesley," the name of the German poet not being given.—EDITOR.

## BRISTOL. L.M.

SAMUEL WESLEY, Mus. Doc.




Wash out its stains, refine its dross,
Nail my affections to the cross;
Hallow each thought; let all within
Be clean, as thou, my Lord, art clean.

If in this darksome wild I stray,
Be thou my light, be thou my way:
No foes, no violence I fear,
No fraud, while thou, my God, art near.

When rising floods my soul o'erflow,
When sinks my heart in waves of woe,
Jesus, thy timely aid impart,
And raise my head, and cheer my heart.

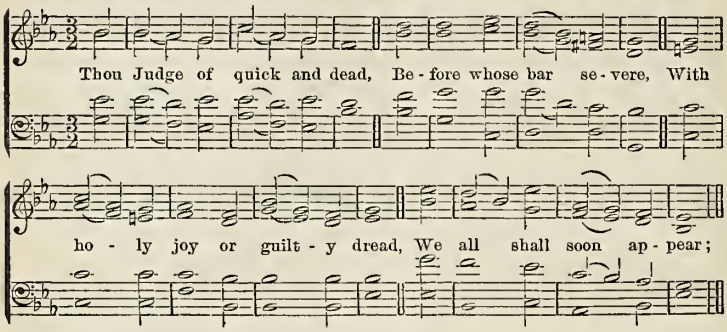
Saviour, where'er thy steps I see,
Dauntless, untired, I follow thee;
O let thy hand support me still,
And lead me to thy holy hill.

If rough and thorny be the way,
My strength proportion to my day;
Till toil, and grief, and pain shall cease,
Where all is calm, and joy, and peace.

JOHN WESLEY.

## BACH. S.M.

This tune is not published. Copied from the original MS. by Miss ELIZA WESLEY. SAMUEL WESLEY.




Our cautioned souls prepare
For that tremendous day,
And fill us now with watchful care,
And stir us up to pray:

To pray, and wait the hour,
That awful hour unknown,
When, robed in majesty and power,
Thou shalt from heaven come down,
The immortal Son of man,
To judge the human race,
With all thy Father's dazzling train,
With all thy glorious grace.

To damp our earthly joys,
To' increase our gracious fears,
Forever let the archangel's voice
Be sounding in our ears:
The solemn midnight cry,—
Ye dead, the Judge is come;
Arise, and meet him in the sky,
And meet your instant doom.

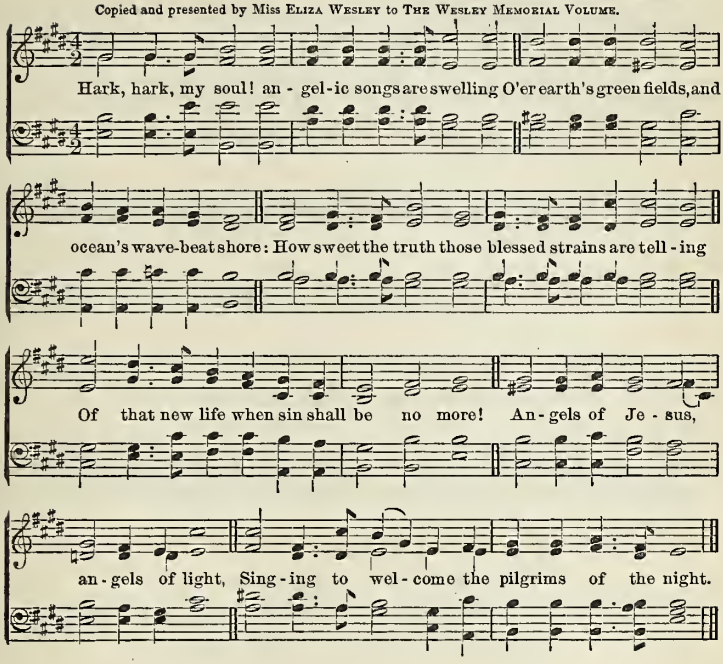
O may we all be found
Obedient to thy word,
Attentive to the trumpet's sound,
And looking for our Lord.
O may we thus insure
A lot among the blest;
And watch a moment to secure
An everlasting rest.

CHARLES WESLEY.

## Tune, "CELESTIA." 11, 10, 11, 10, 9, 11.

By the late S. S. WESLEY, Mus. Doc.

Copied and presented by Miss ELIZA WESLEY to THE WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME.




Onward we go, for still we hear them singing,
"Come, weary souls, for Jesus bids you come;"
And through the dark, its echoes sweetly ringing,
The music of the gospel leads us home.
Angels of Jesus, etc.

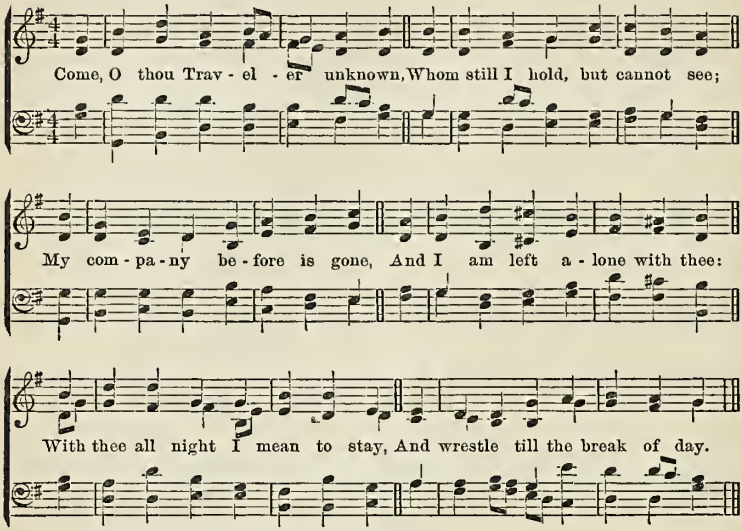
Far, far away, like bells at evening pealing,
The voice of Jesus sounds o'er land and sea,
And laden souls by thousands, meekly stealing,
Kind Shepherd, turn their weary steps to thee.
Angels of Jesus, etc.

Rest comes at length, though life be long and dreary;
The day must dawn, and darksome night be past;
All journeys end in welcome to the weary,
And heaven, the heart's true home, will come at last.
Angels of Jesus, etc.

Angels, sing on! your faithful watches keeping;
Sing us sweet fragments of the songs above;
Till morning's joy shall end the night of weeping,
And life's long shadows break in cloudless love.
Angels of Jesus, etc.

## WRESTLING JACOB.

S. S. WESLEY, Mus. Doc.




I need not tell thee who I am,
My sin and misery declare;
Thyself hast called me by my name,
Look on thy hands, and read it there:
But who, I ask thee, who art thou?
Tell me thy name, and tell me now.

In vain thou strugglest to get free,
I never will unloose my hold:
Art thou the Man that died for me?
The secret of thy love unfold:
Wrestling, I will not let thee go,
Till I thy name, thy nature know.

Wilt thou not yet to me reveal
Thy new, unutterable name?
Tell me, I still beseech thee, tell;
To know it now resolved I am:
Wrestling, I will not let thee go,
Till I thy name, thy nature know.

What though my shrinking flesh complain,
And murmur to contend so long?
I rise superior to my pain;
When I am weak, then I am strong:
And when my all of strength shall fail,
I shall with the God-man prevail.

Yield to me now, for I am weak,
But confident in self-despair;
Speak to my heart, in blessing speak,
Be conquered by my instant prayer:
Speak, or thou never hence shalt move,
And tell me if thy name be Love.

'Tis Love! 'tis Love! thou diedst for me!
I hear thy whisper in my heart;
The morning breaks, the shadows flee;
Pure, universal love thou art:
To me, to all, thy bowels move;
Thy nature and thy name is Love.

My prayer hath power with God; the grace
Unspeakable I now receive;
Through faith I see thee face to face,
I see thee face to face, and live!
In vain I have not wept and strove;
Thy nature and thy name is Love.

I know thee, Saviour, who thou art,
Jesus, the feeble sinner's Friend;
Nor wilt thou with the night depart,
But stay and love me to the end:
Thy mercies never shall remove;
Thy nature and thy name is Love.

The Sun of righteousness on me
Hath rose with healing in his wings:
Withered my nature's strength; from thee
My soul its life and succor brings:
My help is all laid up above;
Thy nature and thy name is Love.

Contented now, upon my thigh
I halt, till life's short journey end;
All helplessness, all weakness, I
On thee alone for strength depend,
Nor have I power from thee to move;
Thy nature and thy name is Love.

Lame as I am, I take the prey;
Hell, earth, and sin, with ease o'ercome;
I leap for joy, pursue my way,
And as a bounding hart fly home,
Through all eternity to prove
Thy nature and thy name is Love.

# WESLEY AND COKE.

WESLEY had, from among the clergy of the Established Church, two ardent and most efficient co-laborers, the saintly John Fletcher and the untiring Thomas Coke. The former, from the year 1757 to the time of his death, was Wesley's confidential friend and counselor, the champion of his theological views, and an example of holiness never excelled. About twenty years after Fletcher's adhesion to Wesley, toward the close of his illustrious career, Coke became the most active and useful of his fellow-laborers. Wesley used to call him his "right hand." In 1777 he united himself to Wesley, attended the Conference, and was stationed the following year in London, where he had a very cordial reception, preached to large congregations, and had many seals to his ministry.

Thomas Coke was born at Brecon, Wales, in 1747; became a gentleman commoner of Jesus College, Oxford, and a year after took orders in the Established Church. He received the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws in 1775. The curacy of South Petherton, Somersetshire, offered itself and was embraced; and was the field of his clerical ministrations for a few years. But having meanwhile been brought into clearer views and a deeper experience of the spiritual life, his preaching became more earnest. Presently he was charged with being a Methodist on account of his uncommon zeal. It was not long before he was excluded, on the ground of his Methodistic proclivities, from pulpit and parish. This led him, on further inquiry and after a personal acquaintance with Wesley, to tender his services to him, and join in the great evangelizing movement Wesley was carrying forward. Into this movement Coke threw the fervid zeal and unwearying activities of

his Welsh temperament. In 1782 he was appointed to hold the first session of the Irish Conference; and from that time he almost invariably presided in that Conference, filling the chair with honor and usefulness for nearly thirty years.

Dr. Coke rendered very valuable services to Wesley in the two measures which gave supreme importance to the English Conference of 1784. The first was the procurement of the enrollment in the High Court of Chancery of the "Deed of Declaration," which defined and gave legal existence to the Methodist Conference. By this measure consistency and permanence were given to Methodism in Britain. Dr. Coke procured the legal advice according to which the Deed was determined upon; and drew up, with legal assistance, the instrument, without which the Methodist Societies, after the death of Wesley, would have inevitably fallen into the condition of separate and rival religious communities, and speedily gone into decay. It is very probable that Dr. Coke suggested the whole arrangement.

The other measure determined on at the Conference of 1784 was the consolidation of the American Methodist Societies into the state of a regular, independent Church. The historian of Wesleyan Methodism says: "There is scarcely any action which occurred in the long and eventful life of the founder of Methodism of more intrinsic importance than that which effected this great object; and perhaps not one which has been more fiercely and foully censured. . . . If Wesley had accomplished nothing in the whole course of his laborious and extended life but the organization and consolidation of Methodism in America, he would be entitled to the highest regards as the APOSTLE OF MODERN TIMES." In America the Methodist Societies had all along been in connection with Wesley. They had been considered *quasi*-members of the English Church, obtaining, on occasion, the privileges of the sacraments at the hands of the parish clergymen. But at the close of the War of the Revolution the United States were irrevocably separated

from the mother country; the Episcopalian Establishment was dissolved; and the control of the Bishop of London ceased in this country.

Under these circumstances an urgent appeal was sent to Wesley from Francis Asbury, who was the principal preacher among the Methodists in the new Republic, entreating him to provide some mode of church government which would meet the urgency of the case. Wesley had been revolving this important matter in his own mind. He had counseled with Fletcher, Coke, and others at this Leeds Conference, in 1784; and it was agreed that it was highly important to have some one sent immediately to America, so that the sacraments might be duly administered in the Societies, and a permanent polity be settled. In point of fact, the moment had come when Wesley must settle the question whether he, as the founder, was ready to take the responsibility which the "exigence of necessity" had plainly put upon him. It was one of those critical *momenta* which form epochs in the history of Christianity. Wesley was equal to the occasion. He braved the obloquy which he well knew his course would in some directions incur. His noble spirit decided in favor of a magnanimous policy. He gave to American Methodism his own ideal of a Church. He established for it, as we believe, a complete and independent church system, with the episcopal office and order.

Wesley's views had, indeed, been long settled as to the *jure divino* theory of apostolical succession. As far back as the fourth conference, held in 1747, there had been a discussion on Church polity, the result of which was set forth in the following questions and answers:—

*Ques.* Are the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, plainly described in the New Testament?

*Ans.* We think they are, and believe they generally obtained in the Church of the apostolic age.

*Ques.* But are you assured that God designed the same plan should obtain in all other Churches, throughout all ages?

*Ans.* We are not assured of it, because we do not know that it is asserted in Holy Writ.

*Ques.* If the plan were essential to a Christian Church, what must become of all foreign Reformed Churches?

*Ans.* It would follow, they are no part of the Church of Christ, a consequence full of shocking absurdity.

*Ques.* In about what age was the *divine right* of episcopacy first asserted in England?

*Ans.* About the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Till then all the bishops and clergy in England continually allowed and joined in the ministrations of those who were not episcopally ordained.

*Ques.* Must there not be numberless accidental variations in the government of various Churches?

*Ans.* These must be, in the nature of things. As God variously dispenses his gifts of nature, providence, and grace, both the offices themselves and the officers in each ought to be varied from time to time.

This shows clearly that Wesley had, even at that early period of his career, formed the convictions which governed his subsequent course. There being no particular form of administration made binding by divine prescription in Church government, the application of a few great and inviolable principles is left to the godly discretion of those who, in the order of the divine administration, might be called on to act in certain emergencies. In point of fact Wesley, in a sketch of the Origin of Church Government, drawn up about that time, refers to himself as the father and bishop of the whole of the Methodist Societies, and compares his "assistants" to the ancient "presbyters," and his "helpers" to the ancient "deacons." He professed himself convinced that the three ministerial orders of bishops, elders, and deacons were "reasonable and useful as human-ecclesiastical arrangements," though he denied that they were obligatory by divine law and institution.

These views and principles are clearly and strikingly *formu-*

*lated* by the learned and accomplished Dr. Summers, editor of the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South:"

The eldership is by scriptural precedent, and by the natural course of things as embodying the mass of the mature ministry, the main body and trunk of the ministerial strength and power. As such it is naturally and crudely the undeveloped *one order*. Just as, naturally and by sacred precedent and expediency, it reserves the diaconate order as its preparatory pupilage, so it flowers up into the episcopacy as its concentrated representative order. Fundamentally, there may thus be one order; subsidiarily a second order; and derivatively, yet superior in function, a third order. The ordership and organic permanence is constituted in all three cases, according to sacred precedent, by ordination. The highest of the three orders is especially, as it happens, perpetuated by a series of ordaining hands, passing from predecessor to successor, bishop authenticating bishop, as elder does not authenticate elder, or deacon, deacon. Hence, though as derivative it is in origin less an order, and an inferior order, yet, as constituted, it becomes more distinctively an order than either of the other two. The New Testament furnishes, indeed, no decisive precedent of an ordained and permanently fixed superpresbyterial order; but it does furnish classes and instances of men exercising superpresbyterial authority; so that pure and perfect parity of office is not divinely enjoined. Such classes and cases are the apostles, perhaps the evangelists St. James of Jerusalem, and Timothy and Titus. Wesley held that the episcopate and eldership were so one order that the *power* constituting an episcopal order inhered in the eldership; but he did not believe that there lay in the eldership a *right* to exercise that power without a true providential and divine call. Hence, in his episcopal diploma given to Coke he announces, "I, John Wesley, *think myself providentially* CALLED at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America," etc.

God chooses his agents for the carrying out of his great rule to bless man by man. He authenticates their mission by gifts, spiritual power, and sway over the hearts of men. Wesley became the instrument in the divine hand of a new development of Christianity. His position, to use the expression of Dr. James Dixon, "made him necessarily the patriarch and governor of his people every-where." In organization and admin-

istrative skill no general, statesman, or churchman ever excelled him; and as to the silent energy of personal influence, he has never been surpassed by any one known to history. This man stood at the point whence "a new beginning of regimen" was to start. Providence placed before him the opportunity to establish a church system which was to carry the Wesleyan proclamation of the gospel not only over the breadth of a continent within the first century of its operations, but to Asia, and Africa, and the palm-girt islands of far-off seas. In God's name let him go forward and set apart, by the imposition of hands, the elders and the missionary bishop for this great work! That ordination, if Heaven deign to own it, shall, in the name of religion, humanity, and reason, settle the question between mediæval church theory, with its formal and ritual episcopacy and papal yoke on the one hand, and, on the other, a restored primitive episcopate, with its regularly organized societies of godly members, self-governed, under Christ, and in accordance with his word; "which, challenging for all its members liberty in the realm of lofty thought, and providing the means of order and activity in the walks of holy love, refuses to own authority or jurisdiction based on any relation beyond itself."

And thus it came to pass that at Bristol, on the first of September, 1784, Wesley, aided by two ordained ministers of the English Church, set apart, according to the ordinal of that Church, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as deacons; on the next day he ordained them elders. Afterward, assisted by the presbyters, he ordained Thomas Coke—as we claim—bishop, calling him, however, superintendent. Coleridge, in his notes on Hooker, makes the following statement: "Hooker was so good a man that it would be wicked to suspect him of knowingly playing the sophist. And yet, strange it is, that he should not have been aware that it was prelacy, not primitive episcopacy—the thing, not the name—that the Reformers contended against; and if the Catholic Church and the national

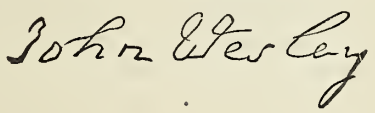
clergy were (as both parties unhappily took for granted) one and the same, contended against with good reason. Knox's ecclesiastical polity (worthy of Lycurgus) adopted bishops under a different name; or, rather, under a translation instead of a corruption of the name *ἐπίσκοποι*. He would have had superintendents."

Wesley's commission of Dr. Thomas Coke is as follows:

*To all to whom these Presents shall come: John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford, Presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting:*

Whereas many of the people in the Southern Provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the said Church: And whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers:

Know all men that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And, therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by other ordained ministers,) Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, a Presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.



Wesley immediately sent Coke thus commissioned, and the two elders, on their mission to America, with instructions to organize a Church, and to ordain Asbury as joint superintendent. He furnished them, also, with a "Sunday Service," or liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England; a

collection of psalms and hymns, and also the "Articles of Religion." Upon their arrival in America a special Conference was convened, and on December 27th sixty traveling preachers assembled in the City of Baltimore. Dr. Coke took the chair, and presented a letter from Wesley, written eight days after the ordinations, setting forth the grounds of what he had done and advised. After the consideration of this letter it was, with no dissenting voice, regularly and formally agreed to form a Methodist Episcopal Church, making the episcopal office elective, and the superintendent or bishop amenable to the body of ministers and preachers. Asbury refused the high office to which Wesley had appointed him unless it was ratified by the Conference; and, in accordance with the act of organization, both he and Coke were formally and unanimously chosen as "superintendents." On the second day of the session Asbury was ordained deacon, elder on the third, and superintendent on the fourth; Coke being assisted by Whatcoat and Vasey, and also by Otterbein, a personal friend of Asbury and a minister in the German Reformed Church. Twelve preachers were ordained elders, and one deacon.

Thus was it the rare fortune of Thomas Coke to be the honored instrument of transmitting from the illustrious founder to the pioneer bishop that church system in the institutions of which autonomy, homogeneity, and strength have been secured, together with the conservation of all the cardinal doctrines of the faith, the same forms of worship and principles of discipline, and the spring of a constant, aggressive, mighty evangelization. THOMAS COKE is one of the few elect names enjoying the privilege of immortality.

The main intention of Wesley in sending Coke to America was, as we have seen, and as we believe, to originate an Episcopal Church, autonomous, and capable of perpetuating itself as well as working its own machinery. This had been accomplished by the ordination of deacons and elders, and of Francis Asbury as bishop. Coke remained in the United States until

the following summer, attending with Bishop Asbury the sessions of the few Annual Conferences, (there were six in 1796,) and traveling extensively through the country. It was very competent for a man of Asbury's vigor and activity to do the work of a bishop at that early day, and, consequently, there was no urgent necessity that Coke should remain permanently. He accordingly returned to England. He made afterward eight visits to America, bearing the expenses of these voyages out of his private means. At the General Conference of 1804 permission was granted Coke, at his own request, to return to England, subject to recall if his episcopal services were needed; and at the subsequent General Conference this permission was continued, at the special request of the British Conference. There were then only eight Annual Conferences in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and no urgent demand for episcopal service beyond what was at the command of the Church.

When in England Coke was the soul of the new missionary enthusiasm which was beginning to throb in the Methodism of the opening nineteenth century. He traversed England and Scotland, preaching, and soliciting money from door to door for the missions he was establishing and enlarging in Nova Scotia, in the West India archipelago, at Gibraltar, and at Sierra Leone, besides home mission-fields in Wales, and in destitute parts of England and Ireland. To this home department, in 1808, thirty-five missionaries were appointed. They tell of a certain captain of a man-of-war, in the English naval service, on whom Coke had called, introducing the condition of these missions, and requesting, very politely, a donation. This he received gratefully, and retired. The captain, who knew nothing of Dr. Coke, in conversation with a friend some hours afterward, said, "Pray, sir, do you know any thing of a little fellow who calls himself Dr. Coke, and who is going about begging money for missionaries to be sent among the slaves?" "I know him well," was the reply. "He seems,"

rejoined the captain, "to be a heavenly-minded little devil; he coaxed me out of two guineas this morning."

Long, however, before the opening of the nineteenth century, Coke was actively engaged in foreign mission schemes, as Coke's following letter to Mr. Fletcher, which was accompanied by his "Plan" for carrying the gospel to the "heathens," abundantly shows:

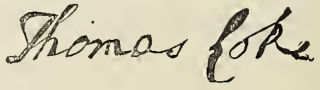
NEAR PLYMOUTH, *January* 6, 1784.

MY VERY DEAR SIR:—Lest Mr. Parker should neglect to send you one of our plans for the establishing of foreign missions, I take the liberty of doing it. Ten subscribers more, of two guineas per annum, have favored me with their names. If *you* can get a few subscribers more, we shall be obliged to you.

We have now a very wonderful outpouring of the Spirit in the west of Cornwall. I have been obliged to make a winter campaign of it, and preach here and there out of doors.

I beg my affectionate respects to Mrs. Fletcher.

I entreat you to pray for your most affectionate friend and brother,



A PLAN OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS AMONG THE HEATHENS.*

I. Every person who subscribes two guineas yearly, or more, is to be admitted a member of the Society.

II. A general meeting of the subscribers shall be held annually, on the last Tuesday in January.

III. The first general meeting shall be held on the last Tuesday in January, 1784, at No. 11, in West-street, near the Seven Dials, London, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

IV. At every general meeting a committee of seven, or more, shall be chosen by the majority of the subscribers, to transact the business of the Society for the ensuing year.

V. The general meeting shall receive and examine the accounts of the

* The original of this document and of Dr. Coke's autograph letter to Mr. Fletcher, as well as of Wesley's commission to Dr. Coke, are now in the possession of Mr. Samuel D. Waddy, Q.C., M.P., of London. Photo-lithographs of these documents Mr. Waddy gave to me while I was in London.—EDITOR.

Committee for the preceding year, of all sums paid to the use of the Society, of the purposes to which the whole or any part thereof shall have been applied, and also the report of all they have done, and the advices they have received.

VI. The Committee, or the majority of them, shall have power, first, to call in the sums subscribed, or any part thereof, and to receive all collections, legacies, or other voluntary contributions. Secondly, to agree with any they shall approve, who may offer to go abroad, either as missionaries or in any civil employment. Thirdly, to procure the best instruction which can be obtained for such persons, in the language of the country for which they are intended, before they go abroad. Fourthly, to provide for their expenses, in going and continuing abroad, and for their return home, after such time and under such circumstances as may be thought most expedient. Fifthly, to print the Scriptures, or so much thereof as the funds of the Society may admit, for the use of any heathen country. And, sixthly, to do every other act which to them may appear necessary, so far as the common stock of the Society will allow, for carrying the design of the Society into execution.

VII. The Committee shall keep an account of the subscribers' names, and all sums received for the use of the Society, together with such extracts of the entries of their proceedings and advices as may show those who are concerned all that has been done both at home and abroad; which statement shall be signed by at least three of the Committee.

VIII. The Committee for the new year shall send a copy of the report for the past year, to all the members of the Society who were not present at the preceding General Meeting, and (free of postage) to every clergyman, minister, or other person, from whom any collection, legacy, or other benefaction shall have been received, within the time concerning which the report is made.

IX. The Committee, if they see it necessary, shall have power to choose a secretary.

X. The Committee shall at no time have any claim on the members of the Society, for any sum which may exceed the common stock of the Society.

N. B.—Those who subscribe before the first general meeting, and to whom it may not be convenient to attend, are desired to favor the general meeting by letter (according to the above direction) with any important remarks which may occur to them on the business, that the subscribers present may be assisted as far as possible, in settling the rules of the Society to the satisfaction of all concerned.

We have been already favored with the names of the following subscribers, viz.:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dr. Coke | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Rev. Mr. Simpson, of Macclesfield | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Rev. Mr. Bickerstaff, of Leicester | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Rose, of Dorking | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Horton, of London | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Ryley, of London | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Riddsdale, of London | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Jay, of London | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Dewey, of London | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Mandell, of Batb | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Jaques, of Wallingford | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Batting, of High Wickham | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. John Clarke, of Newport, in tbe Isle of Wigbt | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Miss Eliza Johnson, of Bristol | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Barton, of tbe Isle of Wight | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Henry Brooke, of Dublin | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Master and Miss Blashford, of Dublin | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Mrs. Kirkover, of Dublin | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Smith, Russia Merchant, of London | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. D'Olier, of Dublin | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mrs. Smyth, of Dublin | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| The Rev. Mr. Fletcher, of Madeley | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Miss Salmon | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Houlton, of London, an occasional subscriber | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Mrs. King, of Dublin | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | 66 | 3 | 0 |

TO ALL THE REAL LOVERS OF MANKIND.

The present institution is so agreeable to the finest feelings of piety and benevolenee, that little need be added for its reeommendation. The candid of every denomination (even those who are entirely unconnected with the Methodists, and are determined so to be) will aeknowledge the amazing change which our preaching has wrought upon the ignorant and uneivilized, at least throughout these nations; and they will admit that the spirit of a missionary must be of the most zealous, most devoted, and self-denying kind: nor is any thing more required to constitute a missionary for the heathen nations, than good sense, integrity, great piety, and amazing zeal. Men possessing all these qualifieations in a high degree we have among us, and I doubt not but some of these will accept of the arduous undertaking, not counting their lives dear, if they may but promote the kingdom of Christ, and the present and eternal welfare of their fellow-creatures. And we trust nothing shall be wanting, as far as time, strength, and abilities, will admit, to give the fullest and highest satisfaction to the promoters of the plan, on the part of

Your devoted servants, THOMAS COKE,
THOMAS PARKER.

Those who are willing to promote the institution are desired to send their names, places of abode, and sums subseribed, to the Rev. Dr. Coke, in London, or Thomas Parker, Esq., Barrister at Law, in York.*

In 1805 Coke was married to a lady eminent for piety and liberality, the only surviving child of a wealthy solicitor of

* Coke's "Plan" shows that a Foreign Missionary Society was organized by Coke eight years before the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society in 1792.

Bradford, who had bequeathed her an ample fortune. This lady sympathized heartily with all the large and liberal views of her husband; and plentiful means were put at the disposal of this noble-hearted "foreign minister" of Methodism. The missionary work went on enlarging year after year, intrusted almost entirely to his care.

In 1806, while traveling in Cornwall, Coke obtained from Colonel Sandys, a gentleman who had served twenty years in the East Indies, much information with respect to the religious state of the country, and the prospects of Christian missions there. This led to communication with Dr. Buchanan, who was a relative of Colonel Sandys, and who gave further information. The result of his inquiries led to an application to the Conference, in 1813, for leave to initiate a mission to India. His estimable wife had died two years and a half before this.

Dr. Coke was now in his sixty-seventh year, but with a zeal which age could not quench or obstructions baffle. With a magnificence of moral daring, ever forgetting the things which were behind, like a racer in full course and nearing the goal, his spirit caught inspiration from successes already won, and from the prize growing luminous before the eye of his hope. He saw India, the populous realm where idolatry and pantheism had reigned from time immemorial, enlightened by the gospel; its foul and bloody superstition subverted; the shrines of its idols deserted—*Domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna.*

With faith's vision of the reign of the Son of God made wide as the world, the heathen his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth his possession; ages of peace gliding on, and the earth full of the knowledge of the Lord, Coke longed to plant a mission in Ceylon, the ancient Taprobana; an island that seemed to be the key to a far-extending line of aggressive missionary operations in the interior of India. With these feelings he proposed his plans to the Conference. There was opposition. Benson, with vehemence, declared that "it would be the ruin of Methodism." Some thought the under-

taking too arduous for his time of life; some thought he could not be spared from the support of the missions already established; others spoke of the embarrassed financial condition of the Connection. "Yet," says the historian, "when the doctor detailed the providential circumstances which led him to desire the establishment of this mission, the favorable disposition which some men in power had manifested toward the proposed object, the reasons which led him to visit the eastern regions of the globe, and especially when he presented himself and six other preachers who were prepared to dare all the dangers of the enterprise, and added, boldly and generously, that if the Connection could not consistently bear the expense of the undertaking he was prepared, out of his own private fortune, to defray the expense of the outfit to the extent of £6,000, his brethren were alike amazed at the magnitude of the work and the manner in which it had been laid open to their efforts; and, awed into acquiescence by such a splendid example of devotion and generosity, gave their consent. It was, therefore, resolved, 'That the Conference authorizes and appoints Dr. Coke to undertake a mission to Ceylon and Java, and allows him to take with him six missionaries, exclusively of one for the Cape of Good Hope.'" *

It may be questioned whether a grander scene was ever witnessed in the deliberations of a Conference. Grand old captain! Never shall you see the missionary host retreat, with banners furled and "despair their dirge!"

The voyage of the missionaries to India was commenced January 2, 1814. The fleet was composed of eight regular Indiamen and twenty smaller vessels, under the convoy of three ships of war. On April twentieth they rounded the Cape of Good Hope. On May second Coke complained of a little indisposition. On the morning of the third his servant knocked at his cabin door; receiving no reply he opened it,

* SMITH'S "History of Wesleyan Methodism," vol. ii, p. 541.

and entering, found the mortal remains of this great man lifeless and cold on the cabin floor. He had died of apoplexy. His remains were committed to the deep with all solemnity, Mr. Harvard, one of the missionaries, reading the burial service.*

It is useless to attempt to fathom the inscrutable providence of God. The life-work of Coke was accomplished. The profound sensation awakened by the unexpected death of the leader of a great religious movement on Asia was the occasion of rousing the whole Wesleyan Church to meet the emergency. Certainly no man since Wesley's death, up to that of Coke, had exercised an influence so wide and profound on all Methodism. Richard Watson says: "The work in which Dr. Coke's soul had so greatly delighted, and in the prosecution of which he died, seemed to derive new interest from those retrospections to which the contemplation of his life, character, and labors necessarily led; and his loss, while it dictated the necessity of the exertions of the many to supply the efforts of one, diffused the spirit of holy zeal with those regrets which consecrated his memory."

Missionary societies were formed in the principal cities of England; public meetings were held; a more general concern for the conversion of the heathen was awakened; and plans were adopted for a permanent and enlarging supply of money for the enlarging field of foreign missionary operations. In point of fact there has never, since the days of the apostles, been a period richer in missionary development and results than that which has elapsed from Dr. Coke's death to the present time.

And yet, with all the united and even formidable effort made during most of the present century, little more has been done than to occupy important positions and multiply

* When Bishop Ashury heard of the death of Dr. Coke, he wrote in his journal: "Dr. Coke, of blessed mind and soul, of the third branch of Oxonian Methodists, a gentleman, a scholar, and a bishop to us. As a minister of Christ, in zeal, in labor, and in services, the greatest man in the last century."—Editor.

facilities for ultimate and entire conquest. Nevertheless, as Harris finely puts it: "The unseen is greater far than that which appears. The missionary has been planting the earth with principles; and these are of as much greater value than the visible benefits which they have already produced as the tree is more valuable than its first year's fruit. He who, in the strength of God, conveys a great truth to a distant region, or puts into motion a divine principle, has performed a work of which futurity alone can disclose the benefits."

What may not the close of the twentieth century witness? With a firm adherence to the purpose and agencies of the gospel amid the mighty collisions of opinion which forbid all further stagnation—with the favor of a general opinion on the side of missionary operations, and the world open to the two great English-speaking missionary nations—with a Bible translated into all tongues, and the British and American Bible Societies putting the book thus translated into universal circulation at the minimum cost—with general, cordial Christian co-operation, contributing diversified facilities and varied services—with a native ministry, the fruit of past missionary labors, and a power of self-support that is the prophecy of rapid increase as well as the ground of stability—in fine, with the truth of God, the unlimited redemption of Christ, the power of the Holy Ghost, the force of prayer, the life of religion enhanced in the experience, sympathies, benevolent gifts, and activities of Christendom, the providence of God on our side, and the whole Church in missionary action, what may not our sons and successors see?

But not until the books of universal history are opened at the last day, and the far-reaching and ultimate results of human character and action are disclosed, will it be known how much the nineteenth century, and all succeeding centuries, down to the last syllable of recorded time, owe to two men—JOHN WESLEY and THOMAS COKE.

# WESLEY AND ASBURY.

IF I had been requested to write a *duograph* under this heading, for a separate publication, I should want a much larger space than can be afforded in this Memorial Volume. In that case I should have had to go minutely into the biography of each of these distinguished men. But as this is one of a series of memorial essays, treating of ecumenical Methodism, my duty seems to be limited to a notice of Wesley and Asbury as the acknowledged leaders of Methodism—the former in Great Britain and its dependencies, and the latter in America. This is recognized by Wesley himself. In a characteristic letter to Asbury, dated London, September 20, 1788, two or three years before Wesley's death, and four years after the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was organized, he says:—

> There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relation wherein you stand to the Americans, and the relation wherein I stand to all the Methodists. You are the older brother of the American Methodists; I am, under God, the father of the whole family. Therefore I naturally care for you all in a manner no other person can do. Therefore I, in a measure, provide for you all.

At that very time Asbury was the recognized leader, and destined to be the father, of American Methodism.

It may be interesting to note the points of resemblance and difference between these two men in their parentage and family, as well as their intellectual and moral character and attainments.

John Wesley was the son of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, Lincolnshire, where he was born June 17, 1703. His father was a High-Churchman, devout, learned,

and laborious, a respectable poet, and a prolific author. His mother, Susanna Wesley, was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Annesley, one of the most learned and pious of the Puritan divines, who transmitted many of his admirable qualities of mind and heart to his daughter. Her superior it would be difficult to find.

Wesley's training, in childhood at home, in boyhood at the Charter House, in early manhood at Oxford, was thorough; and his acquirements in all branches of science and literature then taught were rare. He had a mind capable of mastering with ease every subject to which it was applied. His piety was deep and earnest: at first it was tinctured with asceticism, but it gradually expanded into a most healthful, cheerful, Catholic character, inferior to few, if any, to be found in the annals of the Church. His zeal was what Charles Wesley called "the pure flame of love." It was what Charles has also called a "yearning pity for mankind," a "burning charity;" it was an all-consuming desire to promote the glory of God, like that which induced his great Exemplar to say, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up." All this qualified Wesley for the part he was to act as the prime mover in the great religious reformation of the eighteenth century.

Unless a man were inspired, as were the apostles and evangelists, it is safe to say that he could not be "master of the situation"—adequate to the task to which Wesley was called—if he had not Wesley's logical, legislative mind, vast stores of information, and magnetic power over those who were brought under his influence.

Look at the men who have figured in history, then look at the work which Wesley wrought, and say who could have filled his place. The man is not to be found.

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mixed in him, that nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, This is a man!"

I am not writing a eulogy of John Wesley; that is not my object. I am merely stating the result of a more than ordinary study of Wesley's life and labors, and the impression he has made upon the world; and this is my conviction, that God raised him up and endowed him for the special work which he performed.

Many lives of Wesley have been written—the best, perhaps, is that unique autobiography, his journal, which is of transcendent interest, and which, together with his letters, sermons, and other works, affords us ample means of judging of his character, and the place he is destined to fill in the history of the Church.

Francis Asbury was one of Wesley's most devoted followers. He imbibed his spirit, emulated his zeal, and was, like him, more abundant in labors than any other man of his age. But it is obvious that Asbury could not have performed Wesley's work; and it is not too much to say, Wesley could not have performed Asbury's. God raised up and glorified the latter for his peculiar work, as he did the former for his.

Several lives and sketches of Asbury have been written, by far the best being that of Bishop Wightman, in "Biographical Sketches of Itinerant Ministers." But he who would have a full and correct view of Asbury's character and work must read his journal. This is a work as remarkable as Wesley's, but O, how different! It is simple, inartistic, repetitious; and its crudeness is unrelieved by judicious editing—of which he himself complains in regard to the portions which were published before his death. But it is a faithful record of his life and times.

I have been favored with some of his autograph letters, which have aided me in forming a judgment of his character. In addition to this I enjoyed a personal acquaintance with some of the fathers and mothers of the Church in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Charleston, etc., from whom I derived much information concerning this apostolic man.

Fortunately, we have from his own pen an account of his parentage and early life. In his journal, July 1792, he says:—

I was born in Old England, near the foot of Hampstead Bridge, in the parish of Handsworth, about four miles from Birmingham, in Staffordshire, and, according to the best of my after-knowledge, on the 20th or 21st day of August, in the year of our Lord 1745.

My father's name was Joseph, and my mother's Elizabeth, Asbury; they were people in common life; were remarkable for honesty and industry, and had all things needful to enjoy. Had my father been as saving as laborious he might have been wealthy. As it was, it was his province to be employed as a farmer and gardener by the two richest families in the parish. My parents had but two children, a daughter called Sarah, and myself. My lovely sister died in infancy; she was a favorite, and my dear mother, being very affectionate, sunk into deep distress at the loss of a darling child, from which she was not relieved for many years. It was under this dispensation that God was pleased to open the eyes of her mind, she living in a very dark, dark, dark day and place. She now began to read almost constantly when leisure presented the opportunity. When a child, I thought it strange my mother should stand by a large window poring over a book for hours together. From my childhood, I may say, I have neither

—dared an oath, nor hazarded a lie.

The love of truth is not natural, but the habit of telling it I acquired very early; and so well was I taught, that my conscience would never permit me to swear profanely. I learned from my parents a certain form of words for prayer, and I well remember my mother strongly urged my father to family reading and prayer; the singing of psalms was much practiced by them both. My foible was the ordinary foible of children—fondness for play; but I abhorred mischief and wickedness, although my mates were among the vilest of the vile for lying, swearing, fighting, and whatever else boys of their age and evil habits were likely to be guilty of; from such society I very often returned home uneasy and melancholy; and although driven away by my better principles, still I would return, hoping to find happiness where I never found it. Sometimes I was much ridiculed, and called "Methodist parson," because my mother invited any people who had the appearance of religion to her house.

I was sent to school early, and began to read the Bible between six

and seven years of age, and greatly delighted in the historical part of it. My school-master was a great churl, and used to beat me cruelly; this drove me to prayer, and it appeared to me that God was near to me. My father, having but the one son, greatly desired to keep me at school, he cared not how long; but in this design he was disappointed; for my master, by his severity, had filled me with such horrible dread, that with me any thing was preferable to going to school. I lived some time in one of the wealthiest and most ungodly families we had in the parish; here I became vain, but not openly wicked. Some months after this I returned home, and made my choice, when about thirteen years and a half old, to learn a branch of business, at which I wrought about six years and a half. During this time I enjoyed great liberty, and in the family was treated more like a son or an equal than an apprentice.

Soon after I entered on that business God sent a pious man, not a Methodist, into our neighborhood, and my mother invited him to our house. By his conversation and prayers I was awakened before I was fourteen years of age. It was now easy and pleasing to leave my company, and I began to pray morning and evening, being drawn by the cords of love as with the bands of a man. I soon left our blind priest and went to West-Bromwich Church: there I heard Ryland, Stillingfleet, Talbot, Bagnall, Mansfield, Haweis, and Venn—great names, and esteemed gospel ministers. I became very serious, reading a great deal Whitefield's and Cennick's sermons, and every good book I could meet with. It was not long before I began to inquire of my mother Who, Where, What, were the Methodists. She gave me a favorable account, and directed me to a person that could take me to Wednesbury to hear them. I soon found this was not the Church, but it was better. The people were so devout—men and women kneeling down—saying Amen. Now, behold! they were singing hymns—sweet sound! Why, strange to tell, the preacher had no prayer-book, and yet he prayed wonderfully! What was yet more extraordinary, the man took his text and had no sermon-book. Thought I, This is wonderful, indeed. It is certainly a strange way, but the best way. He talked about confidence, assurance, etc., of which all my flights and hopes fell short. I had no deep convictions, nor had I committed any deep, known sins. At one sermon, some time after, my companion was powerfully wrought on; I was exceedingly grieved that I could not weep like him; yet I knew myself to be in a state of unbelief. On a certain time, when we were praying in my father's barn, I believed the Lord pardoned my sins and justified my soul; but my companion reasoned me out of this belief, saying, "Mr.

Mather said a believer was as happy as if he was in heaven." I thought I was not as happy as I would be there, and gave up my confidence, and that for months; yet I was happy, free from guilt and fear, and had power over sin, and felt great inward joy. After this, we met for reading and prayer, and had large and good meetings, and were much persecuted, until the persons at whose houses we held them were afraid, and they were discontinued. I then held meetings frequently at my father's house, exhorting the people there, as also at Sutton Colefield, and several souls professed to find peace through my labors. I met class awhile at Bromwich-Heath, and met in band at Wednesbury. I had preached some months before I publicly preached in the Methodist meeting-houses; when my labors became more public and extensive, some were amazed, not knowing how I had exercised elsewhere. Behold me now, a local preacher! the humble and willing servant of any and of every preacher that called on me by night or by day; being ready, with hasty steps, to go far and wide to do good, visiting Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and, indeed, almost every place within my reach, for the sake of precious souls; preaching, generally, three, four, and five times a week, and at the same time pursuing my calling. I think when I was between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age I gave myself up to God and his work, after acting as a local preacher near the space of five years; it is now the 19th of July, 1792. I have been laboring for God and souls about thirty years, or upward.

Sometime after I had obtained a clear witness of my acceptance with God, the Lord showed me, in the heat of youth and youthful blood, the evil of my heart; for a short time I enjoyed, as I thought, the pure and perfect love of God; but this happy frame did not long continue, although, at seasons, I was greatly blessed. While I was a traveling preacher in England I was much tempted, finding myself exceedingly ignorant of almost every thing a minister of the gospel ought to know. How I came to America, and the events which have happened since, my journal will show.

From other sources we learn that "the branch of business at which he wrought" was the making of "buckle-chapes."

Asbury's early associations were not, like Wesley's, among gentlemen, scholars, and divines; but they were such as eminently fitted him for the work to which he was subsequently called, and which he so well performed.

It is difficult to settle the *terminus a quo* of Wesleyan Meth-

odism. Wesley himself did not settle it. In November, 1729, while at Oxford, he and his brother, and Messrs. Morgan and Kirkman, formed a society for their own spiritual improvement. The wits of Oxford dubbed it with the old nickname of "Methodist," and ridiculed John Wesley as "the father of the Holy Club." Hervey, Ingham, and a few others joined this society; but it was soon dissolved. In 1739 a society was organized by Wesley in London; this is considered the nucleus of "the United Society," which was developed into the Wesleyan Methodist Society of Great Britain and its dependencies, and the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, which was organized by Wesley's direction in 1784, nearly seven years before his death.

The work which Wesley accomplished is simply stupendous. I shall not here attempt to review it or describe it. I shall not even refer to the records of it in his journal—his epitaph at City Road, his memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey, or the Wesley Monumental Church in Savannah—if you want to see it, "*Circumspice!*"

The labors of Asbury are not so well known as those of Wesley—even in America; yet we are safe in affirming that for half a century they were as incessant, and, in their sphere, as important and fruitful as those of his illustrious exemplar.

In August, 1771, Asbury offered himself at the British Conference as a missionary to America, and was accepted by Wesley. He "had not one penny of money" when he joined his colleague, Richard Wright, in Bristol, after taking leave of his parents and other friends, preparatory to his embarkation. Friends furnished him with clothes and £10. They embarked September 2, and reached Philadelphia October 27. I remember a trustworthy tradition which I heard over forty years ago, that when he landed he exclaimed, "This is the country for me; here I shall end my days!" A sentiment of this sort frequently speaks out in his journal.

He felt that he had a divine call to America, and he became

intensely American; hence when other British missionaries returned to England, at the time of the Revolution, the thought of doing so never entered his head. This will explain several passages in his history.

Asbury entered immediately and earnestly on the great work which he had undertaken; and as he gave proof of his great executive ability, the next year Wesley appointed him his general assistant; that is, he invested him with power to supervise all the Societies and preachers in America. This is modestly noted in his journal, September 10, 1772:—

> I received a letter from Mr. Wesley, in which he required a strict attention to discipline, and appointed me to act as his assistant.

In 1773 Wesley sent over two more missionaries, Messrs. Rankin and Shadford; and as Rankin was Asbury's senior, he superseded him as "general assistant." It is gratifying to see with what pleasure Asbury resigned the superintendency to Rankin. In his journal, June 3, 1773, he says:—

> To my great comfort arrived Mr. R., Mr. S., Mr. Y., and Captain W. Mr. R. preached a good sermon. He will not be admired as a preacher, but as a disciplinarian he will fill his place.

Elsewhere he writes:—

> Mr. R. dispensed the word of truth with power. On my return to New York I found Mr. R. had been well employed in settling matters pertaining to the Society.

It is very clear, however, that Rankin was *not*, for the times, the right man in the right place. He was a Scotchman—British to the backbone—a rigid disciplinarian—and he gave offense to the preachers and people.

For three or four years during the Revolutionary war Asbury was forced to comparative retirement. In his journal, April 11, 1778, he says:—

> The reason of this retirement was as follows: From March 10, 1778, on conscientious principles I was a non-juror, and could not preach in

the State of Maryland, and therefore withdrew to the Delaware State, where the clergy were not required to take the State oath; though with a clear conscience I could have taken the oath of the Delaware State, had it been required; and would have done it, had I not been prevented by a tender fear of hurting the scrupulous consciences of others.

April 24, 1780, he says:—

Rode to Baltimore, and my friends were much rejoiced to see me; but silence broke my heart. The act against non-jurors reduced me to silence, because the oath of fidelity required by the act of the State of Maryland was preposterously rigid. I became a citizen of Delaware, and was regularly returned. I was at this time under recommendation of the Governor of Delaware as taxable.

He, however, met the Conference in Baltimore, (the 25th,) and "preached (the 26th) on Acts vi, 4, with liberty."

Some of the Methodists in Virginia—their hearts being made sick by hope deferred—had ordained certain preachers to administer the ordinances. We do not wonder at this, and are not disposed to censure them for so doing. But perhaps it was inexpedient. In his journal, April 25, Asbury says:

Our Conference met in peace and love. We settled all our northern stations; then we began in much debate about the letter sent from Virginia. We first concluded to renounce them; then I offered conditions of union:—

1. That they should ordain no more; 2. That they should come no farther than Hanover Circuit; 3. We would have our delegates in their conference; 4. That they should not presume to administer the ordinances where there is a decent Episcopal minister; 5. To have a union conference.

These would not do, as we found upon long debate; and we came back to our determinations, although it was like death to think of parting. At last a thought struck my mind; to propose a suspension of the ordinances for one year, and so cancel all our grievances and be one. It was agreed on both sides, and Philip Gatch and Reuben Ellis, who had been very stiff, came into it, and thought it would do.

The expedient was adopted, and the result exceeded their sanguine expectations. Surely the Methodists could not be

severely censured for desiring their own preachers to give them the ordinances.

Mr. Wesley said: "I still believe the episcopal form of church government to be scriptural and apostolical—I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles. But that it is *prescribed* in Scripture I do not believe. This opinion, which I once zealously expressed, I have been heartily ashamed of ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicon. I think he has unanswerably proved, that neither Christ nor his apostles *prescribe* any particular form of church government; and that the plea of *divine right* for diocesan episcopacy was never heard of in the primitive Church." When pressed concerning his "acting as a bishop," he defended it by saying: "I firmly believe that I am a scriptural *episkopos*, as much as any other man in England or in Europe. For the *uninterrupted succession* I know to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove."

Wesley, indeed, still held that none should administer the sacraments who had not been ordained by the imposition of the hands of prelate or presbyter; but he furnished no proof of a position which was the last relic of his High-Church training.

His successors in the Methodist ministry, for years after his death, did set apart men, without any imposition of hands, to administer the ordinances; and when they adopted their appropriate ceremony of ordination, those who laid hands on others never had hands laid on them—unless there chanced to be one or more who had been so ordained—as when Bishop Soule, in 1842, assisted in the ordinations of the British Conference.

In a pastoral address the British Conference affirmed that the power to administer the sacraments is a sequence to the call to preach—not denying, that for prudential reasons the exercise of it might be restricted to those of a particular rank in the ministry. The Conference might have gone further than that: it might have affirmed that, as preaching is the highest

and most important ministerial work, the power to administer the ordinances might go along with it. The New Testament nowhere restricts baptizing to ministers of the word, but it seems to intimate that it is subordinate to preaching, and was sometimes performed by men who were not in the ministry. Comp. Acts x; 1 Cor. i. And there is not a syllable in the New Testament about the *administrator* of the other sacrament.

The validity of lay baptism has been recognized by the highest authorities of the Church, and it has obtained in every age. For the sake of regularity it is expedient to restrict the administration of the ordinances to the ministers of the word, as is done in nearly all Churches. The Virginia Methodists did that; but they did not wait for prelatical or presbyterial authority to set the preachers apart to this work by the imposition of hands. In this, as we have seen, they were imitated by the British Methodists.

When we reflect seriously on the circumstances in which the Churches were placed, we feel prompted to approve of what they did, rather than to censure it. I apprehend that if I had been living among them I should have done as the Virginia brethren did; and yet it was well that they acceded to the prudent proposal of Bishop Asbury, and for twelve months suspended the exercise of what they considered an undoubted right.

It was naturally asked, Are the Methodists to become Quakers? What are they to do? They cannot beg the ordinances from New England Congregationalists, or Presbyterians, whether Dutch, German, French, or Scotch, in the Middle States, or Anglicans in the South, or Baptists anywhere. The Virginia Methodists were decided Arminians, pronounced Episcopalians, whole-souled Methodists—and as such were generally denounced as heretics and schismatics, and despised as ignorant fanatics. Nine tenths of them were willing to occupy the humble position of members of a society in communion with the Anglican Church, and to receive the ordinances from

the ministers of that Establishment; but Episcopal ministers in Virginia were then few and far between, and, according to the testimony of Mr. Jarrett, (who was one of them,) nearly all of them were strangers to vital godliness, if they were not openly wicked.

The more we think on this subject the more do we wonder at the moderation and patience of the Virginia Methodists, and admire their reverential and filial regard for Asbury as the general assistant of Mr. Wesley in America. But the hand of God was in all this.

In 1783 the war of the Revolution ended, peace was proclaimed, and the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London ceased to exist in America. There was no longer an Episcopal Church, with bishops, priests, and deacons, in the United States. Then came relief. How it came is thus naïvely stated by Asbury, in his journal:—

Sunday, Nov. 15.—I came to Barratt's Chapel; here, to my great joy, I met those dear men of God, Dr. Coke and Richard Whatcoat; we were greatly comforted together. The doctor preached on "Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." Having had no opportunity of conversing with them before public worship, I was greatly surprised to see Brother Whatcoat assist by taking the cup in the administration of the sacrament. I was shocked when first informed of the intention of these my brethren in coming to this country: it may be of God. My answer then was, If the preachers unanimously choose me I shall not act in the capacity I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley's appointment. The design of organizing the Methodists into an independent Episcopal Church was opened to the preachers present, and it was agreed to call a General Conference to meet at Baltimore the ensuing Christmas; and also that Brother Garrettson go off to Virginia to give notice thereof to our brethren in the South.

Tuesday, 16.—Rode to Bohemia, where I met Thomas Vasey, who came over with the Doctor and R. Whatcoat. My soul is deeply engaged with God to know his will in this new business.

Friday, 26.—I observed this day as a day of fasting and prayer, that I might know the will of God in the matter that is shortly to come before our Conference; the preachers and people seem to be much pleased

with the projected plan. I myself am led to think it is of the Lord. I am not tickled with the honor to be gained—I see danger in the way. My soul waits upon God. O that he might lead us in the way we should go! Part of my time is, and must necessarily be, taken up with preparing for the Conference.

Tuesday, 30.—I preached with enlargement to rich and poor on "that we may have boldness in the day of judgment." The Lord has done great things for these people. The Rev. Mr. W———s and myself had an interesting conversation on the subject of the episcopal mode of Church government. I spent the evening with D. Weems, and spoke to the black people.

Saturday, December 18.—Spent the day at Perry Hall, partly in preparing for Conference. Continued at Perry Hall until Friday, the 24th. We then rode to Baltimore, where we met a few preachers; it was agreed to form ourselves into an episcopal Church, and to have superintendents, elders, and deacons. When the Conference was seated Dr. Coke and myself were unanimously elected to the superintendency of the Church, and my ordination followed, after being previously ordained deacon and elder, as by the following certificate may be seen:

*Know all men by these presents*, That I, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, presbyter of the Church of England, and superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by two ordained elders,) did, on the twenty-fifth day of this month, December, set apart Francis Asbury for the office of a deacon in the aforesaid Methodist Episcopal Church. And also, on the twenty-sixth day of the said month, did, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by the said elders,) set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of elder in the said Methodist Episcopal Church. And on this twenty-seventh day of the said month, being the day of the date hereof, have, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by the said elders,) set apart the said Francis Asbury for the office of a superintendent in the said Methodist Episcopal Church, a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord 1784. THOMAS COKE.

Twelve elders were elected, and solemnly set apart to serve our Societies in the United States; one for Antigua, and two for Nova Scotia. We spent the whole week in Conference, debating freely, and determining all things by a majority of votes. The Doctor preached every day at noon, and some one of the other preachers morning and evening. We were in great haste, and did much business in a little time.

Monday, January 3, 1785.—The Conference is risen, and I have now a little time for rest. In the evening I preached on Ephesians iii, 8, being the first sermon after my ordination. My mind was unsettled, and I was but low in my own testimony.

Sunday, 9.—We read prayers, preached, ordained Brother Willis deacon, and baptized some children. I feel nothing but love. I am sometimes afraid of being led to think something more of myself in my new station than formerly.

Nothing can exceed the simplicity and godly sincerity of these records; and how suggestive they are!

John Wesley never rose to a greater height than when he surmounted the prejudices of his education, and set apart Dr. Coke as the first superintendent, or bishop, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, designating Asbury as his associate. If what he did needed any explanation or defense we have it in the letter which he wrote on the occasion, as follows:—

BRISTOL, *September* 10, 1784.

*To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America:*

1. By a very uncommon train of providences many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from their mother country, and erected into independent States. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the State Assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these States desire my advice; and in compliance with their desire I have drawn up a little sketch.

2. Lord King's "Account of the Primitive Church" convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. In many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right by ordaining part of our traveling preachers; but I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the National Church, to which I belonged.

3. But the case is widely different between England and North

America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction: in America there are none, and but few parish ministers; so that for some hundred miles together there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

4. I have accordingly appointed Dr. COKE and Mr. FRANCIS ASBURY to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America; as also RICHARD WHATCOAT and THOMAS VASEY to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper.

5. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

6. It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English bishop to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object, (1.) I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one only, but could not prevail. (2.) If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings, but the matter admits of no delay. (3.) If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us! (4.) As our American brethren are now totally disentangled, both from the State and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free. JOHN WESLEY.

How laconic! How judicious! How conclusive! At the same time Mr. Wesley revised the Liturgy of the Church of England, including the Ordinal for the ordination of superintendents, elders, and deacons, as he chose to style the three ranks in the ministry, instead of bishops, priests, and deacons.

The reason for substituting elders for priests is obvious. Priest, as an abridgment of presbyter, means elder; but in the authorized version of the New Testament priest stands for *hiereus*, a sacrificing functionary, (*sacerdos*,) and never for *presbuteros*, an elder. There is no sacrificing priest in the

Christian Church, except our Great High-priest; and as all believers constitute "a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ," what a vast amount of popery has been smuggled into the Anglican Church under cover of this ambiguous word we need not state. Wesley did well to change it.

There was no necessity for changing the word bishop. In the New Testament, indeed, it denotes the pastor of a congregation, and is thus used interchangeably with elder—never for apostle or evangelist. But the associations connected with this title in England, not to speak of Romish and Oriental communities, were such as to induce Wesley to prefer the title superintendent, which means the same as *episkopos*, or bishop. And this explains the letter which Wesley wrote to Asbury censuring him for allowing himself to be addressed by this title.

The Conference of 1787 resolved, that as some had scruples at using the title "reverend," every one might have his choice, using the title or the simple name with the official character, as bishop, elder, or deacon, as the case might be. Any one might see that they could not use the title "superintendent," as "Superintendent Asbury;" so bishop was adopted by those who preferred it, and in other relations "superintendent" continued to be used, as it is to this day. Matters of this sort take care of themselves.

Wesley did not scruple at the thing—episcopacy—that was what he wanted; nor at the word episcopal—he would have organized a Church of no other order, as every body knew, and as the ordinal which he prepared with the liturgy fully demonstrates.

The Presbyterians call their pastors, bishops; hence in his letter to Asbury Wesley counseled the Methodists not to imitate them in the use of this title.

But Wesley himself was reported in the Minutes as exercising the episcopal office in America, and he never objected to

it; but when pressed concerning his acting as bishop, he did not deny, but justified it, saying, "I firmly believe that I am a scriptural *episkopos*, as much as any man in England or in Europe." That is, perhaps, an extended application of the scriptural term; but that does not concern the point in question.

Wesley wanted the Methodists to have an episcopacy like that of the Alexandrian and other ancient Churches, and the Lutheran and some other modern Churches, *jure ecclesiastico*, not *jure divino*, unless any one chooses to consider the regimen of the seven apocalyptic Churches as "Episcopal," inasmuch as immediately after the apostolic age we find a presiding elder—*primus inter pares*—called, by way of distinction, "bishop," in every Church in Christendom.

We are devoutly thankful that Wesley perpetuated the episcopal regimen. We are glad, too, that it was derived from John Wesley, and not from the Bishop of London, or any other prelate. Had it been derived from the latter, it can hardly be doubted that there would be men among us who would attempt to trace the succession by *tactual* prelatical ordination to the times of the apostles; and leave to "uncovenanted mercies" all the communions in Christendom who are not linked on to this succession.

It is pleasing to note that while Asbury was the choice of Mr. Wesley for the episcopate, he would not accept it till he was chosen by the free suffrage of his brethren; and that then he obtained the assistance of the learned and devout Mr. Otterbein—the founder of "The United Brethren in Christ," and once a distinguished presbyter of the German Reformed Church—in setting him apart to the episcopal office by the laying on of hands, Dr. Coke, a presbyter of the Church of England, and first bishop or superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, performing the ordination service, assisted also by Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, who had been ordained presbyters by Wesley, Coke, and Creighton, all pres-

byters of the Anglican Church. It is difficult to conceive of any thing more deliberate, regular, scriptural, and expedient than all this; and surely, if ever the end justifies the means where both are alike lawful and right, subsequent events show that there can be no reasonable doubt in the premises.

In view of the great difference in their early training and associations, as might be expected, the esthetic tastes of Wesley and Asbury were very different. Wesley had a keen relish for architecture, poetry, music; he published books of music for the voice, organ, and harpsichord, and he was scrupulously genteel in his personal appearance, and looked venerable in his clerical costume. His principles and habits of rigid economy precluded any lavish expenditures on his houses of worship, which he made commodious, comfortable, and neat. Asbury had a great aversion to display, which he carried to extremes. He expressed his dislike to steeples and bells on the churches, as well as organs in them. When on a visit to Augusta, Ga., in 1806, he made this entry in his journal: "And behold here is a bell over the gallery—and cracked, too —may it break! It is the first I ever saw in a house of ours in America; I hope it will be the last."

When the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized it was natural enough to conform it somewhat to the mother Church of England. Wesley, as we have seen, prepared for it a liturgy—an abridgment of the Anglican—and the Conference ordered its use in the Connection. Asbury and his preachers used it for some time; but only two editions of it were published. Despite Mr. Wesley's wishes it went into desuetude. The Sunday Service was thought to be cumbrous, especially in country places; hence, by common consent, it was laid aside, and, so far as appears, no action was taken concerning it.

So of the gown and bands. They were kept at old Light-street Church, Baltimore, where the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, to be used by the officiating preachers.

I have heard old people say that Bishop Asbury looked venerable in that garb. But it was Saul's armor to him, and he laid it aside; he could fight better with his sling and stone. As an Episcopalian he had no prejudice against the gown; the Wesleys wore it, and they are usually seen with it in their portraits. But its use was found impracticable in the country, and so it was laid aside. It does not appear that the *surplice* was used by the fathers of Methodism, but simply the black gown in which ministers of the Church of England used to deliver their sermons. As to Episcopal robes, miters, crosiers, etc., I suppose their use never entered into the heads of our fathers, who did not seem to think, "A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn."

When, in 1775, Asbury received a call to Antigua—Wesley having given consent to his going—he said, "I feel inclined to go, and take one of the young men with me. But there is one obstacle in my way—the administration of the ordinances. It is possible to get the ordination of a presbytery, but this would be incompatible with Methodism; which would be an effectual bar in my way." How providentially was that obstacle removed! not to his going to Antigua, but to his traversing the continent, like the apocalyptic angel, exercising his functions, indeed, as an "angel of the Church."

As an earnest of what he was going to do, on the adjournment of the Conference at which he was ordained he mounted his horse and rode the first day, through frost and snow, fifty miles to Fairfax, Va.

From that time to the day of his death his labors were scarcely inferior to those of the chief of the apostles. "The monument of his organizing and administrative talent," says M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, "may be seen in the discipline and organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which grew under his hands during his life-time, from a feeble band of 4 preachers and 316 members, to nearly 700 itinerants, 2,000 local preachers, and over 214,000 members. Within the com-

pass of every year the borderers of Canada and the planters of Mississippi looked for the coming of this primitive bishop, and were not disappointed. His travels averaged six thousand miles a year; and this not in a splendid carriage, over smooth roads; not with the ease and speed of the railway, but often through pathless forests and untraveled wildernesses; among the swamps of the South, and the prairies of the West; amid the heats of the Carolinas and the snows of New England. There grew up under his hands an entire Church, with fearless preachers and untrained members; but he governed the multitude as he had done the handful, with a gentle charity and an unflinching firmness. In diligent activity no apostle, no missionary, no warrior, ever surpassed him."

This is well said, except that the planters of Mississippi never saw his apostolic face within their borders. He never was south or west of Georgia and Tennessee. At the Tennessee Conference, October, 1813, he writes: "The Tennessee Conference were not willing to let the bishops go to the Mississippi Conference." At the Conference in Kentucky, October, 1814, he writes: "I had wished to visit Mississippi, but the injury received by Bishop M'Kendree being so great that it is yet doubtful whether he will so far recover as to be present at the South Carolina Conference, I must decline going. I live in God." In October, 1815, he writes: "I have visited the South thirty times in thirty-one years. I wish to visit Mississippi, but am resigned"—"I took counsel of my elder sons, who advise me not to go to Mississippi this year." The next year he laid down his body with his charge, "and ceased at once to work and live!"

Wesley was opposed to slavery, and, as might be expected, so was Asbury, who makes frequent references to it in his journal. It is interesting to note how a more familiar acquaintance with the institution modified his views in reference to the treatment of it. At first, like Dr. Coke, Asbury was disposed to expel every Methodist who would not liberate his slaves;

but he soon found that that would not do. He saw the expediency of procuring places of worship, wherever practicable, for the blacks, apart from the whites. Then he adopted the policy pursued by the British Wesleyan missionaries in the West Indies—labored to gain the confidence of the owners, (which he never abused,) so as to have access to the slaves. On Christmas-day, 1802, he remarks in his journal:—

I preached at Rembert's Chapel, and on Sunday James Patterson spoke on "Enoch walked with God." There is a great change in this settlement; many attend with seriousness and tears. Whenever our preachers gain the confidence of the lowland planters, (if, indeed, that time shall ever be,) so that the masters will give us all the liberty we ought to have, there will be thousands of the poor slaves converted to God. The patient must be personally visited by the physician before advice and medicine will be proper; and so it is, and must ever be, with the sin-sick soul and the spiritual physician.

February 12, 1803.—(Wilmington, N. C.) I met the people of color, leaders and stewards; we have eight hundred and seventy-eight Africans and a few whites in fellowship. The Africans hire their time of their masters, labor and grow wealthy; they have built houses on the church lots. I hope to be able to establish a school for their children.

December 11, 1803.—When Brother Mark's house is finished he hopes to build a chapel, which he means to call Sardis; he is a kind master to his slaves, and hints the probability of his liberating them by will; but he may change his mind before he dies.

By pursuing this line of conduct Asbury and his co-laborers gained the confidence of the masters, and brought thousands of them and their slaves into the liberty with which Christ makes us free. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, alone, there were some two hundred thousand colored communicants, when the institution was abolished. The masters loved him and showed him great hospitality; and the slaves almost worshiped him as their devoted friend. Nothing is hazarded in saying, that Bishop Asbury did more than any other man to elevate "the servile progeny of Ham," and to prepare them for the freedom which they now possess; and if his

wise method had been pursued by all concerned, the same issue would have been reached without that fratricidal war which desolated this fair heritage, and decimated its population. The time has, perhaps, come when this subject may be discussed with a calm, dispassionate, unprejudiced spirit and temper; or, if it has not, it will soon come, and then this apostolic man will receive his due meed of praise. The story of Bishop Asbury and Punch—a worthless negro whom he found fishing, and to whom he preached Jesus, and brought him to the knowledge of salvation—is a well-known romantic incident which illustrates his character. By him the poor negro had the gospel preached to him in deed and in truth; and he thus showed that he was in the true apostolical succession.

Asbury was never married. John and Charles Wesley, Whitefield, Fletcher, and Coke, all married—some happily—John Wesley unhappily. This may have had something to do with Asbury's celibacy. He writes:—

January 26, 1804.—If I should die in celibacy, which I think quite possible, I give the following reasons for what can scarcely be called my choice. I was called in my fourteenth year; I began my public exercises between sixteen and seventeen; at twenty-one I traveled; at twenty-six I came to America: thus far I had reasons enough for a single life. It had been my intention of returning to Europe at thirty years of age; but the war continued, and it was ten years before we had a settled, lasting peace; this was no time to marry or be given in marriage. At forty-nine I was ordained superintendent bishop in America. Among the duties imposed upon me by my office was that of traveling extensively, and I could hardly expect to find a woman with grace enough to enable her to live but one week out of the fifty-two with her husband. Besides, what right has any man to take advantage of the affections of a woman, make her his wife, and by a voluntary absence subvert the whole order and economy of the marriage state by separating those whom neither God, nature, nor the requirements of civil society permit long to be *put asunder?* It is neither just nor generous. I may add to this, that I had little money, and with this little administered to the necessities of a beloved mother until I was fifty-seven. If I have done wrong I hope God and the sex will forgive me. It is my duty

now to bestow the pittance I may have to spare upon the widows and fatherless girls, and poor married men.

Although Asbury never married, yet he showed great deference to the gentler sex, and took great interest in children. He was very desirous of establishing district schools throughout the Connection, and he is said to have organized the first Sunday-school on the plan of Mr. Raikes in the United States. He did all in his power to promote the interests of Cokesbury College, before it was destroyed by fire, though he did not favor the establishment of a collegiate institution, and had nothing to do with the naming of it after Coke and himself, for which he was unwittingly censured by Wesley.

Bishop Wightman, in his admirable "Sketch of Francis Asbury," relates the following interesting incident :—

Among the earliest recollections of the writer of this sketch is a tolerably vivid impression of a venerable old man, shrunk and wrinkled, wearing knee-breeches and shoe-buckles, dressed in dark drab, whose face to a child's eyes would have seemed stern but for the gentleness of his voice and manner toward the little people. It was the custom of my honored and now sainted mother, no doubt at the instance of the bishop himself, to send her children to pay him a visit whenever he came to the city. The last one was made in company with my two younger brothers. The bishop had some apples on the mantel-piece of the chamber where the little group of youngsters, the eldest only seven years old, were introduced. After a little religious talk suitable to our years and capacity, the venerable man put his hands on our heads, one after another, with a solemn prayer and blessing, and dismissed us, giving the largest apple to the smallest child, in a manner that left upon me a life-long impression. I remember, too, how he was carried into Trinity Church, and placed upon a high stool, and with trembling voice delivered his last testimony there. An incident trifling in itself may powerfully illustrate character; and the foregoing shows the attention which the chief of a Church extending from Canada to Georgia, with cares innumerable occupying his thoughts, in oft and extreme feebleness, was accustomed to pay to *children—little children.* This, too, not so much of any extraordinary fondness for children, but because in these little ones he saw future recruits for Christ, and desired to have

religious impressions made upon them in their earliest years. His attention won their confidence, and indirectly but powerfully increased his hold upon the affections of parents. He lived to see multitudes of children's children, who could remember with solemn joy his interest in them, his advices and prayers.

Dr. Bangs estimates that during the forty-five years of his ministry in America Asbury delivered over sixteen thousand sermons, besides innumerable lectures and exhortations; traveled two hundred and seventy thousand miles, mostly on horseback, on bad roads; sat in over two hundred and twenty Annual Conferences; and ordained more than four thousand ministers.

Bishop Asbury was very warm and firm in his friendships. Like his Master he had here and there a Bethany—a Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, who ministered unto him of their substance, and oft refreshed his spirit. His notices of them read almost like postscripts to Rom. xvi, and Phil. iv.

There were the Goughs, of Perry Hall, Maryland. The copy of Asbury's journal which I have before me now bears this inscription: "Presented by Mrs. Prudence Gough to her niece, Achsah Carroll, January, 1822. Thomas B. Sargent's, 1832." Forty years ago I was the pastor of Mrs. Carroll in Baltimore. Dr. Sargent was her son-in-law. How dear were the Goughs to Asbury! How they ministered to his comfort, and helped him in his travels!

Then there were the Remberts, of Rembert Hall, South Carolina. What could he have done without their annual contributions to his wardrobe, and other attentions? for which they felt a thousand times repaid by his sojourn with them, his counsels, and his prayers!

But time would fail me to mention Wells, of Charleston; the M'Kendrees, of Tennessee; the Russells and Arnolds, of Virginia, where he died; Rogers, M'Cannon, and others, of his much-loved Baltimore; Weems, of Anne Arundel, Md.; John Dickins; Nicholas Snethen, whom I remem-

ber "in age and feebleness extreme;" and John Wesley Bond, who closed his eyes; and others, his traveling companions. O how he loved them! O how they loved and revered their apostolic leader!

I find this entry in his journal, June 18, 1794:

I once more came to Baltimore, where, after having rested a little, I submitted to have my likeness taken; it seems they will want a copy; if they wait longer, perhaps they may miss it. Those who have gone from us in Virginia have drawn a picture of me which is not taken from the life."

This pleasant bit of humor was characteristic of the bishop. I suppose the portrait then taken was that to which Bishop Wightman makes allusion in his "Sketch:"

The bishop was fastidious about having his portrait painted, and persisted in refusing this favor to his friends. It was got out of him in the following way: At a session of the Baltimore Conference Bishop Asbury lodged with his friend, M'Cannon, who was a merchant tailor, and wealthy. He had to pass through the front shop in entering the house. He had been greatly depressed by the sad equipment of many of the pioneers for the ensuing year. As he passed through the shop Mr. M'Cannon said to him: "Brother Asbury, here is a piece of black velvet which I was thinking I would make up for the preachers, for some of them seem to be in great need."

"Ah, James," said the bishop, "that would be doing a good thing if you can afford it!"

"O yes, I can afford it; but I expect to be paid a good price for it."

"Price!" said the bishop; "if it is price you are after it is not worth while to talk any more about it;" and was about to pass on.

"Come, come," Brother Asbury," said his friend, "you can pay the price, and be none the poorer for it."

"Why, how is that?" said the bishop.

"Just this," answered his friend; "if you will sit to a painter for your portrait I will give the piece of velvet to the preachers, and have it made up for them besides."

"Ah, James," said the bishop, "I believe you've got me now!" and passed on to the parlor. That afternoon he gave the artist a sitting.

Bishop Soule, a few years before his death, showed me a portrait of Asbury and another of M'Kendree, which he considered faithful likenesses of his "venerable friends," which he designed to be deposited in one of our universities. They are striking pictures.

It is noteworthy that Bishop Asbury did not *complain* of his tribulations, but he *gloried* in them—some may think with too frequent repetition and with too much self-introspection. But he could not well help this. It is amazing how he traveled so much in all weathers, and by all methods, chiefly the most wearisome—crossing the Alleghanies sixty times—and did so much ministerial work, while constantly beset with grievous afflictions. He seemed to live largely on physic! We wonder at the work performed by Calvin, Baxter, and Robert Hall, while preyed upon by disease. They, however, were but little exposed—theirs was chiefly mental labor, performed frequently in bed—as especially in the case of Calvin. But Asbury fulfilled his ministry amid. exposure, hardships, and toils, which would seem to demand an iron constitution and robust health, the very opposite of which was his sad inheritance.

Tradition informs us that when oppressed with toil, exposure, and pain, he used to exclaim:

"Still out of the deepest abyss
Of trouble, I mournfully cry,
And pine to recover my peace,
And see my Redeemer, and die.
I cannot, I cannot forbear
These passionate longings for home;
O when shall my spirit be there?
O when will the messenger come?"

It is noteworthy that when he visited a cave in Virginia, and wished to know how his voice would sound in it, he lifted it up in the strains of that pathetic *De Profundis* of Charles Wesley, suggested by his position, and moved by the pensive, though not melancholy feeling, which was natural to him.

Bishop Asbury was liberal almost to a fault. Of the pittance he received he spent nothing on himself except for bare necessities. He rendered aid to his widowed mother while she lived. At a session of the Western Conference, where the preachers were too poor to buy decent clothes, to assist them, he says, "I parted with my watch, my coat, and my shirt!"

Asbury's catholicity was of the genuine Methodist type. He loves to record interviews with pious ministers, and others of different denominations, and was ever ready to reciprocate their kindly regards, and to aid them in their labors. Holding fast to his own well-formed and settled opinions, he acceded to all the right he claimed for himself—caring comparatively little for circumstantials if they were sound in fundamentals—according to Wesley—

> "fellowship with all we hold,
> Who hold it with our Head."

At the same time he denounced bigotry and arrogance, so frequently displayed toward him by "the Standing Order" in New England, Prelatists in the South, and Antinomians everywhere. It may be thought he dealt fully as much in sarcasm and satire as was needful, when open enemies and false friends, bigots and schismatics dogged his steps, and traduced his name, as the "messenger of Satan" did the great apostle, of which he so bitterly complained. But the prevailing tone of Asbury's mind was meekness and patience, saying, with David, "For my love they are my adversaries; but I give myself unto prayer."

In his early ministry in America he was very intimate with two Episcopal ministers, M'Gaw, of Delaware, and Mr. Jarratt, of Virginia. They were, in fact, "Methodist clergymen," like Grimshaw, of Haworth, and Fletcher, of Madeley. They preached among the Methodists, attended their meetings, entertained their preachers, and gave them the ordinances. Asbury was delighted to be with them, and to attend their ministry. Mr. Jarratt imitated Fletcher as far as possible. He wrote a

letter to Mr. Wesley, through Asbury, in which he indorses the doctrine and Discipline of the Methodists with great warmth and zeal. Asbury speaks of him very frequently in his journal, and always in the highest terms of respect and affection. I do not remember an exception. It is painful to add that when the Methodists became more numerous, and especially when they were organized into an Episcopal Church, Mr. Jarratt, having lost his popularity as well as his health, became very acrimonious and sour toward his old friends—especially toward Dr. Coke, of whom he said savage things. He renounced his Methodist opinions and practices, and wrote his autobiography—a copy of which is now open before me—a self-contradictory farrago, the greater part of which his true friends would be glad to consign to oblivion. He vilifies his old friends without stint; but the worst thing he says about Asbury is this: "Mr. Asbury is certainly the most indefatigable man in his travels and variety of labors of any I am acquainted with; and though his strong passion for superiority, and thirst for domination, may contribute not a little to this, yet I hope he is chiefly influenced by more laudable motives. However, if I err in this, I have this satisfaction, that it is an error founded in charity." This evinces no great stretch of charity. How different is the spirit of Asbury! If he knew of the defection of his old friend, he threw the mantle of a sincere charity over it; and when he heard of his death, mentions him with great kindness, and preaches his funeral sermon, making particular mention of his great zeal and success in the conversion of souls.

We have hardly ever read of one who prayed so much as Bishop Asbury. He would rise before day, and pray for all the preachers and Societies by name; he had ten stated seasons a day for prayer; he prayed wherever he visited, unless absolutely debarred from doing so; he prayed on his journeys, by the roadside, every-where, at all times, without ceasing. He lived, moved, and had his being in the spirit of prayer and in

the element of perfect love. That was the secret of his power, that accounts for his great achievements. That more than compensated for his defective education.

But it must not be supposed that Bishop Asbury was unlearned: far from it! He makes frequent reference to his perusal of the Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; his reading was extensive, considering his opportunities, and his powers of observation and absorption were very great. He had a vast fund of information from which he could draw on all occasions. I have been favored with some of his autograph documents, and I considered them superior to those of any of the fathers of American Methodism which have come under my notice, always excepting Dr. Coke, who was a man of fine classic attainments and an elegant writer, second only to the Wesleys themselves.

Speaking of Dr. Coke, I am reminded of an anecdote which I heard many years ago of him and Asbury. During the session of a Conference in Baltimore, "the little doctor," as he was affectionately called, remarked to Asbury:—

"Bishop, I am afraid these American preachers cannot read; suppose we call them up, and see."

Asbury, who was always an advocate of the American preachers when they were thus impeached, humored the fancy, and proposed Monday as the day of examination. Meanwhile, on the intervening Sunday, he put some of his great American preachers into the Light-street pulpit, and they preached with so much eloquence and power that the impulsive doctor sprang to his feet and embraced Asbury, exclaiming,

"I can't preach a bit! I can't preach a bit!"

Asbury quietly smiled, and asked, "Shall we have them up to-morrow and see whether or not they can read?"

"No. I don't care whether they can read or not; I can't preach a bit!"

I remember hearing another anecdote of Asbury, which I am inclined to believe, as he sometimes tried his hand at tink-

ering hymns. He wrote some verses, which he showed to his German friend, Otterbein, who was a fine scholar, asking his opinion of them. It was more laconic than complimentary:

"Ah, Pishop! you are no boet!"

Asbury was a close student of Wesley's writings, and he imitated him as far as he could in his simplicity, terseness, and directness of style, as well as in his passion for the salvation of souls and the glory of God.

Some ill-disposed persons endeavored to make a breach between Wesley and Asbury. But this was not to be. The humble itinerant bishop received with meekness the undeserved rebukes of his venerable father in the gospel, who lived long enough to see that the charge of ambition was never more unfounded than when made against Asbury, who was a paragon of humility. Before the venerable Wesley died Asbury wrote him a kind letter; and after his death he wrote in his journal, (April 29, 1791:)

> The solemn news reached our ears that the public papers had announced the death of that dear man of God, John Wesley. He died in his own house in London, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after preaching the gospel sixty-four years. When we consider his plain and nervous writings; his uncommon talent for sermonizing and journalizing; that he had such a steady flow of animal spirits; so much of the spirit of government in him; his knowledge as an observer; his attainments as a scholar; his experience as a Christian; I conclude his equal is not to be found among all the sons he hath brought up; nor his superior among all the sons of Adam he may have left behind. Brother Coke was sunk in spirit, and wished to hasten home immediately. For myself, notwithstanding my long absence from Mr. Wesley, and a few unpleasant expressions in some of his letters the dear old man has written to me, (occasioned by the misrepresentation of others,) I feel the stroke most sensibly; and I expect I shall never read his works without reflecting on the loss which the Church of God and the world has sustained by his death.

But Asbury was no hero worshiper. His independence is greatly to be admired. He was not willing that Wesley himself

should interfere in the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church after it was organized by him. Wesley acceded to it an autocracy, and Asbury saw that it should be maintained; and he was right! We greatly honor him for it. Wesley did, doubtless. Asbury was always solicitous for the counsel of his venerable friend, and ready to follow it, except in matters of a connectional character with which Wesley, at the other side of the Atlantic, could not be acquainted, and with which he had no right to interfere. When Wesley, for example, wished to have Whatcoat made a superintendent, or bishop, Asbury was rejoiced to get such a colleague; but he was unwilling to receive any one in that capacity, even by the appointment of Wesley, until he was elected by the Conference, as he was himself, to that responsible office; and he was right!

Bishop Asbury preached his last sermon in Richmond, Va., March 24, 1816. He was carried to the pulpit, seated on a table, where he spoke nearly an hour on Romans ix, 28: "For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth." He then proceeded to the house of his old friend, George Arnold, in Spottsylvania, where he yielded up his spirit in holy triumph, March 21, 1816. He was buried in Mr. Arnold's family burying-ground, but was translated, at the request of the General Conference, which met in May, 1816, in Baltimore, to that city, and interred under the recess of the pulpit of Eutaw-street Church. That spot has seemed peculiarly sacred to me when I have preached there, and I cannot but regret that the venerable remains have been exhumed and deposited in Mount Olivet Cemetery, in the suburbs of Baltimore. Many a time have I read with pensive feelings the inscription on the tablet, as follows:—

Sacred to the memory of the Reverend Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was born in England, August 20, 1745; entered the ministry at the age of 17; came a missionary to America 1771; was ordained bishop in this city, December 27, 1784; annu-

ally visited the Conferences in the United States; with much zeal continued to preach the word for more than half a century; and literally ended his labors with his life near Fredericksburgh, Virginia, in the full triumph of faith, on March 31, 1816, aged 70 years, 7 months, and 11 days. His remains were deposited in this vault May 10, 1816, by the General Conference then sitting in this city. His journals will exhibit to posterity his labors, his difficulties, his sufferings, his patience, his perseverance, his love to God and man.

# IN MEMORIAM.

## CHARLES WESLEY—HYMNOLOGIST.

*"Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. . . Thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire."—Ezek.* xxviii, 12, 14.

BARD! inspired by love divine,
Hallowing influence benign,
Ever vital, ever rife,
Throbbing warm with inner life;
Holy unction, quenchless fire,
All concenter in thy lyre;
Wreathe the laurel round thy brow,
Israel's sweetest singer, thou.

Who in like majestic lays
Ever voiced Jehovah's praise?
Earth is choral with thy songs
From her countless million tongues;
Girdling the great world around,
Wheresoever man is found,
Hearts are melted, harps are strung,
And thy jubilates sung.

Who beside has hymned like thee
Jesu's death and agony?
Jesus, on the altar bound;
Jesus, crucified and crowned;
He of loving, tender heart,
Meekly bearing sorrow's smart;
He, omnipotent to save,
Conqueror, rising from the grave?

Thou hast sounded an alarm,
Broken Satan's hellish charm;
Sinners, starting from their sleep,
Thou hast wooed to pray and weep;
Spoken gentle words, which prove
Winning as a mother's love;
Softest sympathy is thine,
Pouring in the oil and wine.

Tenderest pathos, comfort sweet,
Blending in concretion meet;
Quickening power and life divine
Here mysteriously conjoin;
Joy unspeakable, and peace,
Flow together and increase;
Streams of mercy, deep and broad
As the "plenitude of God."

Words with wondrous thought combined,
All euphonious, all refined,
Pure, and exquisitely bright,
As a diamond's flash of light;
Nature's everlasting rhyme,
Welcome as the evening-chime;
More divine to listening ears
Than the music of the spheres.

Faith and courage, at thy word,
Fight the battles of the Lord;
Burnished shields and swords of flame
Clash in war for Jesu's name;
Onward in the glorious strife!
Onward! grasp the crown of life!
Battle-hymns are heard around,
And the victor-warriors crowned.

O'er affliction's waste of woe,
Where the weeds of sorrow grow,
Come thy angel-hymns of love
Like soft whisperings from above:
Gladsome songs and bliss are given,
Grand rehearsals, hymns of heaven,
While on Pisgah's top we stand
Gazing o'er the promised land!

At the death-bed, o'er the grave,
Where the sable banners wave,
Thou hast struck the chord of peace,
Sung the dirge of sweet release;
Changed the slow funereal knell
Into a triumphant swell,
Until gloomy death grows bright
In the resurrection's light.

As we pass the surging flood,
"Hanging on the arm of God,"
Songs of victory, bursts of joy,
Still our raptured tongues employ;
Songs for life, and songs for death,
Shout we with our latest breath;
Burning words of victory, given
Last on earth and first in heaven.

Bard of bards! in peerless light
On the empyrean height,
All surpassing, all above,
In thy canticles of love,
Joining hands with those who dwell
Where eternal anthems swell,
Now we wreathe thy deathless brow,
Israel's sweetest singer, thou.

# WESLEY AND LAY PREACHING.

FORTY years ago one of the most distinguished local preachers on the American Continent published this sagacious and truthful aphorism: "Methodism, not a human contrivance, but a providential arrangement."

No true son of John Wesley, however, claims that he was inspired of God for his wonderful mission. And yet like other great Church reformers he was aided in his important labors by an overruling providence. For "it is the same God which worketh all in all." In perfect harmony with this, it is confidently affirmed that the life, labors, and triumphs of John Wesley were most strikingly marked by the providence of Almighty God.

The providential employment of "lay helpers" by John Wesley in the establishment and growth of Methodism forms the topic of this article, and is a subject of commanding interest. John and Charles Wesley were ordained ministers in the Church of England, and strongly attached to its doctrines and form of government. While young and ardent they entered upon the important duty of arousing a slumbering Church to the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ, and the necessity of holiness with its accompanying fruits. The gospel which they preached was not a new religion, but the revival of long-neglected scriptural truths, which they illustrated by their own experience and practice. The spirituality of the Articles of the Church of England had been lost sight of, being concealed under the forms and ceremonies of mere churchism; and the lives of many of the ministers and laity were worldly, given to fashion and unseemly pleasures.

The clergy and their Church wardens, taking offense at the

earnest, faithful preaching of the Wesleys, excluded them from the parish churches. God allowed them to be thrust out from the churches to raise up a holy people, devoted to the diffusion of earnest Christianity. In consequence, the world became their parish. Resorting to private houses, market-places, and fields, they boldly preached the gospel of the ever-blessed God. On numerous occasions hundreds and thousands of the spiritually-neglected poor, and many other persons, were attracted to their ministry.

Such an apostolic ministry was accompanied by most gracious results. The harvest was great. And it became an anxious inquiry, What should be done to promote the spiritual interests of those who had been converted to God, and instruct those who were seeking salvation by Jesus Christ? Moreover, places of worship, however humble, were absolutely necessary; and the contingent expenses of the new movement required assistance.

John Wesley wisely adopted class-meetings in promotion of these great objects. Each class was expected to be composed of twelve members, and was placed under the care of a competent, faithful person, denominated the leader. The religious exercises consisted of singing, prayer, and reading the holy Scriptures; and each member was expected to state freely and honestly his personal experience as a Christian, or as an earnest seeker of religion. It was the duty of the leader to advise, instruct, reprove, or exhort, each member, as the case in his best judgment required. Regular but voluntary offerings of the members for the relief of the Society and the poor were required of all who were able to contribute. It was impracticable for John Wesley and his clerical colleagues to be present at all the class-meetings while prosecuting their itinerant ministry. This led to the employment of the first class of lay helpers in Wesleyan Methodism. In the absence of the ministers, class-leaders, chosen from among the people, became sub-pastors.

During a brief absence of John Wesley from London, Thomas Maxfield, a class-leader, began to preach without his knowledge or consent. On Wesley's return, when he was determined to silence the unauthorized preacher, his honored mother informed him that she had heard Mr. Maxfield, and if God had called her son to preach, he had also called his zealous class-leader. By her advice Mr. Wesley determined to hear for himself the youthful Maxfield. After the sermon of the tyro Mr. Wesley said: "It is of the Lord; let him do as seemeth him good. What am I that I should withstand God!" Thomas Maxfield was immediately employed by Mr. Wesley as a lay preacher.

About the same time John Cennick,* and soon afterward Thomas Richards and Thomas Westel, became lay preachers in connection with Mr. Wesley. This was the commencement of lay preaching among the Methodists. John Nelson, also, a humble stone-mason, having been converted to God, began in his own retired home to tell his family and neighbors of his happy conversion, and to exhort them to seek the Lord. The number of his hearers having increased until the yard of his dwelling was crowded, he stood in the doorway and boldly testified concerning the personal salvation he had received.

Religious awakenings and conversions followed the preaching of honest John Nelson. His wife and mother were among the converts. The latter died soon thereafter in holy triumph. Her son recorded: "This was the first ripe fruit the Lord gave me." Advised to desist from preaching until the Wesleys could be consulted, he replied that he would stop if the devil would stop his work, not otherwise!

His enemies had him impressed as a soldier into the British army, and he was cast into prison. Within the bars of the common jail, and subsequently in the army, he continued to

* Mr. Tyerman says, that John Cennick began to preach as a lay preacher before Thomas Maxfield. Mr. Wesley says, that Joseph Humphreys was the first lay preacher who assisted him. "The first lay preacher in the Methodist movement," writes Mr. Tyerman, "was Howell Harris."—EDITOR.

preach the "great salvation." The subsequent employment of John Nelson as a lay preacher by John Wesley, and his success, forms an interesting chapter in Wesleyan Methodism. "Nelson's Journal," as written by himself, was one of the earliest and best autobiographies which cheered and blessed the families of early Methodism, as it may well do those of later days.

Charles Wesley, while zealously co-operating with his distinguished brother, did not fully accord with the employment of lay preachers. Gradually his opposition diminished, and, beholding the great success of their united labors, he wrote that triumphant song of Methodism:—

"See how great a flame aspires,
Kindled by a spark of grace!
Jesus' love the nations fires,
Sets the kingdoms on a blaze."

The partial separation which occurred between the eloquent George Whitefield, and a few adherents, from immediate co-operation with John Wesley, however regretted, resulted in a diffusion of earnest gospel preaching among large and influential Churches which believed and taught the special doctrines held by the great reformer John Calvin—doctrines which were in opposition to the religious views of Mr. Wesley and his Societies. It was a diversion, but not a positive loss of Mr. Whitefield's remarkable pulpit power. John Cennick co-operated with Mr. Whitefield. The beautiful hymn, "Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone," etc., which lives in the choice psalmody of the religious world, was written by Mr. Cennick.

It now became important that the lay preachers should be properly authorized to preach, and be employed according to their piety, talents, and opportunities for usefulness. Those who were prepared to enter the traveling ministry were assigned to circuits and placed in charge of the infant Societies. The most meager temporal support was allowed, if collected,

but not promised; and there was no contingent fund to meet the deficiencies of this noble company of self-sacrificing moral heroes.

Many of the lay preachers remained with the Societies to which they severally belonged; and while pursuing worldly avocations for personal and family support, they zealously co-operated, in their own neighborhoods, with the traveling preachers in the promotion of Methodism. Local preachers, distinctively so-called, were licensed by Mr. Wesley, or under his authority. Their work was to preach the gospel, in the necessary absence of the itinerants, in private houses, chapels, or in the fields, as opportunities occurred. They became a most useful agency in home mission labors.

Wesleyan Methodism rapidly became a moral power in England, Ireland, and Scotland; and soon began to develop missionary interest in more distant countries.

A galaxy of honored names was gathered from the traveling preachers. Dr. Adam Clarke, Joseph Benson, Richard Watson, Jabez Bunting, Robert Newton, and others, distinguished for learning, piety, and administrative abilities, rose to great eminence and commanding influence. Preachers of less distinction for learning and public fame, but not less so for holiness and success, like the sainted William Bramwell, were burning and shining lights on their extensive fields of circuit labor. Gideon Ouseley, with the spirit which makes martyrs, became the apostle of Methodism to Ireland, and fearlessly denounced, in the public streets and market-places, with marvelous results, the fallacies and gross errors of the Church of Rome. Thomas Walsh, the converted Irish papist—"who," says Mr. Wesley, "was so thoroughly acquainted with the Bible that if he were questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek in the New Testament, he would tell, after a brief pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but what it meant in every place," and in whose mouth "the word, whether in English or Irish, was sharper than a two-edged sword"—in Dublin and in London turned hundreds

of his Romanist countrymen to forsake their breviaries and rely for pardon solely upon simple faith in the cross of Christ. And what shall I say of others? Time would fail me to tell of Sampson Stainforth, and John Haime, and Thomas Olivers, and John Pawson, and Alexander Mather—men of humble birth and slender education, but heroes all, the weapons of whose warfare were not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. These were lesser lights of Methodism, but they were men of whom Mr. Overton, in "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," has lately written, "*Cum tales essent, utinam nostri fuissent*"—since they were such, would that they had been ours.

The local preachers, who deserve honorable mention, were represented, in part, by Samuel Hick, the "Village Blacksmith," whose humble ministry was a notable success, adorned by an honest holy life, worthy of imitation by all his successors in the lay ministry. Samuel Drew, who began his business life as a shoemaker, became a local preacher, and during more than forty years occasionally occupied the best pulpits in London and other important places. By personal application and diligent study he gradually rose to great eminence in the literary world, and is justly ranked among the first metaphysicians of his native land. But what shall I say of William Dawson, the Yorkshire "farmer, local preacher, and general missionary advocate," to whom John Angell James applied the words of the poet, "Nature made him and then broke up the mold?" And what shall I say of Jonathan Saville, "a poor, feeble, crippled man, the victim of cruel treatment in his childhood, whom Methodism found in the almshouse, but purified and exalted to be a 'burning and shining light' in the land?" These eminent worthies, though, some of them, eccentric and uncultivated, were a power in Wesleyan Methodism, who, by their thrilling eloquence, saintly lives, and matchless zeal, won through grace many trophies to Christ, and added many stars to the crowns which adorn their victorious brows.

Similar successes to those which Methodism achieved in England by the local ministry were also accomplished in Antigua, West Indies. Nathaniel Gilbert, a gentleman of wealth and high social position, after reading in his distant home some of John Wesley's publications, accompanied by several of his slaves visited and made the acquaintance of Mr. Wesley. He was happily converted to God, as were also two of his slaves, who were baptized by Mr. Wesley. Mr. Gilbert, on his return to Antigua, fitted up a room for public worship, and was soon "branded as a madman for preaching to his slaves." His brother, Francis Gilbert, also labored in the gospel with him. A Society was formed at St. Johns, and through their instrumentality Methodism was planted in the West Indies. Nathaniel Gilbert died eleven years before the first Wesleyan missionary was appointed to Antigua, leaving a Methodist Society of sixty members. When he was near death a friend inquired of the wealthy lay preacher, "On what do you trust?" He replied, "On Christ crucified." "Have you peace with God?" He answered, "Unspeakable."

John Wesley, from about 1737 to his death in 1791, supervised all these providential arrangements for spreading scriptural holiness through the lands. Still adhering to the Established Church, he instructed his preachers, and the Societies generally, to receive the holy sacraments administered by the regular clergy. With limited exceptions, all the lay preachers were unordained during the life-time of Mr. Wesley, and for some years thereafter. But happily for the promotion and prosperity of Wesleyan Methodism in Europe and the mission fields, the traveling ministry, after proper probation, are now solemnly ordained as ministers in the Church of God. The local preachers, with comparatively rare exceptions, remain licentiates, and are ineligible to holy orders.

The introduction of Methodism into the American Colonies—now the United States of America—was through a series of providential occurrences. Philip Embury and Robert Straw-

bridge, two lay preachers from Ireland, landed in America near the same period between 1760 and 1764. As it was important that New York city, then in its infancy, should become one of the great centers of American Methodism, Mr. Embury and other fellow-immigrants selected New York for their new home. Robert Strawbridge passed into Frederick County, Maryland, then almost a wilderness, and selected a small farm near Sam's Creek, as the residence for himself and family.

Philip Embury prosecuted his work as a house carpenter in New York city, and met with reasonable success in business. For several years it is recorded that he failed to exercise his gifts as a lay preacher. This almost unaccountable delinquency is scarcely credible in view of his subsequent active and efficient ministry. That alleged interregnum may be in some "Lost Chapter" of New York Methodism.

Female agency and its valuable influence also marked the early lay ministry. The beautiful and accomplished mother of John Wesley pleaded with her son not to silence Thomas Maxfield, the first layman who ventured to preach in the city of London. And Barbara Heck, a co-immigrant and relative of Philip Embury, has the high honor of arousing this neglectful preacher to his sacred and important duties in the city of New York. If his license had expired from non-use, she effectually renewed it by her strong and urgent appeal. He preached his first sermon in his own dwelling to a company of five persons. Other valuable services soon followed, and in 1766 he formed the first Methodist Society in that city, composed of his own countrymen and other citizens. In 1767 the "Old Rigging Loft" was opened for public worship. Congregations continued to increase. It was then that Philip Embury was re-enforced by the presence and labors of Captain Thomas Webb, a hero of the English army, an approved and eloquent lay preacher.

It was soon proposed to erect a Methodist chapel in New York, and subscriptions were obtained for that purpose from

about two hundred and fifty persons in that city. Captain Webb made a princely gift, for the times, of £30, and having extended his labors to New Jersey and the City of Philadelphia, he obtained at the latter place contributions amounting to £32 to aid in the erection of Wesley Chapel, New York. The subscription list recognized John Wesley as the founder of Methodism, and Philip Embury as "a member and 'helper' in the gospel."

A lease was obtained for a lot of ground on John-street, dated March 29, 1768, in which the name of Mr. Embury appears as one of the lessees. The first Methodist preaching-house in New York city was completed and occupied October 30, 1768. Philip Embury, the humble carpenter and lay preacher—who had built the pulpit with his own hands—preached the first sermon from Hosea x, 12, and with characteristic plainness said: "The best consecration of a pulpit was to preach a good sermon in it." He was represented to have been a "weeping prophet," his sermons being "steeped in tears," but remarkably effective.

An earnest appeal having been made to John Wesley for ministerial assistance, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor were appointed to visit America with a gift of £50, to aid the first Church in New York. These two lay preachers landed near Philadelphia, October 24, 1769. Mr. Boardman found a small Society in that city, the fruits of Captain Webb's effective ministry. Mr. Boardman proceeded to New York, and was soon followed by Mr. Pilmoor. They were received with joy and gladness by Philip Embury and the Society which he had organized.

By virtue of their appointment by Mr. Wesley, Boardman and Pilmoor properly assumed the pastorate of John-street Church. A deed in trust was obtained for the property, dated November 2, 1770, the conveyance being made to Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, ministers of the gospel, and five other persons, not including Philip Embury.

This may be accounted for by his removal from New York, and not from want of proper consideration on the part of the English preachers. The financial account of John-street Church during the ministry of Philip Embury exhibits sundry payments to him for carpenter's work, and occasionally small sums which may be considered as presents for his pastoral services. The last entry, April 10, 1770, was: "To cash paid Philip Embury, to buy a Concordance, £2.5s." A valuable parting gift, for the times, to the "founder of New York Methodism." It is supposed that during the early summer of 1770 Mr. Embury removed to Camden, now a part of Washington County, New York, and formed a Society at Ashgrove, mostly among immigrants from his own country. He was highly honored in the community, and held the office of civil magistrate. He continued to preach the gospel in his own neighborhood and beyond. In the summer of 1780, while mowing in his field about seven miles from Ashgrove, he received mortal injury, and died in holy triumph. Thus suddenly passed away "the first lay preacher in the colony of New York." His history is revered and honored by American Methodism. The National Association of Local Preachers have dedicated a beautiful monument to his memory in the handsome cemetery at Cambridge, New York, where his remains were re-interred.

Maryland authorities, who have carefully examined Mr. Strawbridge's history, have published that he commenced his labors in his own dwelling, to which his neighbors were invited. A Methodist Society was formed in Maryland by Robert Strawbridge as early as 1762 or 1763; and soon after, the famous "Log Meeting-house" was erected near Sam's Creek, about one mile from his residence. This humble chapel, built of logs, was of equal character with many of the houses occupied by the early settlers. It was like a "block house," in the wilderness. There the people worshiped God, and many seals were given to the ministry of the "founder of

Methodism in Maryland." The chapel was never completely finished. Its last gnarled log was taken and prepared for honorable use in the magnificent Metropolitan Church, in Washington city.

The 27th day of October, 1771, is an important epoch in American Methodism. On that day Francis Asbury and Richard Wright arrived in Philadelphia. Mr. Asbury had been a local preacher for several years while working at his avocation; and subsequently a traveling preacher for a few years under Mr. Wesley. Mr. Asbury immediately commenced his active ministry in Philadelphia, New York, and the adjacent territory. In 1772 he was designated as "general assistant in America."

In the summer or autumn of 1781, and before the Revolutionary War had closed, while Mr. Strawbridge was making pastoral calls among the Methodists, he was taken suddenly ill at the house of his friend, Mr. Joseph Wheeler, near Towsontown, now the seat of Baltimore County. In a few days the pioneer Maryland preacher died in the triumphs of faith. An immense concourse of the friends of the departed hero gathered at his mournful funeral services. They were conducted in an extensive yard connected with the dwelling where he died, under a large spreading walnut-tree. Mr. Owings, the spiritual son of Mr. Strawbridge, and the first native local preacher in America, delivered the funeral sermon, under the deepest emotion, from Rom. xiv, 13. The place of burial was in a large private grave-yard, about one or two hundred yards distant. The solemn procession followed the corpse, borne on the shoulders of four men, singing, amid floods of tears, Charles Wesley's inimitable hymn,

> "How blest is our brother, bereft
> Of all that could burden his mind," etc.

The widow of Mr. Strawbridge died a few years after, and the remains of husband and wife reposed in adjoining graves,

with only small, unhewn stones to mark their place of interment. After a lapse of about eighty years their wasted forms were carefully disinterred and reburied in the preachers' lot in Mount Olivet Cemetery, near Baltimore City.

The centenary of American Methodism, celebrated in 1866, was marked by the presentation to the president of the Local Preachers' Association of Baltimore of a large and appropriate marble monument in memory of Robert Strawbridge, which was dedicated with most impressive exercises. It stands under the shadow of the massive bishops' monument, bearing the names of Bishops Asbury, George, Emory, and Waugh. In close proximity is the beautiful and costly monument in memory of the distinguished Jesse Lee, the greatest Methodist leader which Virginia ever gave to the Church among her many worthy sons. If memorial inscriptions on monuments make history, then Robert Strawbridge came to America in 1760, began to preach Christ in his own home on Sam's Creek, built the log meeting-house in 1764, in Frederick County, Md., the first in America.

In support of the foregoing statements only one witness, Bishop Asbury, will be produced. On April 30, 1801, Bishop Asbury dined at Alexander Warfield's, on Sam's Creek, and pushed on to the house of that eminent minister, Henry Willis, on Pipe Creek, where a Conference was held. He then adds: "This settlement of Pipe Creek is the richest in the State. Here Mr. Strawbridge formed the first Society in Maryland—and *America*." The italic is his own. Let it be remembered that Bishop Asbury was then near the home of Mr. Strawbridge and amid the scenes of his successful ministry. His host, Alexander Warfield, was a devoted Methodist, of rare intelligence, social position, and of unblemished reputation. Henry Willis, at whose house the Conference was held, was one of the ablest ministers in Methodism, possessed of the most accurate information. Forty preachers, including William Watters, the exhorter and first native itinerant preacher, were in counsel for

four days. With all these opportunities he made the entry above recited, that Mr. Strawbridge formed the first Society in America. This was not an entry made on horse-back, or under the fatigue of a long day's journey. He was writing history.

In 1815 Bishop Asbury revised his journal. It was transcribed for him and read to him by Francis Hollingsworth. After Asbury's death, which occurred March 16, 1816, Mr. Hollingsworth superintended its publication. In the Journal, as thus revised by the Bishop, it is again recorded, "Robert Strawbridge formed the first Society in Maryland—and *America.*" The italicised word is again Asbury's.

National peace and independence having been proclaimed in the autumn of 1784, the path opened for another providential arrangement. John Wesley solemnly ordained Dr. Thomas Coke, one of his early and devoted fellow-laborers, as superintendent of the Societies in America, with directions to confer the same office on Francis Asbury, who had become the great leader and apostle of American Methodism. In company with Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, who had been ordained and appointed by Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke landed in America November 3, 1784.

After consultation a General Conference of the American preachers assembled in Lovely Lane Meeting-house, Baltimore, December 25, 1784. After the unanimous election by the preachers there convened, Francis Asbury was ordained a superintendent or bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. Bishop Coke conducted the ordination, being assisted by Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, (who were elders ordained by Mr. Wesley,) and the Rev. William Otterbein, who was the first superintendent or bishop of the United Brethren in Christ—who have been often known as German Methodists.

The services of Bishop Coke in America were highly important, but transitory and uncertain. His great soul was mapping "mission stations," for the world. He died suddenly on ship-

board while on a missionary tour to the East Indies, when nearly seventy years of age. Bishop Asbury often pronounced him a man "of blessed mind and soul; a gentleman, a scholar, and a bishop; and as a minister of Christ, in zeal, in labors, and in services, the greatest man of the last century." When the sea shall give up its dead, Bishop Thomas Coke will have part in the first resurrection.

Many great and mighty men, whose names and deeds the scope and limit of this article will not permit us to record, have adorned and illustrated the Methodist itinerancy in America. They were the successors of the itinerant preachers whom Coke and Asbury ordained. A mighty work the itinerant preachers have wrought both in Europe and America! But greatly have they been seconded by those lay preachers who have distinctively been called *local* preachers. These have generally remained with the Church at home, following secular pursuits for their support, aiding the itinerant preachers, and oftentimes preaching the gospel where the itinerants could not, and whenever opportunity showed an open door. They discovered new fields of labor in their own neighborhoods and beyond. To the Church where they resided, they were often class-leaders, stewards, and trustees, acting in harmony with the traveling ministry. Others removed to distant parts of the country, preaching Christ Jesus, penetrating the wilderness, and forming Societies before any itinerant minister had explored the far-off settlements. They cordially welcomed the early Methodist missionaries, extending to them food and shelter, and acting as guides over rivers and through the gorges of mighty mountains. Bishop Asbury styled them, "his best guides and companions."

In 1796 Bishop Asbury was authorized to ordain suitable local preachers as deacons in the Church. Further provision was made in 1812, under certain qualifications, for the ordination of local deacons to the office of elders in the Church of God.

The forms of ordination of deacons and elders for the traveling and local ministry are identical. The solemn vows are taken in accordance with the existing or future duties and relations of the parties severally ordained. No preacher of any class has a right to ordination; it is only his privilege, if the Church authorities deem it proper to confer it.

The oneness of the forms of ordination is wise and prudent. The Methodist ministry is one of occasional and necessary changes. The most ardent, outspoken itinerant minister this year may locate at the next Conference, as many in former years found it necessary or convenient to do. The local minister this year may supply the vacant or some other place the ensuing year. Re-ordinations in case of such Conference changes form no part of American Methodism.

It was thus that lay preaching, as a distinct class of Church labor, was providentially restored by Mr. Wesley to the Church of Christ. His employment of John Nelson, the humble stone mason, as a lay preacher, found ample justification in the examples of apostolic times. Saint Luke was the "beloved physician." Saint Stephen, the protomartyr of the Christian Church, was chosen by the apostles to receive and distribute the alms of the Church, being of "honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom." Lay preacher as he was at that time, he "did great miracles and wonders among the people." With his face shining as an angel he delivered a lay sermon of almost unequaled eloquence and power. His enemies, unable to resist or answer it, sent him, amid a shower of stones, to receive the first martyr's crown! Ananias, a humble lay preacher, and not an apostle, was commissioned by the Lord Jesus to visit, instruct, and baptize Saul of Tarsus. Saint Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, was a lay preacher before the apostles knew that he was a disciple. When his temporal necessities required it he considered it no degradation of his sacred office to labor with his own hands as a tent maker. Thousands of lay

preachers in Europe and America have done noble work for the Church of God. Many of their honored names have perished from human recollection. No "Church Memoirs" have recorded their battles for the Lord, and the glorious victories which they won in the name of Jesus Christ. But they are written in the "Book of the Battles" for God and Christianity.

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Note.—The many thousands converted to God through the instrumentality of lay preaching has demonstrated the wisdom of restoring it to its place in the Christian Church, and vindicated its scriptural claim. The successes of Methodism convincingly attest the far-seeing prescience of the man who made it an essential and integral part of the Methodist polity. To its wondrous effects as a vitalizing spiritual force and powerful auxiliary to the regular ministry, not only has the experience of Methodism, but the experience of other evangelisms, borne abundant witness. For in some form or other lay preaching, from Wesley's times till now, has been employed by nearly all the evangelical Churches, and largely contributed to their success. The Church of England itself has recently and formally adopted it, and given it the sanction of its authority. The convocation of archbishops and bishops, which met in 1866 at the episcopal palace of Lambeth, *restored*, as it was claimed, the "order of lay readers," from which order Episcopal writers tell us Mr. Wesley derived his plan of lay preaching. Indeed, we are reminded that the "order of lay readers"—which, it is said, was known to the Church of England long before Mr. Wesley's day, but which had fallen into disuse in the eighteenth century—and Wesley's lay preachers are one and the same order. For in both they who perform the service are laymen—men set apart (and, in the case of the lay readers, by the imposition of episcopal hands) to read and expound the holy Scriptures in the absence of the regular clergy, and under their direction.—Editor.

# WESLEY'S DEATH AND CHARACTER.

NO sight on earth is more beautiful than that of sunset in a cloudless sky; and the same may be said of the last days of a man like Wesley. Half a century had elapsed since he had founded the "United Societies of the People called Methodists;" and during that interval many had been the counsels, warnings, and exhortations, he had addressed to them. His *last* "*address*," published in his magazine only three months before his death, deserves to be quoted. The subject of it is of vast and permanent importance; and, though its language is strong—some will say severe—it evinces the characteristic faithfulness and boldness of the man:

How great is the darkness of that execrable wretch, (I can give him no better title, be he rich or poor,) who will sell his own child to the devil! Who will barter her own eternal happiness for any quantity of gold or silver! What a monster would any man be accounted who devoured the flesh of his own offspring! And is not he as great a monster, who, by his own act and deed, gives her to be devoured by that roaring lion? as he certainly does (so far as is in his power) who marries her to an ungodly man. "But he is rich: but he has ten thousand pounds!" What if it were a hundred thousand? The more the worse; the less probability will she have of escaping the damnation of hell. With what face wilt thou look upon her when she tells thee in the realms below, "Thou hast plunged me into this place of torment! Hadst thou given me to a good man, however poor, I might have now been in Abraham's bosom! But, O! what have riches profited me? They have sunk both me and thee into hell."

Are any of you that are called Methodists thus merciful to your children? Seeking to *marry them well*, (as the *cant* phrase is;) that is, to sell them to some purchaser that has much money but little or no religion? Are ye, too, regarding God less than mammon? Are ye also without understanding? Have ye profited no more by all ye have

heard? Man, woman, think what you are about! Dare *you* also sell your child to the devil? You undoubtedly do this (as far as in you lies) when you marry a son or a daughter to a child of the devil, though it be one that wallows in gold and silver. O take warning in time! Beware of the gilded bait! Death and hell are hid beneath. Prefer grace before gold and precious stones; glory in heaven to riches on earth. If you do not, you are worse than the very Canaanites. They only made their children pass *through the fire* to Moloch. You make yours pass *into the fire* that never shall be quenched, and to stay in it forever! O how great is the darkness that causes you, after you have done this, to *wipe your mouth and say you have done no evil!*

I call upon you who are called Methodists. In the sight of the great God, upward of fifty years I have ministered unto you; I have been your servant for Christ's sake. During this time I have given you many solemn warnings on this head. I now give you one more, perhaps the last. Dare any of you, in choosing your calling or situation, eye the things on earth rather than the things above? In choosing a profession, or a companion for life for your child, do you look at earth or heaven? And can you deliberately prefer, either for yourself or your offspring, a child of the devil with money, to a child of God without it? Why, the very heathens cry out, "*O curvæ in terras animæ, et celestium inanes!*" "O souls bowed down to earth, strangers to heaven!"

Repent, repent of your vile earthly-mindedness! Renounce the title of Christians, or prefer, both in your own case and the case of your children, grace to money, and heaven to earth! For the time to come, at least, *let your eye be single*, that your *whole body may be full of light.*

This was plain speaking; but who will say it was unneeded? And if it was necessary in the days of Wesley, how much more necessary is it now!

Wesley's near approach to the spirit-world solemnized but did not appall him. With the eye of faith he surveyed its vast scenes and endless visions. He mused concerning its inhabitants, their employment, their capabilities, their happiness, or their punishment. He seemed, sometimes, to lose himself in the midst of untold wonders. The following extracts from his writings amply prove all this.

The first are taken from a sermon written about fifteen months before his death, and founded upon the words: "Even

like as a dream when one awaketh, so shalt thou make their image to vanish out of the city:" and it is a remarkable fact, that, at the very time when Wesley's coffin was taken into City Road Chapel, previous to its being put into his tomb, the latter part of this striking sermon was being printed for his "Arminian Magazine."

Let us suppose we had now before us one that was just passed into the world of spirits. Might not you address such a new-born soul in some such manner as this? You have been an inhabitant of earth forty, perhaps fifty or sixty, years. But now God has uttered his voice, "Awake, thou that sleepest!" You awake; you arise; you have no more to do with these poor, transient shadows. Arise, and shake thyself from the dust! See, all is *real* here! All is permanent, all eternal! Far more stable than the foundations of the earth; yea, than the pillars of that lower heaven! Now that your eyes are open, see how inexpressibly different are all the things that are now round about you! What a difference do you perceive in yourself! Where is your body? Your house of clay? Where are your limbs? Your hands, your feet, your head? There they lie; cold, and insensible!

What a change is in the immortal spirit! You see every thing around you: but how? Not with eyes of flesh and blood! You hear: but not by a stream of undulating air, striking on an extended membrane! You feel: but in how wonderful a manner! You have no nerves to convey the ethereal fire to the common sensory: rather are you not now all eye, all ear, all feeling, all perception? How different, now you are thoroughly awake, are all the objects round about you! Where are the houses, and gardens, and fields, and cities, which you lately saw? Where are the rivers and seas, and everlasting hills?

What has become of all the affairs which you have been eagerly engaged in under the sun? What have you reaped of all your labor and care? Does your money follow you? No: you have left it behind you: the same thing to you as if it had vanished into air. Does your gay or rich apparel follow you? No; your body is clothed with dust and rottenness. Your soul is indeed clothed with immortality: but, O! what immortality! Is it an immortality of happiness and glory? or of shame and everlasting contempt? Where is the honor, the pomp of the rich and great? The applause that surrounded you? All gone! All are vanished away, *like as a shadow that departeth.*

Where is all your business? Where your worldly cares? Your troubles or engagements? All these things are fled away; and only your soul is left. And how is it qualified for the enjoyment of this new world? Has it a relish for the objects and enjoyments of the invisible world? Are your affections loosened from things below, and fixed on things above? Fixed on that place, where Jesus sitteth on the right hand of God?

How do you relish the company that surrounds you? Your old companions are gone: are your present companions angels of light? Ministering spirits, that but now whispered, "Sister spirit, come away!" And what are those? Some of the souls of the righteous, whom you formerly relieved with the mammon of unrighteousness? Happy spirits that traveled with you below, and bore a part in your temptations? That together with you fought the good fight of faith, and laid hold on eternal life? As you then wept together, you may rejoice together; you and your guardian angels, perhaps, in order to increase your thankfulness for being delivered from so great a death.

These are strange musings; and yet, to a man in Wesley's position, they were natural. He was on the verge of the eternal world, toward which he had been traveling for more than fourscore years. He was about to enter it. He was solemnized. He paused. He looked across the border. He meditated. He was thrilled with religious awe.

The next extracts are taken from the last sermon Wesley penned. The text was, "Now faith is the evidence of things not seen." Wesley writes:—

Faith is, in one sense of the word, a divine conviction of God and of the things of God: in another, nearly related to, yet not altogether the same, it is a divine conviction of the invisible and eternal world. In this sense I would now consider—

I am now an immortal spirit, strangely connected with a little portion of earth; but this is only for awhile. In a short time I am to quit this tenement of clay, and to remove into another state,

> "which the living know not,
> And the dead cannot, or they may not, tell!"

What kind of existence shall I then enter upon, when my spirit has launched out of the body? how shall I feel myself—perceive my own

being? How shall I discern the things round about me, either material or spiritual objects? When my eyes no longer transmit the rays of light, how will the naked spirit *see?* When the organs of hearing are moldered into dust, in what manner shall I *hear?* When the brain is of no further use, what means of *thinking* shall I have? When my whole body is resolved into senseless earth, what means shall I have of gaining *knowledge?*

How strange, how incomprehensible, are the means whereby I shall then take knowledge even of the material world! Will things appear then as they do now? Of the same size, shape, and color? Or will they be altered in any, or all these respects? How will the sun, moon, and stars appear? The sublunary heavens? The planetary heavens? The region of the fixed stars? How the fields of ether, which we may conceive to be millions of miles beyond them? Of all this we know nothing yet; and, indeed, we need to know nothing.

What, then, can we know of those innumerable objects which properly belong to the invisible world; which mortal eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into our heart to conceive? What a scene will then be opened, when the regions of *hades* are displayed without a covering!

There is "a great gulf fixed" in *hades*, between the place of the holy and that of unholy spirits, which it is impossible for either the one or the other to pass over. But who can inform us in what part of the universe *hades* is situated? This abode of both happy and unhappy spirits till they are reunited to their bodies? It has not pleased God to reveal any thing concerning it in the Holy Scripture, and, consequently, it is not possible for us to form any judgment, or even conjecture, about it.

Neither are we informed how either happy or unhappy spirits are employed during the time of their abode there; yet may we not probably suppose that the Governor of the world may sometimes permit wicked souls "to do his gloomy errands in the deep?" Or, perhaps, in conjunction with evil angels, to inflict vengeance on wicked men? Or will many of them be shut up in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day? In the meantime, may we not probably suppose that the spirits of the just, though generally lodged in paradise, may sometimes, in conjunction with holy angels, minister to the heirs of salvation? May they not

> "Sometimes, on errands of love,
> Revisit their brethren below?"

But, be this as it may, it is certain human spirits swiftly increase in knowledge, in holiness, and in happiness; conversing with all the wise and holy souls that lived in all ages and nations from the beginning of the world; with angels and archangels, to whom the children of men are no more than infants; and, above all, with the eternal Son of God, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. And, let it be especially considered, whatever they learn they will retain forever, for they forget nothing. To forget is only incident to spirits that are clothed with flesh and blood.

How will this material universe appear to a disembodied spirit? Who can tell whether any of these objects that surround us will appear the same as they do now? And, if we know so little of these, what can we know concerning objects of a quite different nature?—concerning the spiritual world? It seems it will not be possible for us to discern them at all till we are furnished with senses of a different nature, which are not yet opened in our souls. These may enable us both to penetrate the inmost substance of things, whereof we now discern only the surface, and to discern innumerable things of the very existence whereof we have not now the least perception. What astonishing scenes will then discover themselves to our newly-opening senses! Probably fields of ether, not only tenfold, but ten thousand fold, "the length of this terrene!" And with what variety of furniture, animate and inanimate! How many orders of beings, not discovered by organs of flesh and blood! Perhaps, "Thrones, dominions, virtues, princedoms, powers!" And shall we not then, as far as angels can, survey the bounds of creation, and see every place where the Almighty

> "Stopped his rapid wheels, and said,
> This be thy just circumference, O world?"

Yea, shall we not be able to move, quick as thought, through the wide realms of uncreated night? Above all, the moment we step into eternity shall we not feel ourselves swallowed up of Him who is in this and every place—who filleth heaven and earth? It is only the veil of flesh and blood which now hinders us from perceiving that the great Creator cannot but fill the whole immensity of space. He is every moment above us, beneath us, and on every side. Indeed, in this dark abode, this land of shadows, this region of sin and death, the thick cloud which is interposed between conceals him from our sight. But the veil will disappear, and he will appear in unclouded majesty, "God over all, blessed forever!"

Who knows how we shall be employed after we enter the invisible world? What may be the employment of unholy spirits from death to the resurreetion? We eannot doubt but the moment they leave the body they find themselves surrounded by spirits of their own kind, probably human as well as diabolical. What power God may permit these to exereise over them we do not distinctly know; but, it is not improbable, he may suffer Satan to employ them, as he does his own angels, in inflieting death, or evils of various kinds, on the men that know not God. For this end, they may raise storms by sea or by land; they may shoot meteors through the air; they may oeeasion earthquakes, and, in numberless ways, affliet those whom they are not suffered to destroy. Where they are not permitted to take away life, they may inflict various diseases; and many of these, whieh we judge to be natural, are undoubtedly diabolieal. I believe this is frequently the case with lunaties. It is observable that many of those mentioned in Scripture, who are called lunaties by one of the evangelists, are termed demoniaes by another. May not some of these evil spirits be likewise employed, in conjunetion with evil angels, in tempting wieked men to sin, and in proeuring oeeasion for them? Yea, and in tempting good men to sin, even after they have eseaped the eorruption that is in the world?

Meantime, how may we eonceive the inhabitants of the other part of *hades*, the souls of the righteous, to be employed? May we not say that these servants of God, as well as the holy angels, "do his pleasure," whether among the inhabitants of the earth or in any other part of his dominions? And, as we easily believe that they are swifter than the light, even as swift as thought, they are well able to traverse the whole universe in the twinkling of an eye, either to exeeute the divine eommands or to eontemplate the works of God. What a field is here opened before them! And how immensely may they increase in knowledge while they survey his works of ereation, or providence, or his manifold wisdom in the Chureh! What depth of wisdom, of power, and of goodness do they diseover in his methods of bringing many sons to glory!—espeeially while they eonverse on any of these subjeets with the illustrious dead of aneient days!—with Adam, first of men; with Noah, who saw both the primeval and the ruined world; with Abraham, the friend of God; with Moses, who was favored to speak with God, as it were faee to faee; with Job, perfeeted by sufferings; with Samuel, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Daniel, and all the prophets!—with the apostles, the noble army of martyrs, and all the saints who have lived and died to the present day!—with our elder brethren, the holy angels, eherubim,

seraphim, and all the companies of heaven!—above all, with Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant! Meantime, how will they advance in holiness, in the whole image of God, wherein they were created!—in the love of God to man, gratitude to their Creator, and benevolence to all their fellow-creatures!

These are long extracts, but they are important as showing the thoughts and feelings with which the aged Wesley approached the vast spirit world. The remarkable sermon from which the extracts are taken is dated "London, January 17th, 1791," only six weeks before his entrance into that unseen realm concerning which he mused so deeply and devoutly. Nothing need be said about the strength of mind and the vigorous writing of "the old man eloquent," now approaching the age of eighty-eight. All that is here attempted is to show his frame of mind and heart when he was about to die.

Not much is known of Wesley's labors during the last six weeks of his eventful life. He continued to preach, and he wrote a number of interesting letters, one of which may be appropriately inserted here. It was addressed to Ezekiel Cooper, the son of an officer in the army of the American Revolution, and who was now twenty-eight years of age and a Methodist preacher at Annapolis, Md.; a man of great mental vigor and versatility, almost unequaled in debate, and called—because of his profound wisdom—by the American Methodists, *Lycurgus;* a diligent student, and a close observer of men and things, who died in 1847, being at the time of his decease the oldest Methodist preacher in the world. When he entered the ministry, in 1784, the Methodists in America had eighty-three preachers and fifteen thousand members; when he died, the number of their preachers was five thousand, and of their members above a million. To Ezekiel Cooper Wesley wrote as follows:

NEAR LONDON, *February* 1, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER:—Those that desire to write or say any thing to me have no time to lose, for Time has shaken me by the hand, and Death

is not far behind. But I have reason to be thankful for the time that is past. I felt few of the infirmities of old age for fourscore and six years. It was not till a year and a half ago that my strength and my sight failed; and still I am enabled to scrawl a little, and to creep, though I cannot run. Probably I should not be able to do so much, did not many of you assist me by your prayers.

I have given a distinct account of the work of God, which has been wrought in Britain and Ireland, for more than half a century. We want some of you to give us a connected relation of what our Lord has been doing in America since the time that Richard Boardman accepted the invitation, and left his country to serve you. See that you never give place to one thought of separating from your brethren in Europe. Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue,—

"Though mountains rise, and oceans roll,
To sever us in vain."

To the care of our common Lord I commit you, and am your affectionate friend and brother, JOHN WESLEY.

Such was Wesley's dying exhortation to the transatlantic Methodists. It is somewhat strange that he should write to Ezekiel Cooper, a young man of twenty-eight, whom he had never seen, for "a connected relation of what our Lord had been doing in America," rather than to Francis Asbury, whom Wesley, in 1784, had appointed to be "joint superintendent" with Dr. Coke of the Methodists "in North America." Perhaps the reason was, because Coke and Asbury had greatly offended him by calling themselves *bishops*.*

For sixty-five years Wesley had been an earnest, laborious, and marvelously successful preacher of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God;" and, notwithstanding his extreme age and feebleness, he continued in his beloved employ until within seven days of his decease. In a pamphlet, published soon afterward,

* Touching the question suggested by the above remark, Methodist writers—especially in this volume—have *agreed* to *disagree*. It is no longer a question for acrimonious debate.—EDITOR.

entitled "A Short Account of the Late Rev. J. Wesley, A.M., during the Two Last Weeks of his Life," it is stated:—

For some time before Mr. Wesley was taken to his reward his strength was evidently on the decline; and his friends had apprehensions of his approaching dissolution. His conversation also indicated a presentiment of his death. He frequently spoke of the state of separate spirits, and seemed desirous to know their particular employments. His preaching during the last winter was attended with uncommon unction, and he often spoke, both in his sermons and exhortations, as if each time was to be his last, and desired the people to receive what he advanced as his dying charge. It is also worthy of remark, that for three months before his last sickness there were scarcely three evenings passed together that he did not sing at family worship the following verses:—

Shrinking from the cold hand of death,
I too shall gather up my feet;
Shall soon resign this fleeting breath,
And die, my fathers' God to meet.

Numbered among thy people, I
Expect with joy thy face to see:
Because thou didst for sinners die,
Jesus, in death remember me!

O that without a lingering groan
I may the welcome word receive;
My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live!

During the last two winters Miss Ritchie, of Otley, had been a guest in Wesley's house, in City Road; and she came again in the month of November, 1790. Her friend, Miss Roe, (at that time married to the Rev. James Rogers,) resided there, but ill-health prevented her occupying her usual place in the domestic circle. Hence, at Wesley's pressing invitation, Miss Ritchie undertook Mrs. Rogers' duties. "I found," says she, "sufficient business on my hands. The preacher who usually read to Mr. Wesley being absent, he said to me, 'Betsy, you must be eyes to the blind.' I therefore rose every morning about half past five o'clock, and generally read to him from six till breakfast time. During the three months I passed under his roof, his spirit seemed all love. He breathed the air of par-

adise. Often adverting to the state of separate spirits, he would observe, 'Can we suppose that this active mind, which animates and moves the dull matter with which it is clogged, will be less active when set free? Surely, no; it will be all activity. But what will be its employments? Who can tell?'"

To Miss Ritchie the Methodists are indebted for the most circumstantial account of the close of Wesley's life that was ever published. It was dated "New Chapel, City Road, March 8, 1791," and was entitled, "An Authentic Narrative of the Circumstances relative to the Departure of the late Rev. John Wesley." It begins with the last week of Wesley's public labors, and from it, and from other sources, the following particulars are gleaned.

On Thursday, February 17, 1791, he preached at Lambeth, then a thriving suburban village, from the text, "Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." After preaching, upward of fifty persons met for the renewal of their quarterly tickets. The brave old man spoke to about twenty-five of them, but was obliged to leave the remainder to James Rogers, his companion. On reaching City Road he seemed to be unwell, and said he had taken cold.

Friday, the 18th, he read and wrote, as usual; and at night, accompanied by James Rogers, went to Chelsea, and preached in one of the dancing rooms of the notorious Ranelagh Gardens, which had been converted into a Methodist meeting-house. His text was, "The king's business required haste," a text which his own long life had illustrated. Three or four times during the service he was obliged to stop, and to tell the congregation that his cold so affected his voice as to prevent his speaking without these necessary pauses. After the sermon, he retired into the vestry till Mr. Rogers had met nearly forty members to renew their tickets. When this was ended, Wesley was so exhausted that he could hardly get into his chaise.

Saturday, the 19th, was principally employed in reading and writing; but he went out to dinner, at Mrs. Griffith's, Islington. During his visit he desired a friend to read to him the fourth and three following chapters of the book of Job, containing the speech of Eliphaz and the answer of Job, and strikingly appropriate to the case of a dying man. He had purposed to conduct the usual weekly meeting of penitents at City Road in the evening, but allowed Robert Carr Brackenbury, a supernumerary preacher, to take his place.

Next morning, Sunday, the 20th, he rose at his accustomed hour, and intended to preach, but was quite unfit for the Sabbath services. At seven o'clock he was obliged to lie down again. After sleeping between three and four hours he roused himself, but in the afternoon had again to go to bed. In the evening he revived, and, at his request, two of his own discourses on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount were read to him. He then came down stairs and had supper with Mr. Rogers and his family.

On Monday, the 21st, he appeared to be better, and, notwithstanding the remonstrance of his friends, would fulfill an engagement he had made to dine at Twickenham, a journey, there and back, of twenty-six miles. On his way he called upon Lady Mary Fitzgerald, a noble Methodist, daughter of John, Lord Harvey, and granddaughter of John, Earl of Bristol. "His conversation with her ladyship and his prayer were memorable," says Miss Ritchie, "and well became a last visit."

On Tuesday, the 22d, he dined at Islington with one of the executors of his will, Mr. John Horton, a merchant, and one of the members of the Common Council of the city of London. At night he preached his last sermon in City Road Chapel from the words, "We through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith." Mr. Rogers says the sermon was "excellent." After the sermon he met the leaders of the Society.

At Leatherhead, a village eighteen miles from London, there resided a gentleman who had lately lost his wife. Up to the

present he and Wesley had never seen each other. In his distress the bereaved widower invited Wesley to visit him; and accordingly, notwithstanding his feebleness and the wintry weather, Wesley, on Wednesday, the 23d, set out on this lengthy journey, which turned out to be his last. James Rogers accompanied him, and wrote, "In less than two hours after our arrival our kind host, who was a magistrate, and well beloved in the neighborhood, sent his servants to invite the inhabitants to hear Mr. Wesley preach. A considerable number soon assembled, and were ordered up-stairs into a spacious dining-room, covered with a beautiful carpet, and set round with fine mahogany chairs. The plain country people, who had come plodding through the mire, seemed rather out of their element; but they all appeared to hear with deep attention while Mr. Wesley gave them a most solemn warning from the words, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon."

This was Wesley's last sermon; and, like many of his sermons, was preached under unusual circumstances. There was no Methodist Society at Leatherhead. He had never preached there before. Methodistically speaking, he had no interest in the place. He was tottering on the brink of his own sepulchre, and was far more fit to be in bed than to undertake a journey of nearly forty miles in the depth of winter. But then there was a bereaved gentleman in great distress, who urgently desired to see him. That was quite enough; and away the old man went, and closed his long and illustrious ministry in the gentleman's upstairs dining-room. Wesley's last sermon was preached in this dining-room to a congregation small and rustic, and comprised of only two who were Methodists, or who had ever seen him until now—James Rogers, the "assistant" at City Road, and Richard Summers, the driver of

Wesley's chaise. The three drank tea with the clergyman of the village, in whose house they also slept.

On Thursday, February 24th, Wesley, as usual, rose at four o'clock, and drove as far as Balham, then a small, beautiful village five miles distant from the city. There he halted at the residence of Mr. George Wolff, the Danish consul in England, and another of the appointed executors of Wesley's will. This was one of the veteran's favorite retreats, where, twelve months before, he had written his terribly faithful sermon on "God said unto him, Thou fool!" During his present visit James Rogers read to him an account of "the sufferings of the negroes in the West Indies," after which he immediately wrote his well-known letter—the last he ever penned—to Wilberforce on slavery. For about sixty years he had been accustomed to note his daily doings in his journals, and here, at Balham, he made his last entry in these remarkable productions.

On Friday, February 25, he again rose at four o'clock, and seemed to be in better health. At breakfast there was a sudden change, and Mr. Rogers became extremely anxious to get him home. Accordingly Mrs. Wolff drove him in her coach to City Road. Miss Ritchie was waiting to receive him, and was struck with the alteration that had taken place. He managed to walk up stairs. Miss Ritchie ran for some refreshment; but, before she could bring it, Wesley had requested Mr. Rogers to leave the room, and "desired not to be interrupted for half an hour by any one," adding, "not even if Joseph Bradford come." Joseph did come a few minutes after; but, of course, this *fidus Achates* did not dare to enter until the half hour was ended. Mr. Bradford found his chief extremely ill, and immediately requested Miss Ritchie to bring him wine mulled with spices. Wesley drank a little and seemed sleepy. He then became sick, vomited, and said, "I must lie down." His attendants were alarmed and sent for Dr. Whitehead. On his entering the room the old man smiled and said, "Doctor, they are more afraid than hurt."

The dying patriarch, even now, hardly thought his work was ended. In fact, only a week ago, he had written to Mrs. Knapp, of Worcester, informing her that he purposed to set out from London to Bristol, on his long journey, on February 25, and that he hoped to reach Worcester about March 22.

Until Sunday morning, February 27, his time was principally passed in bed. He was full of fever, the pulse was quick, and there was constant drowsiness. He spoke but little; and if roused to answer a question, or to take refreshment, (which was seldom more than a spoonful at a time,) he soon dozed again.

On Sunday morning he seemed much better, and, with a little of Joseph Bradford's help, got up, took a cup of tea, sat in his chair, looked cheerful, and repeated, from one of his brother's hymns—

"Till glad I lay this body down,
Thy servant, Lord, attend;
And O, my life of mercy crown
With a triumphant end!"

Soon after, with marked emphasis, he said: "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth." He tried to converse with his assembled friends, but was quickly exhausted and obliged to lie down. "Speak to me," he said, after a little quiet. "Speak to me, I cannot speak." His niece, Miss Wesley, and Miss Ritchie prayed with him, and he responded with a fervor which thrilled them.

About half past two o'clock in the afternoon, he referred to the dangerous and alarming illness with which he was seized at the Bristol Conference, at which time, addressing Joseph Bradford, his faithful and loving nurse, he had said, "I have been wandering up and down between fifty and sixty years, endeavoring, in my poor way, to do a little good to my fellow-creatures; and now it is probable that there are but a few steps between me and death; and what have I to trust to for salva-

tion? I can see nothing which I have done or suffered that will bear looking at. I have no other plea than this:—

'I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me.'"

"There is no need," said he, "for me to say more than I said at Bristol."

"Is this," asked Miss Ritchie, "your present language, and do you feel now as you did then?"

"Yes," he answered. Miss Ritchie repeated the well-known lines:

"Bold I approach the eternal throne,
And claim the crown, through Christ my own;"

and added, "It is enough. He, our precious Immanuel, has purchased, has promised all."

"Yes," said Wesley. "He is all! He is all! I will go!"

"To joys above," continued Miss Ritchie. "Lord, help me to follow you!"

"Amen!" responded the dying Christian.

After this his fever increased, and he became delirious; but even during his delirium he was either about to preach, or was meeting classes.

In the evening he again got up, and while sitting in his chair, remarked: "What are all the pretty things at B. to a dying man?" And then, again reverting to his words at Bristol, he exclaimed:

"I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me."

"We must be justified by faith, and then go on to sanctification."

On Monday, February 28, his weakness increased apace. His friends were greatly alarmed; and even Dr. Whitehead desired to summon another physician. "Dr. Whitehead," said Wesley, "knows my constitution better than any one: I am perfectly satisfied, and will not have any one else." Most

of the day was spent in sleep. He seldom spoke; but once, in a wakeful interval, he was heard saying in a low voice, "There is no way into the holiest but by the blood of Jesus." At another time, he asked Thomas Rankin what the text was from which he (Wesley) had preached at Hampstead, a short time before. Rankin answered, "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." "Yes," said Wesley. "That is the foundation—the only foundation—there is no other. We have boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus."

It was now evident to all that Wesley was beginning to sleep his last sleep. His friends around him were broken-hearted. Poor distressed Joseph Bradford dispatched numerous notes to the preachers, in the following terms—

"Dear Brother: Mr. Wesley is very ill; pray! pray! pray!

"I am your affectionate brother,

"JOSEPH BRADFORD."

All was unavailing. Wesley's work was finished. On Tuesday, March 1, after a very restless night, he began singing—

"All glory to God in the sky,
And peace upon earth be restored!
O Jesus, exalted on high,
Appear our omnipotent Lord!
Who meanly in Bethlehem born,
Didst stoop to redeem a lost race,
Once more to thy people return,
And reign in thy kingdom of grace!

"O! wouldst thou again be made known,
Again in thy Spirit descend,
And set up in each of thine own
A kingdom that never shall end!
Thou only art able to bless,
And make the glad nations obey,
And bid the dire enmity cease,
And bow the whole world to thy sway."

Here, while breathing faith and joy and universal benevolence, his strength failed. "I want to write," said he. A pen was put into his hand, and paper was placed before him. His hand had forgot its cunning. "I cannot," said the dying man. "Let me write for you," remarked Miss Ritchie: "tell me what you would say." "Nothing," he replied, "but that God is with us."

In the forenoon he said: "I will get up." And while his clothes were being prepared for him, he again commenced singing in a way which surprised his friends—

"I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,
And when my voice is lost in death,
  Praise shall employ my nobler powers;
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, and thought, and being last,
  Or immortality endures.

"Happy the man whose hopes rely
On Israel's God; he made the sky,
  And earth, and seas, with all their train;
His truth forever stands secure;
He saves the oppressed, he feeds the poor,
  And none shall find his promise vain."

Being dressed and seated in his chair, he appeared to change for death; but, in a low voice, said: "Lord, thou givest strength to them that can speak, and to them that cannot. Speak, Lord, to all our hearts, and let them know that thou loosest tongues!" And again he began to sing, what turned out to be his last song outside of heaven:

"To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
  Who sweetly all agree,"—

but here his voice failed, and, gasping for breath, he said: "Now we have done—let us go."

Full of happiness, but utterly exhausted, he was put to bed, where, after a short but quiet sleep, he opened his eyes, and addressing the weeping watchers who stood around him, said:

"Pray and praise;" and, of course, they at once complied. On rising from their knees he took their hands, drew them near to him, kissed them, and said to each, "Farewell, farewell." He asked Joseph Bradford, his old traveling companion, about the key and contents of his bureau, remarking, "I want to have all things ready for my executors. Let me be buried in nothing but what is woolen, and let my corpse be carried in my coffin into the chapel." And then, as if no other earthly matters required his attention, he again called out, "Pray and praise." Down fell his friends upon their knees, and fervent were the dying saint's responses, especially to John Broadbent's prayer that God would still bless the system of doctrine and discipline which Wesley had been the means of establishing. And now each watcher, including James Rogers' little boy, drew near to the bed of the expiring veteran, and, with affectionate solicitude, awaited the coming of the shining ones to conduct him home. With the utmost placidity he again saluted them, shook hands, and said: "Farewell, farewell!"

There was no conflict, no struggle, no sigh, no groan. He was ready and waiting and willing, if not wishful, to go. The scene was the peaceful setting of a glorious sun, undimmed by the smallest intervening cloud.

He tried to speak, but his friends found it difficult to understand what he meant, except that he wished his sermon on "The Love of God to Fallen Man," founded on the text, "Not as the offense, so also is the free gift," to be "scattered abroad, and given to every body."* The group of watchers thought him dying—there was a solemn pause—silence reigned supreme, until at length the grand old Christian soldier summoned for a final effort all the little strength he had remaining, and exclaimed, in a tone well-nigh supernatural, *The best of all is, God is with us!* And then, after another pause, and while lifting his arm in joyous triumph, he re-

* In compliance with his wish, ten thousand copies were printed and gratuitously distributed.—ROGERS' "Life," p. 48.

peated, with an emphasis which thrilled his friends, *The best of all is, God is with us!* an utterance which henceforth became the watch-word of his followers.

Nature was once more exhausted. Some one wetted his parched lips. "It will not do," he said, "we must take the consequence. Never mind the poor carcass."

James Rogers and Thomas Rankin were standing by his bed; but his sight was so nearly gone that he was unable to recognize their features. "Who are these?" he asked. "Sir," said Mr. Rogers, "we are come to rejoice with you; you are going to receive your crown." "It is the Lord's doing," replied Wesley, "and it is marvelous in our eyes."

Being told that the widow of his brother Charles had come to see him, he thanked her, affectionately endeavored to kiss her, and said, "He giveth his servants rest." She moistened his lips, and he immediately repeated his almost invariable thanksgiving after meals, "We thank thee, O Lord, for these and all thy mercies. Bless the Church and the king, and grant us truth and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, for ever and ever!" Then, after a brief pause, he cried, "He causeth his servants to lie down in peace;" and after another, "The clouds drop fatness;" and after a third, "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge! Pray and praise!" And again his friends fell upon their knees, and complied with his request.

It was now Tuesday night—his last on earth. During its silent and slowly passing hours he often attempted to repeat Dr. Watt's noble hymn, two verses of which, to the astonishment of his friends, he had sung on Tuesday forenoon; but he always failed in getting further than the first two words, "I'll praise—I'll praise."

On Wednesday morning, March 2, his loving watchers knelt round his bed, and Joseph Bradford offered prayer. On rising from their knees Wesley said, "Farewell!" the last word he was heard to articulate.

James Rogers writes:

Perceiving that the closing scene drew very near, about half past nine o'clock, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Whitfield, Mr. Broadbent, Mr. Brackenbury, Mr. Horton, Dr. Whitehead, Miss Wesley, Miss Ritchie, my wife, myself, and my little James, all kneeled upon our knees around the bed of this man of God; while his breath, gently decreasing, ceased. What we felt at that moment is inexpressible. The weight of glory which seemed to rest on the countenance of our beloved pastor, father, and friend, as he entered the joy of his Lord, filled our hearts with holy dread, mixed with ineffable sweetness. Surely God was in that place! Just as Mr. Wesley breathed his last breath Mr. Bradford was saying, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates! and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors! and let this heir of glory in!"

John Wesley died at twenty minutes before ten o'clock, on Wednesday morning, March 2, 1791.

What followed? "Children!" said John Wesley's mother, "as soon as I am dead, sing a song of praise!" As soon as Wesley died, his friends, standing about his corpse, sang:

"Waiting to receive thy spirit,
Lo! the Saviour stands above;
Shows the purchase of his merit,
Reaches out the crown of love."

Miss Ritchie then said, "Let us pray for the mantle of our Elijah!" on which, she adds, "Mr. Rogers prayed for the descent of the Holy Ghost on us, and all who mourn the general loss the Church militant sustains by the removal of our much-loved father to his great reward. Even so, Amen!"

The day fixed for Wesley's funeral was March 9. In his will there was the clause following: "I give six pounds to be divided among the six poor men named by the assistant, who shall carry my body to the grave; for I particularly desire there may be no hearse, no coach, no escutcheon, no pomp, except the tears of them that love me and are following me to Abraham's bosom. I solemnly adjure my executors, in the name of God, to observe this." The intention of the executors was to take the coffin into City Road Chapel, and place

it before the pulpit, and while there, that Dr. Whitehead should preach the funeral sermon, at the conclusion of which should be the burial.

The crowds who came to look at Wesley's corpse, both in the house and in the chapel, were enormous. Business in City Road was to a great extent suspended; and carriages could hardly find room to pass each other. The multitudes included many besides Methodists. The Rev. John Mitford says, that in the last drive he ever took with Samuel Rogers, when returning by City Road, the poet pulled the check-string opposite to Bunhillfields burial-ground, and said, "You see that chapel opposite; get out and look carefully at the house which stands to the left of it, and then come back again." Mitford having done what Rogers directed, the latter said: "When I was a young man in the banking-house, and my father lived at Stoke-Newington, I used every day, in going to the city, to pass this place. One day, in returning, I saw a number of respectable persons of both sexes, assembled here, all well dressed in mourning. The door of that house was open and they entered it in pairs. I thought that without impropriety I might join them. We all walked up stairs, and came to a drawing-room in the midst of which was a table. On this table lay the body of a person dressed in the robes of a clergyman, with bands, and his gray hair shading his face on either side. He was of small stature, and his countenance looked like wax. We all moved round the table, some of the party much affected, with our eyes fixed upon the venerable figure that lay before us; and as we moved on others followed. After we had gone the round of the table we descended as we came. The person that lay before us was the celebrated John Wesley."

Such was the excitement created by Wesley's death, and such were the crowds that came to see his corpse and were likely to attend his funeral, that, in the evening before the day appointed for the funeral sermon and the burial, the executors

changed the hour that had been named for them, and arranged that the interment should take place between the hours of five and six next morning. The time was unusual, for it would still be dark, and the weather, of course, was wintry. The notice given to Wesley's friends was short, and, had they not been so accustomed to attend five o'clock services, the hour would have been exceedingly inconvenient. To a great extent the stratagem of the executors succeeded; but still hundreds were present to see the coffin of the arch-Methodist put into its tomb. In conformity with a custom which then, and long afterward, existed, a funeral biscuit was given to each of the assembled mourners, wrapped in an envelope, on which was a most beautifully engraved portrait of the departed, dressed in canonicals, with books for a back-ground, a cross and a crown above the portrait, and about it a border, with the words: "O man, thy kingdom is departing from thee. For soon man's hour is up, and we are gone."

Seven years before, in his "Arminian Magazine," Wesley had published an account of Philip Verheyen, "one of the most eminent physicians in Europe," and had said: "Philip Verheyen ordered his body to be buried in the church-*yard*, that he might not lessen the honor of the church, or infect it with unwholesome vapors. What pity it is that so few persons, even of sense and piety, feel the force of these considerations. I am so sensible of their weight that I have left orders to bury my remains, not in the New Chapel, but in the burying-ground adjoining it."

Accordingly, Wesley's corpse was put into a vault in the ground behind his chapel in City Road. The Rev. John Richardson, one of Wesley's clerical helpers, read the burial service, and when he came to the sentence, "forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear *brother*," he substituted, with tender emphasis, the word *father* in the place of the word *brother*, a simple change which turned the silent tears of the assembled mourners into a par-

oxysm of ungovernable grief, and from Wesley's grave there went up to heaven a loving outburst of wailing lamentation. The inscription on the coffin was,

JOHANNES WESLEY, A. M.
OLIM. SOC. COLL. LIN. OXON.
OB. 2D. DIE MARTII, 1791.
AN. ÆT. 88.

The solemn ceremony in one respect was over before six o'clock on that wintry morning; but not in another. During the reading of the burial service multitudes had assembled, and now rushed into the "New Chapel" to listen to Dr. Whitehead's sermon. The chapel was hung with superfine black cloth. On one side of the chapel sat the men, on the other the women. Among the latter, with one solitary exception, a colored ribbon was not visible; and the lady whose unenviable bonnet was adorned with blue was so annoyed at her unseemly singularity, that she tore the ornament from her head, and assumed the garb of general mourning. The chapel was crowded to excess. In the vast congregation were a large number of clergymen of the Church of England, and also not a few Dissenting ministers. The text chosen was, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" The sermon was able and appropriate, and was published in the form of an octavo pamphlet of seventy-one pages. This was followed by many others, in churches, chapels, and meeting-houses, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and America;* and the Methodists, at least, went into general mourning. John Pawson wrote:†

* Of all the texts chosen on this occasion, perhaps the most appropriate was that taken at New York, on May 29, 1791, by grand old Francis Asbury, the only Methodist preacher who had any claim to be regarded as Wesley's equal in evangelistic traveling, toil, and trial. "Thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me." Asbury might have preached for a month from such a text, and even then have left his subject unexhausted.

† Unpublished Letter.

The people in this part of the country (Yorkshire) pay all possible respect to Mr. Wesley's memory, by going into mourning themselves, and by putting all the pulpits and many of the galleries in mourning. I never saw any thing like the chapels at Leeds and Halifax. At Manchester and at Rochdale they have added escutcheons; and they talk of doing so at Leeds.

The following inscription was put on Wesley's tomb:—

TO THE MEMORY OF

THE VENERABLE JOHN WESLEY, A.M.,

LATE FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

THIS GREAT LIGHT AROSE

(BY THE SINGULAR PROVIDENCE OF GOD,)

TO ENLIGHTEN THESE NATIONS,

AND TO REVIVE, ENFORCE, AND DEFEND
THE PURE, APOSTOLICAL DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH:

WHICH HE CONTINUED TO DO, BY HIS WRITINGS AND HIS

LABORS

FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY:

AND, TO HIS INEXPRESSIBLE JOY,

NOT ONLY BEHELD THEIR INFLUENCE EXTENDING,
AND THEIR EFFICACY WITNESSED,
IN THE HEARTS AND LIVES OF MANY THOUSANDS,
AS WELL IN THE WESTERN WORLD, AS IN THESE

KINGDOMS:

BUT ALSO, FAR ABOVE ALL HUMAN POWER OR EXPECTATION,
LIVED TO SEE PROVISION MADE, BY THE SINGULAR GRACE OF GOD,
FOR THEIR CONTINUANCE AND ESTABLISHMENT,
TO THE JOY OF FUTURE GENERATIONS.

READER, IF THOU ART CONSTRAINED TO BLESS THE INSTRUMENT,

GIVE GOD THE GLORY!

AFTER HAVING LANGUISHED A FEW DAYS, HE, AT LENGTH, FINISHED
HIS COURSE AND HIS LIFE TOGETHER: GLORIOUSLY TRIUMPHING
OVER DEATH, MARCH 2, AN. DOM. 1791, IN THE
EIGHTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

Dr. Whitehead justly says this "inscription is not worthy of Mr. Wesley." Nine years afterward he wrote one himself, which, in 1800, was put upon the marble tablet placed within the communion rails of Wesley's Chapel in City Road. The following is a copy of it:*

* In 1823 this inscription was slightly altered, but not improved.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A.,

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

A MAN IN LEARNING AND SINCERE PIETY,

SCARCELY INFERIOR TO ANY:

IN ZEAL, MINISTERIAL LABORS, AND EXTENSIVE USEFULNESS,

SUPERIOR (PERHAPS) TO ALL MEN

SINCE THE DAYS OF ST. PAUL.

REGARDLESS OF FATIGUE, PERSONAL DANGER, AND DISGRACE,
HE WENT OUT INTO THE HIGHWAYS AND HEDGES,
CALLING SINNERS TO REPENTANCE,
AND PREACHING THE GOSPEL OF PEACE.

HE WAS THE FOUNDER OF THE METHODIST SOCIETIES:

THE PATRON AND FRIEND OF THE LAY PREACHERS,
BY WHOSE AID HE EXTENDED THE PLAN OF ITINERANT PREACHING
THROUGH GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, THE WEST INDIES,
AND AMERICA, WITH UNEXAMPLED SUCCESS.

HE WAS BORN JUNE 17, 1703,
AND DIED MARCH 2, 1791,

IN SURE AND CERTAIN HOPE OF ETERNAL LIFE,
THROUGH THE ATONEMENT AND MEDIATION OF A CRUCIFIED SAVIOUR.

HE WAS SIXTY-FIVE YEARS IN THE MINISTRY,
AND FIFTY-TWO AN ITINERANT PREACHER.

HE LIVED TO SEE IN THESE KINGDOMS ONLY,
ABOUT THREE HUNDRED ITINERANT, AND A THOUSAND LOCAL, PREACHERS,
RAISED UP FROM THE MIDST OF HIS OWN PEOPLE,
AND EIGHTY THOUSAND PERSONS IN THE SOCIETIES UNDER HIS CARE.

HIS NAME WILL EVER BE HELD IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

BY ALL WHO REJOICE IN THE UNIVERSAL SPREAD
OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

The last marble tablet is that put up in England's grandest cathedral—Westminster Abbey—in 1876, with medallion profiles of the two Wesley brothers, and a bass-relief of Wesley preaching on his father's tombstone.

Hundreds of critiques on Wesley's career and character have been published; but in this sketch all are purposely excluded, except a few by those who were well acquainted with the man and were competent to form and express correct opinions concerning him.

Dr. John Whitehead was one of Wesley's confidential friends, his chosen medical adviser, and one of the three trustees to whom he bequeathed his books and manuscripts. Originally

a poor weaver boy, in the neighborhood of Glossop, he, in 1764, became one of Wesley's itinerant preachers, and was appointed to the Cornwall Circuit, where, during the year, more than a thousand members were added to the Societies. The two following years he spent in Athlone Circuit, Ireland. In 1767 he was appointed to "Lancashire;" and in 1768 was made the "assistant" in Bristol Circuit. While here he attended Kingswood School, and, with the assistance of Joseph Benson, made considerable progress in the acquirement of the Greek and Latin languages. He then retired from the itinerancy, on account of his wife's ill-health, and commenced business in Bristol, and became insolvent. He next opened a school at Wandsworth, where he had two of the sons of the celebrated Dr. Lettsom as his pupils. By Lettsom he was persuaded to study for the medical profession, and, with the doctor's assistance and that of Mr. Barclay, a Quaker, he went to the University of Leyden, and returned to England with the diploma of Doctor of Medicine. There cannot be a doubt of his great natural abilities, and of his learning, and of his superior qualifications to draw up a just and faithful critique on his beloved friend Wesley. He writes:—

Mr. Wesley was richly furnished with literature in its various branches. He was a critic in the Latin and Greek classics; and was well acquainted with the Hebrew, as well as with most of the European languages now in use. At college he studied Euclid, Keil, Sir Isaac Newton's Optics, etc., etc.; but he never entered far into the higher branches of mathematics. He was no great friend to metaphysical disquisitions; and I always thought he held metaphysical reasoning, even when properly and modestly conducted, in too low estimation.

Sacred learning occupied much of his time and attention. He was well read in the Hebrew Scriptures; and was so conversant with the original language of the New Testament that when he was at a loss to repeat a passage in the words of our common translation he was never at a loss to repeat it in the original Greek.

His industry was almost incredible. From four o'clock in the morning till eight at night his time was employed in reading, writing,

preaching, meeting the people, visiting the sick, or traveling. Before the infirmities of age came upon him, he usually traveled on horseback. and would ride thirty, forty, or fifty miles in a day, and preach two, three, or four times. He had a constant correspondence with persons all over the three kingdoms, and with the preachers in every part, and answered his letters with great punctuality. He read most publications that were deemed valuable, if they related to religion or natural philosophy, and often made extracts from them.

As a writer his object was to instruct and benefit that numerous class of people who have a plain understanding, little learning, little money, and little time to spare for reading. Content with doing good, he used no trappings merely to please, or to gain applause. The distinguishing character of his style is brevity and perspicuity. His words are well chosen, being *pure*, *proper* to his subject, and *precise* in their meaning. The sentences commonly have clearness, unity, and strength; but he sometimes closes a sentence in a manner which destroys its harmony, and subtracts from its beauty. Whenever he took time, and gave the necessary attention to his subject, both his manner of treating it and his style show the hand of a master.

He has been charged with the love of power, even so far as to be a blemish in his character. But he always denied the charge. He always considered his power as inseparably connected with the *unity* and prosperity of the Societies over which he presided; and no man ever used his power with more moderation. He never sought his own ease or advantage in the use of it; and the Societies labored under no inconvenience from it, but prospered under his government. Having known him for twenty-five years, and having examined his private papers, I have no hesitation in declaring, that he used all his influence and power to the best of his judgment, on every occasion, to promote the interests of Christianity, the prosperity of the people he governed, and the peace and welfare of his country.

The remainder of Dr. Whitehead's critique is mainly taken from that of the Rev. John Hampson, Jun., who must now be introduced to the reader's notice.

Mr. Hampson was the son of John Hampson, Sen., who became one of Wesley's itinerant preachers as early as the year 1752. Though not so intimate a friend of Wesley's as Dr. Whitehead, he was well qualified to form a just estimate of the character and career of the great evangelist. In his

youth he had often met him in his father's humble domicile, and had observed his spirit and listened to his conversations. Besides this, he himself, for eight years, from 1777 to 1784, had been employed by Wesley in the itinerant work. He was a man of education, and, a few years after Wesley's death, obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and became rector of Sunderland. Both he and his father seceded from Wesley's connection in 1785, because Wesley, in his "Deed of Declaration," did not insert their names in the list of itinerant preachers whom, by that Deed, he constituted the legal Conference of the Methodists. Many Methodist writers have disparaged the two Hampsons on this account; but, remembering the long standing of the father, and the mental superiority of both the father and the son as compared with those of not a few of the preachers whose names were put into the Deed, it cannot be denied that they had just reason for complaint. No doubt both were irritated; but the son, at least, was still grateful and affectionate. In an unpublished letter to Wesley, in which he resigned his office as an itinerant preacher, and which is dated, Chester-le-street, January 25, 1785, the following are the concluding lines: "I greatly respect you as an instrument of great good to mankind. I return you many thanks for every instance of kindness to me; and am, reverend sir, your affectionate, humble servant, John Hampson." Four months after the date of this letter, Wesley inserted the portrait of "John Hampson, Jun., aged 30," in his "Arminian Magazine!"

After his secession, the younger Hampson employed himself in preparing memoirs of Wesley; and, at the time of Wesley's death, these were ready for the press, and, in three small volumes, were published within the next six months. John Hampson, Jun., has always, perhaps unjustly, been regarded as an unfriendly critic; and, therefore, his encomiums cannot be suspected of being tinged with the blind partiality of an undiscriminating admirer. He writes:—

Mr. Wesley had peculiar advantages as an author. He had a printing-office under his immediate inspection. The celebrity of his name gave a rapid and extensive sale to his books; and the exertions of the preachers, many of whom had an interest in it, rendered the sale still more extensive than it would otherwise have been. If we may guess from his continual printing, he wished, as much as possible, to direct his people in the choice of their books, and took pains to inculcate his sentiments as well from the press as from the pulpit.

His character as a writer has never yet been appreciated. In point of style, his most distinguishing character is conciseness. He abhorred circumlocution, and constantly endeavored to say every thing in the fewest words. Hence he was sometimes abrupt; and the sententious turn of his expressions gave now and then a sort of bluntness to his writings. His conciseness, however, did not prevent his perspicuity. He knew how to separate ideas apparently similar; and his long habit of considering every subject in its most simple and direct view was the true reason that he rarely fell into obscurity. . . .

Those who are in search of his chief excellence as an author must look for it in his controversial writings. His superior skill in argument gave him a decided advantage over most of his opponents. He availed himself, with equal ease, of fair and direct argumentation, and of the fallacies and subtleties of the art; and he knew how to conceal those subtleties from the eye of a common observer. . . .

Upon the whole, he was a laborious, useful writer. His works have done infinite good; and, though he will scarcely rank in the first class of English authors, his name will descend to posterity with no small share of respectability and applause. If usefulness be excellence; if public good is the chief object of attention in public characters; and if the greatest benefactors to mankind are most estimable, Mr. John Wesley will long be remembered as one of the best of men, as he was, for more than fifty years, the most diligent and indefatigable.

His figure was remarkable. His stature was of the lowest; his habit of body, in every period of his life, the reverse of corpulent, and expressive of strict temperance and continual exercise. His step was firm, and his appearance, till within a few years of his death, vigorous and muscular. His face, for an old man, was one of the finest we have seen. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and the most piercing that can be conceived, and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, conspired to render him a venerable and interesting figure. Few have seen him without being struck

with his appearance; and many who had been greatly prejudiced against him have been known to change their opinion the moment they were introduced into his presence. In his countenance and demeanor there was cheerfulness mingled with gravity; and sprightliness accompanied with every mark of the most serene tranquillity.

In dress he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity. A narrow plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow, gave an idea of something primitive and apostolical.

His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy; his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive; his voice not loud, but clear and manly; his style neat, simple, and perspicuous, and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers. His discourses, in point of composition, were extremely different on different occasions. When he gave himself sufficient time for study he succeeded; but when he did not he frequently failed. The employments in which he was engaged were too numerous for a man who generally appeared in the pulpit twice or thrice a day. We have frequently heard him when he was excellent; acute and ingenious in his observations, accurate in his descriptions, and clear and pointed in his expositions. Not seldom, however, have we found him the reverse. He preached too frequently, and the consequence was inevitable. . . . He often appeared in the pulpit when totally exhausted with labor and want of rest; for wherever he was he made it a point to preach if he could stand upon his legs.

In social life he was lively and conversable, and of exquisite companionable talents. He had been much accustomed to society; was well acquainted with the rules of good breeding; and, in general, perfectly attentive and polite. He spoke a good deal in company; and as he had seen much of the world, and, in the course of his travels, had acquired an infinite fund of anecdote, he was not sparing in his communications; and the manner in which he related them was no inconsiderable addition to the entertainment they afforded. Neither the infirmities of age nor the approach of death had any apparent influence on his manner. His cheerfulness continued to the last, and was as conspicuous at fourscore as at twenty-one.

A remarkable feature in his character was his placability. His temper was naturally warm and impetuous. Religion had, in a great degree, corrected this; though it was by no means eradicated. Persecution from without he bore, not only without anger, but without the least apparent emotion. But it was not the case in contests of another kind.

Opposition from his preachers or people he would never brook; but what he said of himself was strikingly true—that he had a great facility in forgiving injuries. Submission on the part of an offender presently disarmed his resentment, and he would treat him with great kindness and cordiality. . . .

Perhaps he was the most charitable man in England. His liberality to the poor knew no bounds. He gave away not merely a certain part of his income, but all he had. His own necessities provided for, he devoted all the rest to the necessities of others. We are persuaded that in about fifty years he gave away twenty or thirty thousand pounds, which almost any other than himself would have taken care to put out at interest upon good securities.

His travels were incessant, and almost without precedent. His prodigious labors, without great punctuality in the management of his time, would have been impossible. He had stated hours for every purpose. He retired to rest between nine and ten, and rose soon after four; and no company, no conversation, however pleasing; in short, nothing but stern necessity, could induce him to relax. His rules were like the laws of the Medes and Persians, absolute and irrevocable. He wrote, he traveled, he visited the sick, he did every thing in certain hours which he had prescribed for himself, and those hours were inviolable.

In his younger days he traveled on horseback. He was a hard but unskillful rider; and his seat was as ungraceful as it appeared uneasy. With a book in his hand he frequently rode from fifty to sixty or seventy miles a day; and from a strange notion he had taken up of riding with the bridle on his horse's neck, many were the tumbles they had together. Of his travels, the lowest calculation we can make is four thousand miles annually, which, in fifty-two years, will give two hundred and eight thousand miles.

More than once he declared to the public that his own hands should be his executors; and that if he died worth above £10, independent of his books, he would give the world leave to call him "a thief and a robber." In this, as all who knew him expected, he kept his word. His carriage and horses, his clothes, and a few trifles of that kind, are all, his books excepted, that he has left. And even the value of his books is of no consequence, since they are entirely left to the Conference; his relations deriving no advantage from them except a rent charge of £85, to be paid to his brother's widow during her life, as a consideration for the copyright of his brother's hymns.

Here we must pause to introduce the testimony of other contemporaries of the great Methodist chieftain.

Of course, Dr. Coke and Henry Moore were well acquainted with him, and were numbered among his confidential friends; but it is a curious fact that neither in the "Life of Wesley," which they unitedly wrote and published in 1792, nor in Mr. Moore's more elaborate "Life," issued in 1825, is there much concerning Wesley's character in addition to what has been already quoted from Dr. Whitehead, and Wesley's first biographer, Mr. Hampson. They tell the public that Wesley "in his person was rather below the middle size;" that he "was remarkably well proportioned;" that "he seemed not to have an atom of superfluous flesh, and yet was muscular and strong;" that "he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity, not only in his person, but in every circumstance of his life." They continue:—

In his chamber and study, during his winter months of residence in London, we believe there never was a book misplaced, or even a scrap of paper left unheeded. He could enjoy every convenience of life, and yet he acted in the smallest things like a man who was not to continue an hour in one place. He seemed always at home, settled, satisfied, and happy, and yet was ready every hour to take a journey of a thousand miles.

His conversation was always pleasing, and frequently interesting and instructive in the highest degree. He joined in every kind of discourse that was innocent. As he knew that all nature is full of God, he became all things to all men in conversing on those subjects; but his delight was to speak of *God as being in Christ reconciling the world to himself*, and he strove to bring every conversation to this point. He generally concluded the conversation with two or three verses of a hymn, illustrative of what had just been spoken; and this he was enabled to do from the inexhaustible stores of his own, but especially of his brother's, poetry, of which his memory was a rich repository.

Besides his journal, in which he recorded the daily events of his life, he kept a diary, in which he exactly noted the employment of every hour. He wrote this in short-hand. His hour of rising, his preaching, what he read or wrote till breakfast, and the after duties of the day,

were faithfully recorded. He carried a book of this kind continually with him, in the first page of which he always wrote this concise determination: "I resolve, *Deo juvante*, 1. To devote an hour morning and evening, [to private prayer:] no pretense or excuse whatsoever; 2. To converse Κατὰ Θέον; no lightness, no εὐτραπελία."

There is another of Wesley's "helpers" whose testimony deserves attention. For seventeen years, Wesley had treated Samuel Bradburn as a friend and a brother. Bradburn had not the literary attainments of Hampson and Whitehead, but he was a man of great shrewdness, of strong common sense, thoroughly honest, and was one of the ablest, and, beyond all doubt, the most eloquent, of Wesley's itinerant preachers. Moreover, there was no man who lived in more familiar intercourse with Wesley than himself. He wrote:*

Mr. Wesley had a fine taste for poetry, and composed himself many of our hymns; but he told me that he and his brother agreed not to distinguish their hymns from each other's. He frequently chose to express his thoughts, both in conversation and preaching, in verse, and even in rhyme. Some have thought him in preaching too poetical, because he often used bold and figurative expressions. He considered words as poor, ill-drawn pictures of our thoughts. He once told me that he heard his father say, "One certain proof of a man's having little genius was his being difficult and nice in choosing words." Mr. Wesley never appeared greater, in my esteem, than when the vast conceptions of his towering soul seemed to beggar all the extravagance of hyperbole. Yet he knew how "to restrain the fury of his fancy within the bounds of reason." He was no enthusiast. He was not a random preacher. I recollect his bringing a charge in one of our Conferences against a preacher for preaching in the strict sense of the word *extempore*, that is without premeditation. No man living more firmly believed in, or attended to, a divine influence than he did. I have seen him when his holy soul was elevated with heavenly joy and drawn out by supernatural assistance to a great degree of devout ardor; but this did not so much respect *what he said* as *what he felt* and his *manner* of saying it. His matter was taken from the oracles of God.

* As far as possible, and to avoid repetition, remarks in Bradburn's account of Wesley which in substance are the same as those already given, are here omitted.

He was different from himself at different times; but this was when nature was almost exhausted, or when he had been unavoidably engaged in company or business till it was time to begin the service. But even then he had not his subject to seek, because he constantly preached from some part of the Scriptures for the day, as appointed in the Prayer Book. Commonly the first thing he did in the morning was to read these, and then he fixed upon the texts he intended to preach on through the day, which were frequently *four*. I was always sorry when I knew he was to preach so often, because, in general, one or two of his sermons would be far beneath what he could have made them had he preached but *twice*. But when he shone the least, what a gentleman in Edinburgh said (who had heard him at an unfavorable time) was always true: "It was not a *masterly sermon*, yet none but a *master* could have preached it." *

As an orator, he was a perfect model to every Christian minister. His gestures were graceful and harmonious. His style was delicately chaste, yet he has said, in a letter now before me, "As for *me*, I never think of my style at all, but just set down the words that come first; only when I transcribe any thing for the press, then I think it my duty to see that every phrase be *clear*, *pure*, *proper*, and *easy*. *Conciseness*, which is now, as it were, natural to me, brings *quantum sufficit* of *strength*." In this account there is every property of a good style, and such was his at all times. He was always accurate without being stiff, and clear without ever being tedious. There was an easy simplicity in his whole deportment, but nothing mean or childish. In his pathetic energy there was no rant or wild-fire; nor was he ever pompous, though mostly elegant, and often sublime.

Few men had a greater share of vivacity when in company with those he loved, especially on his journeys. If the weather or the roads happened to be disagreeable, or if any little accident befel any of his fellow-travelers, he would strive with inimitable turns of wit to keep up their spirits; so that it was almost impossible to be dull or dissatisfied in his company. The first time I was introduced to him, I was greatly struck with his cheerfulness and affability. From seeing him only in the pulpit, and considering his exalted station in the Church of Christ, I supposed he would be reserved and austere; but how agreeably was I disappointed when, with a pleasant smile, he took me by the hand, and said, "Beware of the fear of man, and be sure you speak flat and plain in preaching." I never saw him low-spirited in my life, nor could he

* The "gentleman in Edinburgh" was Beattie, the poet.—EDITOR.

endure to be with a melancholy person. When speaking of those who imagine that religion makes men morose or gloomy, I have heard him say in the pulpit, "Sour godliness is the devil's religion." He never suffered himself to be carried away by extreme grief. I once heard him remark, "I dare no more *fret than curse and swear*." Large numbers of his friends crowded together wherever he went to enjoy the benefit of his conversation. On such occasions he concealed the philosopher and divine in the social companion. He was a truly well-bred man. Had he lived in a court all his days his address could not have been more easy and polite, and yet he could be quite content among the most homely peasants, and suit his discourse to the meanest capacity. His courtesy to every one was engaging, but especially to the young. I have often heard him say, "I reverence a young man, because he may be useful when I am dead." He was very fond of children, though he never had any of his own. Hundreds of these will remember with pleasure, perhaps with profit, the notice he took of them.

He had an invincible attachment to truth and justice. He used no guile himself, neither did he suspect it in others. This sometimes laid him open to the crafty designs of insinuating parasites, who took advantage of his credulity, and imposed upon his good nature. If ever he acted wrong, it was chiefly owing to the misplaced confidence he had in such. It was not easy to make him allow that any one had purposely deceived him; and, when convinced by facts, he endeavored to cover the fault, and, as far as possible, to excuse the offender.

He did not love to reprove any one, not even the meanest domestic. This was the more surprising because no man was ever better qualified to reprove in every form. He could be poignantly satirical when he thought it the most proper method to expose the ridiculous singularity of a pedant, or to chastise the supercilious airs of a coxcomb; but he considered it as meddling with edge tools, and gave very little countenance to it, either in himself or others. He did not love a trifler. Any thing like religious buffoonery he abhorred. Above all, any lightness in the pulpit was an abomination to him.

His powers of persuasion were great, especially when engaged in behalf of the poor. Hence frequent applications were made to him to preach charity sermons in many of the churches in London. The poor lay near his heart. Of this he gave the most unequivocal demonstration through the whole course of his life. He not only preached sermons in their behalf, but contrived by various other methods to raise contributions for them. I myself have gone with him from house to house, both

to our own people and others, to beg money to buy bread, coals, and clothing for the poor in London; and that not when the weather was warm and dry, but in the depth of winter, when the melted snow has been over our shoes.

His diligence to serve the poor, however, by these methods was not to save his own money. He gave all he could, which was no inconsiderable sum. In the year 1781 I traveled with him through several circuits, and I know that he gave away, from the Bristol Conference of 1780 to the Leeds Conference of 1781, in *private charities*, above £1,400. He told me himself, in 1787, that he never gave away out of his own pocket less than £1,000 a year.

To enable him to do this he had, first, the profits of the books which the preachers sold, except ten per cent. commission which some of them took; he had, secondly, from London and Bristol, upon an average, about £150 per annum by private subscription; thirdly, the Society in London gave him £30 a year, which was all the fixed stipend he had; fourthly, almost every year there were legacies left to him; fifthly, as he went his journeys, the friends in each large Society where he preached generally gave him a few pounds when he was leaving them. Thus, literally, having nothing, he possessed all things, and, though poor, he made many rich. His manner also of bestowing his charities was truly pleasing. He never relieved poor people in the street but he either took off or moved his hat to them when they thanked him; and, in private, he took care not to hurt the most refined feelings of those whom he assisted.

His modesty prevented his saying much of his own experience. In public he very seldom, hardly ever, spoke of the state of his own soul; but he was sufficiently explicit among his friends. He told me in 1781, that his experience might almost at any time be found in the following lines:

"O Thou, who camest from above,
The pure celestial fire to impart,
Kindle a flame of sacred love
On the mean altar of my heart.

"There let it for thy glory burn,
With inextinguishable blaze;
And trembling to its source return,
In humble love and fervent praise."

I could indulge a melancholy pleasure in expatiating on his humility, his love, his communion with God, and all the graces of the Spirit which he so largely possessed, but want of space forbids. Very few of his sons in the gospel have had greater opportunities of being thoroughly

acquainted with him during the last seventeen years than I have had. I have slept with him hundreds of nights. I have traveled with him thousands of miles. I lived in what he called his own family, in London and Bristol, five years together. I have conversed with him on many subjects. I knew his opinions, his disposition, and the very secrets of his heart. Had he not discovered that he was a *man*, by a few instances of human frailty, those who knew him would have been in danger of idolatry. He has had his day. He shone with distinguished luster for many years. He has been the means of dispelling the darkness of ignorance and error from the minds of thousands. He has often cheered the spirits of such as were ready to perish. He has, in the hands of God, revived genuine piety over the land, and made thousands fruitful in good works; and has left behind him proofs of greatness which will last till the visible creation shall be no more. His disinterested love to the poor, his unabating zeal in setting forth the Lord Christ to perishing sinners, his deep acquaintance with divine things, and his amazing labors in the Church, rendered him the delight of his friends, the glory of his family, and the wonder of the age in which he lived.

These are artless statements, but, coming from such a man as Bradburn, they deserve attention. If it be objected that, excepting Hampson, all the foregoing sketches were written by Wesley's *friends* and preachers, it may be answered, that if the friends were skillful and were honest, their recitals are enhanced in value by the friendship which existed between them and their noble chieftain. But, to silence all objection, two more critiques, written by Wesley's contemporaries, are added.

The first is by Alexander Knox, Esq., who in his boyhood became a Methodist, but who, before his teens were ended, withdrew from Wesley's connection—a literary man of no mean order, the private secretary of Lord Castlereagh, and the bosom friend of Bishop Jebb; one of Wesley's correspondents to the end of Wesley's life; but one who honestly demurred to not a few of Wesley's opinions and of Wesley's acts. He wrote:—

I knew Mr. Wesley well. At an early age I was a member of his Society, but my connection with it was not of long duration. Having a

growing disposition to think for myself, I could not adopt the opinions which were current among his followers; and before I was twenty years of age my relish for their religious practices had abated. Still, my veneration for Mr. Wesley suffered no diminution; rather, as I became more capable of estimating him without prejudice, my conviction of his excellence, and my attachment to his goodness, gained fresh strength and deeper cordiality.

Never was the exquisite urbanity of the apostle of the Gentiles more perfectly exhibited in a Christian of later days than in him. Never shall I see, in this lower world, St. Paul's sweet portraiture of charity more vividly realized, in all its blessed features, than in that charming old man. My feelings toward him were not merely those of high veneration, but of sincere friendship and grateful affection. During years of almost hopeless affliction he was my tender and constant comforter; writing the wisest and gentlest letters to me in the midst of his multitudinous avocations, and, in the true spirit of Him who wept at the grave of Lazarus, often postponing concerns of far more plausible importance, in order to infuse some little comfort into the languishing bosom of one absent friend. I have remonstrated to him on what I considered to be erroneous in his proceedings with a freedom and plainness which, in such circumstances as his were, nothing but a heart mortified to pride and softened by Christian love could have borne with patience; yet he bore with me, not only patiently but humbly, proving that he had truly learned of Him who was meek and lowly in heart. Above the vile allegations of ambition and vanity my precious old friend soared as much as the eagle above the glow-worm. Great minds are not vain; and his was a great mind, if any mind can be made great by disinterested benevolence, spotless purity, and simple devotedness to that one Supreme Good, in whom, with the united *αἰσθησις* of the philosopher and the saint, he saw and loved and adored all that was infinitely amiable, true, sublime, and beatific. I believe he was raised up for the very purpose of sublimating the spirit of Christianity in these later times, and freeing it from those repulsive concomitants by which its bright aspect had been enveloped in clouds and darkness. Doubtless the self-same principles had been enshrined in the ancient forms of our liturgy; but, however sincerely their spirit might often have been inhaled, the height and depth of their import had been rarely adverted to until Mr. Wesley arose, as if to cast a renewed irradiation on the scriptural religion of the heart. Herbert, Taylor, Ken, had each of them emitted some bright rays, and are on this account estimable; but it was reserved for John Wesley to make the inward

spirit and power of Christianity his ruling theme, and to reject, without reserve, all those clogs and fetters by which their loveliness had been marred and their energies impeded.

In 1789 I spent some days with him, and endeavored to consider him, not so much with the eye of a friend as with the impartiality of a philosopher; and I must declare, every hour I spent in his company afforded me fresh reasons for esteem and veneration. So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance; every look showed how fully he enjoyed "the gay remembrance of a life well spent."

Wherever he went he diffused a portion of his own felicity. Easy and affable in his demeanor, he accommodated himself to every kind of company, and showed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most perfect piety. In his conversation we might be at a loss whether to admire most his fine classical taste, his extensive knowledge of men and things, or his overflowing goodness of heart. While the grave and serious were charmed with his wisdom, his sportive sallies of innocent mirth delighted even the young and thoughtless; and both saw in his uninterrupted cheerfulness the excellency of true religion. No cynical remarks on the levity of youth embittered his discourses. No applausive retrospect to past times marked his present discontent. In him even old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud, and it was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently, "May my latter end be like his!" I was never so happy as while with him, and scarcely ever felt more poignant regret than at parting from him; for well I knew "I ne'er should look upon his like again."

One more testimony from an outside observer. John Nichols, in 1791, was in the full vigor of his intellectual manhood; was an enormous reader; the friend of the chief *literati* of the age; was already accumulating the "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century," which he afterward published in ten octavo volumes; and was the proprietor and the editor of the "Gentleman's Magazine," the ablest and best periodical of the day. In the number for March, 1791, Mr. Nichols inserted a long biographical account of Wesley; and, in the number for May, an anonymous letter, written by one who expressly stated he was not a Methodist, and probably one or both of these pro-

ductions were by the editor himself. The following is extracted from them :—

The great point in which John Wesley's name and mission will be honored is this: he directed his labors toward those who had no instructor; to the highways and hedges; to the mines in Cornwall and the colliers in Kingswood. These unhappy creatures married and buried among themselves, and often committed murders with impunity before the Methodists sprang up. By the humane and active endeavors of Mr. Wesley and his brother Charles, a sense of decency, morals, and religion, was introduced into the lowest classes of mankind; the ignorant were instructed; the wretched relieved; and the abandoned reclaimed. Outcasts of society were changed into useful members; even savages were civilized, and lips were filled with prayer and praise that had been accustomed only to oaths and imprecations.

Mr. Wesley met with great opposition from many of the clergy, and unhandsome treatment from the magistrates; but was one of the few characters who outlived enmity and prejudice,* and received in his latter days every mark of respect from every denomination.

Among his virtues, forgiveness to his enemies and liberality to the poor were most remarkable. He has been known to receive into even his confidence those who had basely injured him. All the profit of his literary labors (and it amounted to an immense sum, for he was his own printer and bookseller) was devoted to charitable purposes.

On a review of the character of this extraordinary man, it appears that though he was endowed with eminent talents, he was more distinguished by their use than even by their possession. Though his taste was classic, and his manners elegant, he sacrificed that society in which he was particularly calculated to shine; gave up those preferments which his abilities must have obtained; and devoted a long life in practicing and enforcing the plainest duties. Instead of being "an ornament to literature," he was a blessing to his fellow-creatures; instead of "the genius of the age," he was the servant of God. His history, if well written, will certainly be important; for, in every respect—

* This is scarcely true, for at the beginning of the year 1791, just before Wesley was put into his coffin, there was published an 8vo pamphlet of 55 pages, entitled, "A Review of the Policy, Doctrines, and Morals of the Methodists," which, for falsehood and virulence, was not surpassed in the bitterest days of Wesley's persecutions—a pamphlet vigorously written, but animated with almost infernal malice.

as the founder of the most numerous sect in the kingdom, as a man, and as a writer—he must be considered one of the most extraordinary characters this or any age ever produced.

His motives were imputed to the love of popularity, ambition, and lucre; but it now appears that he was actuated by a disinterested regard to the immortal interest of mankind. He labored, and studied, and preached, and wrote, to propagate what he believed to be the gospel of Christ. The intervals of these engagements were employed in governing the Churches he had planted, regulating the concerns of his numerous Societies, and assisting the necessities, solving the difficulties, and soothing the afflictions, of his hearers. Had he loved wealth, he might have accumulated without bounds. Had he been fond of power, his influence would have been worth courting by any party. I do not say that he was without ambition: he had *that* which Christianity need not blush at, and which virtue is proud to confess. I do not mean that which is gratified by splendor and large possessions; but that which commands the hearts and affections, the homage and gratitude, of thousands. For him they felt sentiments of veneration only inferior to those which they paid to Heaven: to him they looked as their father, their benefactor, their guide to glory and immortality: for him they fell prostrate before God with prayers and tears, to spare his doom and prolong his stay. Such a recompense as this is sufficient to repay the toils of the longest life.

The ardor of his spirit was neither damped by difficulty nor subdued by age. This was ascribed by himself to the power of divine grace; by the world to enthusiasm. Be it what it may, it is what philosophers must envy and infidels respect: it is that which gives energy to the soul, and without which there can be no greatness or heroism. He had a vigor and elevation of mind which nothing but the belief of the divine favor and presence could inspire. This threw a luster round his infirmities, changed his bed of sickness into a triumphal car, and made his exit resemble an apotheosis rather than a dissolution.

His great object was to revive the obsolete doctrines and extinguished spirit of the Church of England; and they who are its friends cannot be his enemies. Yet for this he was treated as a fanatic and impostor, and exposed to every species of slander and persecution. Even bishops and dignitaries entered into the lists against him; but he never declined the combat, and generally proved victorious. After surviving almost all his adversaries, and acquiring respect among those who were the most distant from him in principles, he lived to see the

plant he had reared spreading its branches far and wide, and inviting, not only those kingdoms, but the western world, to repose under its shade. No sect, since the first ages of Christianity, could boast a founder of such extensive talents and endowments. The great purpose of his life was doing good. For this he relinquished all honor and preferment; to this he dedicated all the powers of body and mind; at all times and in all places—in season and out of season—by gentleness, by terror, by argument, by persuasion, by reason, by interest, by every motive and every inducement—he strove with unwearied assiduity to turn men from the error of their ways, and awaken them to virtue and religion. To the bed of sickness or the couch of prosperity—to the prison or the hospital—the house of mourning or the house of feasting—wherever there was a friend to serve or a soul to save—he readily repaired to administer assistance or advice, reproof or consolation. He thought no office too humiliating, no condescension too low, no undertaking too arduous, to reclaim the meanest of God's offspring.

Perhaps this is the most eulogistic encomium concerning Wesley that has ever been published; and yet it was written, not by any of Wesley's followers, but by a disinterested observer; and was published in a periodical in which, almost times without number, he, his doctrines, his preachers, and his people, had been misrepresented, abused, lampooned, ridiculed, and denounced; and from which neither he nor his friends, even in these its benigner days, had the slightest reason to expect any thing more favorable than honest criticism and impartial justice. *O tempora! O mores!*

Much remains unsaid; but our space is gone. One hundred and forty years ago John Wesley and George Whitefield were the most abused men in England. Now Wesley is hardly ever mentioned but with affectionate respect. In the literature of the age; in its lectures and debates; in chapels and in churches; in synods, congresses, and all sorts of conferences; even in Parliament itself, by the highest lords, and the most illustrious commoners, the once persecuted Methodist is now extolled; and the judgment of Southey, in a letter to Wilberforce, is confirmed: "I consider Wesley as the most

influential mind of the last century: the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long."

Wesley was not without faults. No man ever has been, except "*the Man Christ Jesus;*" but it may be safely asserted that Wesley's faults were, when compared with those of other distinguished men, few and trivial. There was a wholeness about his character such as is seldom equaled. His *physique*, small but beautiful; his genius; his wit; his penetration; his judgment; his memory; his courteousness; his dress; his manners; his voice; his eloquence; his diligence; his beneficence; his religion—made him as perfect as we ever expect man to be on this side heaven. He had no eccentricities, as most great and good men have—no oblique propensities of intellect or heart. He was a man *sui generis.* He stands alone. He has had no successor. No one like him went before him. No contemporary was his co-equal. He was employed by God in beginning one of the greatest works ever wrought on earth. He was ahead of his age; and commenced most of the great movements that are now so popular.

His industry is almost without a parallel. In many things he was gentle and easy to be entreated; but his earnestness in redeeming time was inexorable. "I have lost ten minutes forever!" he once exclaimed, when kept waiting for his carriage. "You have no need to be in a hurry," said a friend: "Hurry!" he replied, "I have no time to be in a hurry!" His journeys, all things being considered, were quite enough to exhaust the strength of any ordinary man; so, again, were the sermons he preached; and so, again, were the books he wrote. Labors amply sufficient to fill three men's lives were in him united in one. Looking at his travels, the marvel is how he found time to write; and looking at his writings, the marvel is how he found time to preach. His hands were always full; but he was never flurried. He was ever moving; but showed no more bustle than a planet in its course. His

work was too great to allow trifles to divert him; his engagements were too many to permit him to employ more time upon any than was absolutely requisite. Hence, in his sermons, his books, his letters, the reader always finds *multum in parvo.* Every-where, every hour was so timed and occupied that he said nothing more than he wished to say; and said even that in the fewest words possible. He had neither leisure nor inclination for flourishes. His object was to state truths with mathematical precision. Mere ornament would have been, to his truth-telling style, as much out of place as decorated letters to the progressing signs of an algebraic equation. Not for want of genius, but for want of time, and for want of inclination to make it otherwise, his style is one of naked and self-dependent strength, unaccompanied by gaudy coloring, and equally undiluted with the pretentious puerilities of weak and little minds. It is impossible to abridge his writings without leaving out ideas as well as words. Who can abridge Euclid's "Elements" without maiming them? And who can take from the works of Wesley without reducing their specific gravity?

This remark equally applies to all his writings: his journals, so unique in literature; his sermons, a body of doctrinal and practical theology, which, for brevity and clearness of expression, cannot be surpassed; his controversial tracts, full of trenchant logic; his Notes upon the Old and New Testament Scriptures; his letters to all kinds of people, young and old; his grammars of languages, ancient and modern; his prefaces to all sorts of books; and his treatises upon all sorts of subjects, moral and political. Let the reader look at Wesley in whatever light he pleases—as a hymnologist, an evangelist, a theologian, a logician, a philosopher, a controversialist, a translator, a compiler, an annotator, an abridger of the great productions of his own and of other ages, a benefactor, a friend, a Christian—Wesley can bear the test of honest criticism.

This man, under God, moved the united kingdom by his

activity and religious power; his stalwart itinerants laid the foundations of the great Methodist Churches in the United States, and also in the West Indian Islands; at the present day, there are into the teens of millions of human beings adhering to his principles, and reading something that he wrote—a hymn, a tract, or a sermon—all over America, in Canada, in the West Indies, throughout Europe, in Africa, in India, in China, in Japan, in Asia Minor, in Australia, and in the numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean, almost every day they live. But, in the case of Wesley, panegyric is out of place. He needs it not. He is one of the very few of the distinguished dead whose memory can afford to do without it. We conclude, by applying to Methodism's "wise master-builder" the appropriate inscription on the tomb of the great architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, in which Wesley worshiped on the very day he first found peace with God, May 24, 1738,—

"*Lector! si monumentum requiris, circumspice!*"

# THE WESLEY MEMORIAL IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

ON Thursday, March 30, 1876, a large company of Wesleyan ministers, laymen, and ladies, called by special invitation, met at Westminster Abbey to witness the unveiling (by the Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster) of the monument of the Revs. John and Charles Wesley. The company assembled first in the Chapter-house, which, in its octagonal sides as well as in the middle, was quite filled.

On the arrival of the Dean, the Rev. Dr. Frederick James Jobson, (who had been the principal in obtaining the monument and in securing it a place in the Abbey,) supported by the Rev. Dr. Gervase Smith, President of the Wesleyan Conference, Dr. Osborn, Dr. Punshon, Dr. James, Dr. Rigg, Dr. Moulton, the Rev. John Rattenbury, Sir Francis Lycett, Mr. Alderman M'Arthur, M. P., and other distinguished clergymen and laymen, addressing the Dean, and requesting him to unveil the monument which, by the Dean's permission, had been erected in the venerable Abbey, said:—

"Under the mournful circumstances which now surround us—(the death of the Lady Augusta)—I shall not attempt any extended observations. In consideration of that sorrowful event all present are here by special invitation; and you will easily see that, if the announcement of these proceedings had been publicly made, we would have a multitude of Methodists in the Abbey, who would block up every available space within. Indeed, I may say that not only thousands and tens of thousands, but, taking the globe over, millions of Methodists will gratefully rejoice on learning what is here taking

place to-day. I have no doubt that at the proper time the Conference itself will more fittingly express its obligation. I cannot, however, allow this occasion to pass without expressing my own personal obligation for the courteous generosity you have evinced in connection with this monument from the beginning. It is now about six years since arrangements for it were commenced. You will remember how, when walking and conversing together, I made known the desire that there should be a monument to John and Charles Wesley in Westminster Abbey. To this you responded promptly and favorably, and at once invited me to come down and look out with you a suitable and available site. On my visit to the Abbey you not only selected the best site available, but did what no other person could do—removed obstructions, that the monument might have a good and prominent place. While shrinking from any reference which may touch a wound so lately opened, I may yet be allowed to say, that another took a deep interest in this monument, went to look at the site proposed, and to view and advise upon it when under the skillful hand of the sculptor, Mr. Adams Acton; one with whom, I presume, you took counsel as to what would be the best site; one who, when the site was selected, showed unceasing interest in the progress of the monument, and who, had the Lord permitted, would be here to perform what all desire you to do this day. But God has taken the Lady Augusta to another world, to a better and more congenial sphere even than that in which she had so much domestic and social enjoyment on earth. If the worthy Dean, whose large-hearted catholicity is known not only in Methodism but in other Churches and throughout the world, will now perform that service for us, and unveil the monument, we will all feel gratified and honored."

When Dr. Jobson concluded, Dean Stanley, in reply, said:—

"You will excuse me, in the circumstances to which Dr. Jobson has alluded, from making any lengthened response to the kind remarks which he has addressed to me on this

occasion; but I cannot allow such a meeting and such an occasion to pass in silence. It was my desire that this opportunity should be marked in a more solemn and emphatic manner than under present circumstances I feel myself equal to meet. It had been my hope that on this day, or on the following Sunday, I should express at length the obligation which the Church of England, which England itself, and which the Church of Christ, owe to the labors of John and Charles Wesley. But this at present is for me impossible. For I feel that I cannot now throw myself into the subject with that wholeness of heart which is essential to do it justice. On some future occasion, perhaps, you will allow me to take the opportunity—it may be on the occasion of one of the anniversaries connected with the lives of the two brothers—to discharge the duty which it is still my hope and intention to fulfill. But I will now briefly say one or two words directly in connection with the erection of this monument.

"If I remember rightly, Dr. Jobson's proposal was more modest than for that which has actually taken place. On the occasion to which he refers, all he asked was a monument to Charles Wesley, as having been connected in his earliest youth with Westminster school, and as one of England's sweet psalmists and poets. But I answered, 'If Charles, why not John?' and accordingly the two brothers were united together, and if the poet has been somewhat overshadowed by the preacher, I trust that neither in Westminster Abbey nor elsewhere will any English Churchman, or any Nonconformist, have cause to complain. As you will presently see, when the monument is uncovered, John Wesley is represented as preaching upon his father's tomb, and I have always thought that that is, as it were, a parable which represented his relation to our own national institutions. He took his stand upon his father's tomb—on the venerable and ancestral traditions of the country and the Church. That was the stand from which he addressed the world; it was not from the points of disagree-

ment, but from the points of agreement with them in the Christian religion that he produced those great effects which have never since died out in English Christendom. It is because of his having been in that age which I am inclined to think has been unduly disparaged—because in the past century he was the reviver of religious fervor among our Churches—that we all feel we owe to him a debt of gratitude, and that he deserves to have his monument placed among those of the benefactors of England.

"Dr. Jobson has referred to the sad event which makes it impossible for me to speak at greater length, or to meet you in a more hospitable spirit on this occasion; but I can truly say that she who has departed would have rejoiced—as, indeed, I trust she does rejoice—that such a tribute should be paid to the memory of the two brothers whom she, with myself, was desirous of seeing honored in the proper place. She would have rejoiced with myself that such a body of Wesleyan Methodists should have been brought into such close connection with the venerable building. Even during the sufferings of that last illness she rejoiced in every thing which removed the heartburnings and misunderstandings between the Church of England and the Wesleyan body. She rejoiced to mention by name those Nonconformist and Wesleyan ministers whom she welcomed with all courtesy and charity under our roof and within these sacred walls. I must invoke your sympathy, and I would ask your co-operation in carrying on the work still left for me to do—the work of promoting charity and good feeling and generous appreciation among the different branches of our divided Christendom. If I may do so I will conclude with words familiar to us all, and which are now especially applicable to myself:

"'My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with thee;
With thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.'"

At the conclusion of the Dean's address, which was listened to with deep emotion and drew tears from many eyes, the company proceeded to the site of the monument, which was at once unveiled by the Dean. The involuntary exclamation heard on every hand was, "Beautiful!" After the company had spent some time inspecting it, the Rev. Dr. Smith, President of the Conference, thus addressed the Dean:

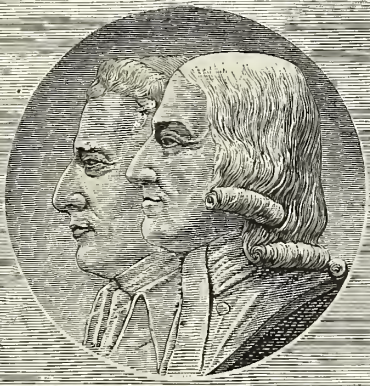
"On behalf of the Methodist people throughout the world, allow me to express to you their sense of obligation for the honor and service you have done them this day. They are thankful that you have appreciated, as they know you have long done, the character and labors of the two Wesleys; and it is a great gratification to them that you consented to unveil the monument. They humbly think that this venerable and glorious building will not be dishonored by the monument just uncovered; and they are quite sure that you agree with them. Their prayer is, that you may long be spared to be an ornament of the Church to which you belong, and to exert a very large and blessed influence on the population of this country. I will not attempt to intrude into the sanctities of private and domestic life; but, as already observed, it was the earnest hope of those associated with the work that the lady to whom reference has been made this morning should have done the service for them which you have so kindly done. There is not a person present who does not share the mourning which has fallen upon the country, from the palace to the cottage, and over every part of Christendom, because of the great bereavement which has come, not on the neighborhood alone, but on the whole Christian Church. From no hearts do prayers more earnest and constant ascend to heaven on your behalf than from those here present this day and from those whom they represent. Will the Dean please accept the warm and respectful sympathy of the Methodist people, whose prayers will constantly be presented to the throne of grace that you may be comforted in your great sorrow, and your life be

JOHN WESLEY. M.A.

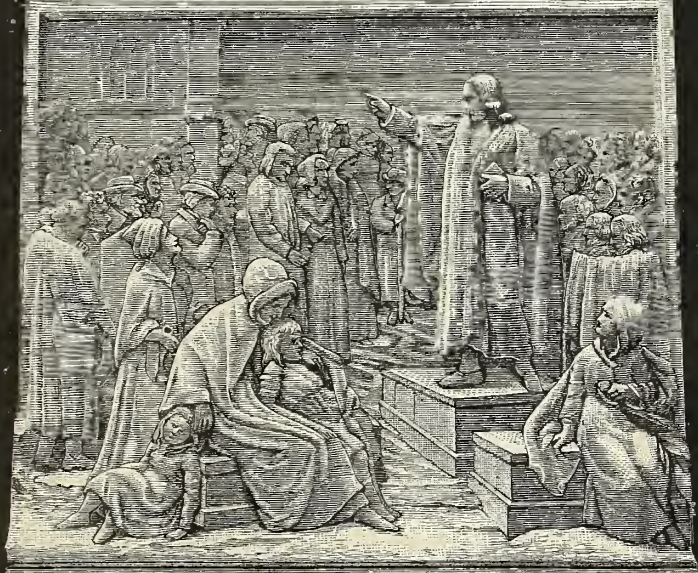
BORN JUNE 17. 1703: DIED MARCH 2. 1791.

CHARLES WESLEY. M.A.

BORN DECEMBER 18. 1708: DIED MARCH 29. 1788.



"THE BEST OF ALL IS, GOD IS WITH US."



"I LOOK UPON ALL THE WORLD AS MY PARISH".

GOD BURIES HIS WORKMEN BUT CARRIES ON HIS WORK.

prolonged to be a blessing to the world. As I look upon the relative position of this memorial—having on the right hand the monument to Dr. Watts, and in its immediate neighborhood others bearing names greatly honored in the Christian Churches of this land—I feel that it is placed in the most fitting position. On the proceedings of this day we look with feelings of thankfulness to Almighty God."

The monument to John and Charles Wesley, as seen on the preceding page, was unveiled in Westminster Abbey March 30, 1876; on April 7, 1876, the following letter from Dr. Jobson appeared in the "Methodist Recorder," London:—

*To the Editor of the Methodist Recorder:*—DEAR SIR: The readers of your journal will be glad to know that the memorial to those eminent servants of God, John and Charles Wesley, has been erected in Westminster Abbey, and that it was uncovered on Thursday last by the Very Rev. Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, in the presence of a large number of the ministers and friends of Methodism.

I am thankful to report that the monument is spoken of with high approval by persons of taste, and that it is recognized not only as forming a creditable memorial of the founder of Methodism and of his attached brother, the sweet psalmist of our Israel, but also as a high-class work of art, worthy of a place in our venerated national mausoleum. I have not heard any disparaging criticisms upon it, and all persons who view it with a critical eye should remember that the general form of the monument had necessarily to be adapted to the space allotted for it—namely, that of two feet nine inches wide, and eight or nine feet high. This space is now filled with a massive white marble tablet of crystal purity, and is so divided by sculptured heads and figures, and by lines of inscription between, as to secure for it as much unity and symmetry of design as practicable. The monument is somewhat broader at the bottom than at the top. The upper part bears the simple record:—

JOHN WESLEY, M.A.
BORN JUNE 17, 1703; DIED MARCH 2, 1791.
CHARLES WESLEY, M.A.
BORN DECEMBER 18, 1707; DIED MARCH 29, 1788.

Within a sunken circle under this record are medallion profiles, in life size, of the two brothers. Great care has been taken to have these

modeled from authentic busts and portraits of the founder and poet of Methodism, taken when they were in middle life, and were possessed of full energy of character, and also of fully developed features. From these marble likenesses it will be seen how much of the Wellesley outline of countenance appears in the face of John Wesley, and how much of poetic genius and refinement is depicted in that of Charles Wesley. It has been too much the practice to publish portraits of the brothers as they looked in wasted old age. This has given to them an aspect of venerableness; but surely public memorial likenesses of eminent and powerfully influential men should represent them in maturity of life and with unshrunken form of countenance. Immediately below these medallion heads of the two Wesleys are inscribed the living and dying words of the elder brother:—

"THE BEST OF ALL IS, GOD IS WITH US."

Under this quotation, and level with the eye, where it may be viewed to full advantage, is sculptured, in bold bass-relief, John Wesley preaching on his father's tombstone in Epworth church-yard; thus at once memorializing his birthplace and the beginning of his great itinerant and out-door work for God. This portion of the marble tablet includes, within a sunken square, some fifty figures, representing John Wesley and his rustic congregation. It is most deservedly pronounced to be chaste in style and masterly in execution. The figure of Wesley presents him in comparative youth, clad in gown and bands, standing on the tomb to proclaim to an assembly of villagers of different ages the way of salvation. The form and proportions of Wesley's figure are admirably brought out, by one hand being stretched forth, indicative of earnestness, and the other grasping the Bible and pressing it to his side, as if for its preciousness.

Behind the preacher, in the right-hand corner, are grouped together representatives of the "helpers" of the founder of Methodism. And, to secure for these distinctiveness of character, the gifted sculptor has voluntarily, and by his own will, availed himself of material immediately at hand, in busts and profile medallions of Methodist ministers whose heads he had, aforetime, modeled from life and in larger size. Among these may be traced the features of the late Rev. Thomas Jackson, Dr. Dixon, and Dr. Hannah, and of the Rev. John Farrar, Dr. Osborn, Charles Prest, William Arthur, the late Luke H. Wiseman, Dr. Rigg, and others. These figures appear in the dress of Wesley's period, and are admirably associated in their profile representations. Before and at

the sides of the preacher are seen hearers of both sexes, and in different positions, among tombs and grave-stones, some seated and others standing. The likenesses of some of the living laity in Methodism, and of the younger members of their families, may be traced in these figures. But all, both ministers and laity, are so disguised in the dresses of Wesley's time, that it is only through the help of full familiarity with their portraits that the resemblance can at present be discerned, and most probably will be untraceable in the future. This bass-relief has evidently been a work which, with the profile heads above, has been wrought out by the sculptor *con amore;* and the whole reflects the highest credit on the genius and skill of Mr. John Adams Acton.

Immediately beneath the sculptured picture of the scene in the churchyard is John Wesley's great philanthropic declaration:

"I LOOK UPON ALL THE WORLD AS MY PARISH."

And under this, on the sloping line at the bottom, is graven Charles Wesley's exultant exclamation:

"GOD BURIES HIS WORKMEN, BUT CARRIES ON HIS WORK."

All the letters are what is technically termed "imperishable," being deeply sunk in the marble and filled up with lead, so that they will not need renewal.

The monument is situate midway between "Poets' Corner," in the southern transept, and the nave of the Abbey, being near to the smaller monument of Dr. Isaac Watts, and in close neighborhood to memorials of men of genius and theological learning; so that the position and associations of the monument are highly satisfactory. In all this the Very Reverend the Dean, by whose permission the monument to the two Wesleys has been admitted into Westminster Abbey, deserves grateful mention. Nor should we forget the lively interest taken in the preparation of it by the late Lady Augusta Stanley. From the beginning, and during its progress under the hand of the sculptor, she gave the monument her wakeful attention.

The deeply affecting services accompanying the uncovering of the tablet by her bereaved husband will, I presume, be reported in your columns, so that I need not here make further reference to them. Thanking all who have co-operated with me in this work, I am, dear sir, yours truly,

FREDERICK JAMES JOBSON.

In the "Methodist Recorder" of London, April 7, 1876, appeared the following editorial, from the pen of the Rev. W. Morley Punshon, LL.D.:

THE WESTMINSTER ABBEY MEMORIAL TO THE WESLEYS.

In March, 1791, leaving a reformed nation and a flourishing Church as his monument, John Wesley died. In March, 1876, the Dean of Westminster unveiled a monument of marble erected to him and his brother Charles in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey. Thus the ages bring about the vindication of the good and true. Time is the great excavator of buried reputations; and if a man be sincere of aim, energetic in action, and pure in heart, he needs only to learn the secret of grandly waiting, and his recognition and enthronement will come. In many aspects the simple ceremony of Thursday week was significant and memorable. Some hundreds of Methodists, comprising the best-known names in metropolitan circuits, ministerial and lay, male and female, gathered in the Chapter-house, under the bright beams of an approving heaven. Presently there stole quietly through the crowd a slim, spare figure, undersized—as Wesley was—with a fine classical countenance, seeming as if it had taken a still finer mold under the chastening of recent sorrow. This was Dean Stanley, who had come, as chief dignitary of the Abbey, to do honor to the memory of the men who, after the lapse of nearly three generations, are confessed to have rendered to England, and to the Church of England, service of no common kind. In well-chosen words, and saying neither too much nor too little, Dr. Jobson, who has been the prime mover in the getting up of the memorial, requested the Dean to unveil it, making apt but guarded allusion to Lady Augusta Stanley, who had felt great interest in the progress of the work, but who "was not," for God had taken her. The address of the Dean, who spoke with evident earnestness and repressed feeling, and moreover as one who saw the invisible, was worthy of his catholic heart. Very frankly did he acknowledge the national obligation to the brothers Wesley—"the poet who was only less great because the preacher overshadowed him." Very earnestly did he ask the co-operation of those whom he addressed, Nonconformists though they were, in what he felt to be the great work of his life—though he had recently been deprived of "the companionship which gave it impulse and power"—the promotion of a truer charity among the followers of the same Saviour. Very touchingly did he refer to the shadows which had encompassed him, but through which the other world had been brought into near and realiz-

ing vision; and when he stated that his experience and his resolve might be embodied in words "familiar to all of you," and quoted from Charles Wesley's glorious hymn on Wrestling Jacob—

> "My company before is gone,
> And I am left alone with thee;
> With thee all night I mean to stay,
> And wrestle till the break of day"—

there was first a hush, in homage to the majesty of sorrow, and then a murmur of sympathy with the Christian hope and purpose, while to many an eye there rushed the unbidden tear. The Dean then proceeded to the south aisle, and uncovered the tablet, after which the president of the Conference briefly expressed his pleasure—perhaps the first Methodist preacher who has spoken publicly in Westminster Abbey—and then the people lifted up a voice, and that a mighty voice, and the vaulted aisles rang with the strains of the doxology. We rejoice in all this unfeignedly. Not that the Wesleys stand higher or are in truer renown than they were a week ago; no pomp of marble is needed to ennoble *them*. But in this age of fierce attritions and ceaseless controversies it is pleasant to step aside into a quiet resting-place where Christianity is honored above sect or creed; it is pleasant to sun one's self in the radiance of large catholicity, shining in high places; and it will be profitable for those of us who have especial trust in these old memories, but who are too busy in the endeavor to carry on the work of the Wesleys to have much leisure to weep over their sepulchers, to see to it that we go to it not only with renewed faith, but also with sturdier determination and with larger charity.

# WESLEY IN SAVANNAH, AND THE WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH.

SUNDAY, March 7, 1736. Finding there was not yet any opportunity of going to the Indians, I entered upon my ministry at Savannah, officiating at nine, at twelve, and in the afternoon. On the week days I read prayers and expounded the second lesson, beginning at five in the morning and seven in the evening. Every Sunday and holiday I administered the Lord's Supper.

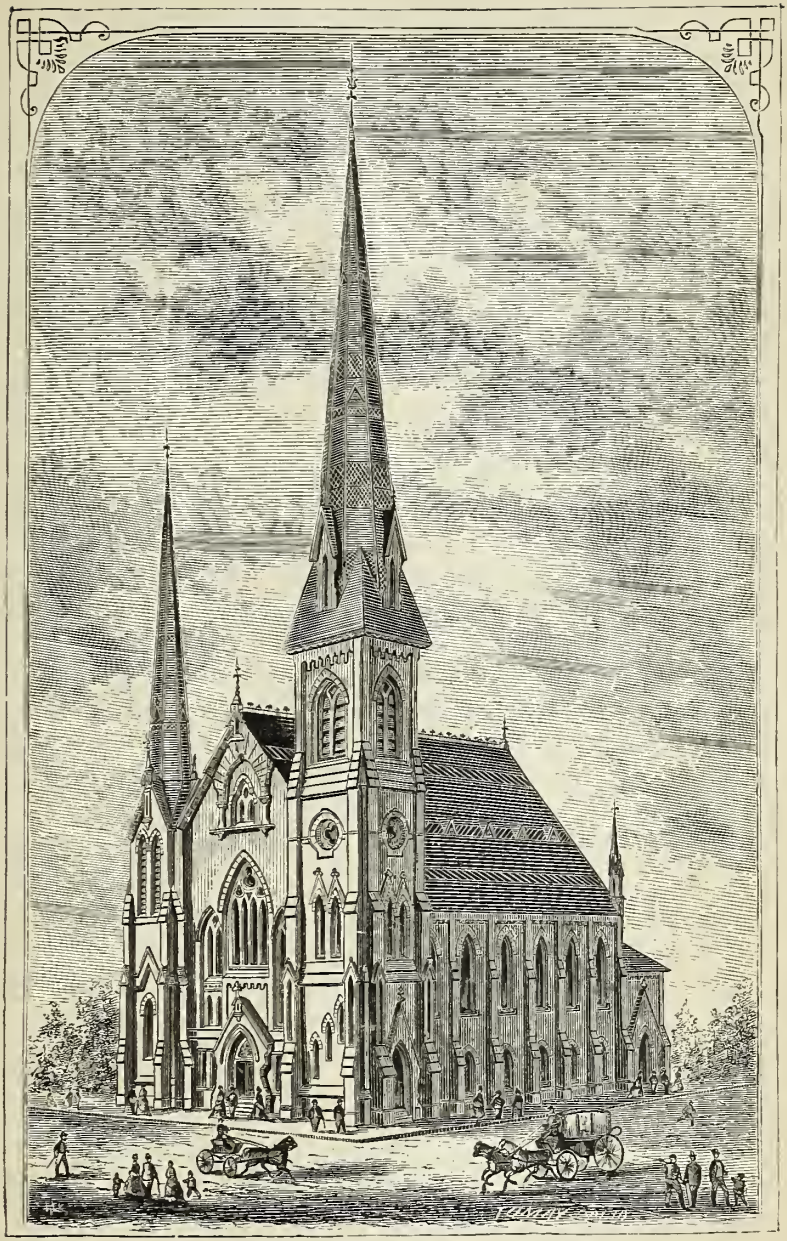
March 20. I now advised the serious part of the congregation to form themselves into a sort of little society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to instruct, exhort, and reprove one another. And out of these I selected a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other, in order to which I met them together at my house every Sunday in the afternoon.

May 10. I began visiting my parishioners in order, from house to house; for which I set apart the time when they could not work, because of the heat, namely, from twelve to three in the afternoon.

January 26, 1737. Mr. Ingham set out for England. By him I wrote to Dr. Bray's associates, who had sent a parochial library to Savannah. . . . Part of my letter was:—

"Our general method is this: A young gentleman who came with me teaches between thirty and forty children to read, write, and cast accounts. Twice a day he catechises the lowest class. In the evening he instructs the larger children. On Saturday I catechise them all; as also on Sunday before the evening service; and in the church, immediately after the second lesson, a select number of them having repeated the catechism and been examined in some part of it, I endeavor to explain at large, and to enforce that part both on them and the congregation.

"After the evening service, as many of my parishioners as desire it meet at my house, (as they do also on Wednesday evening,) and spend about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation. A small number (mostly those who desire to communicate next day) meet here on Saturday evening, and a few of them come to me on the other evenings, and pass half an hour in the same employment."—*Wesley's Journal.*



WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH, SAVANNAH, GA.

I CANNOT BUT OBSERVE THAT THESE [the above] WERE THE FIRST RUDIMENTS OF THE METHODIST SOCIETIES. BUT WHO COULD THEN HAVE FORMED A CONJECTURE WHERETO THEY WOULD GROW?—*Wesley's Short History of the People called Methodists.*

No part of this globe, not even England, is more indebted to John Wesley than America. Though only a little more than a century has passed since the first Methodist preachers came from England, the Methodist family in America numbers nearly four million communicants. And who will say how many souls saved by Methodist preaching have gone from American Methodist Churches to glory? Or who will say how many millions more have gone from other American Churches to swell the ranks of those saved through grace, whose awakening and conversion may be traced directly or indirectly to Mr. Wesley and his preachers?

And yet in America connectional Methodism has consecrated no monument to his name, no great statue or painting by some great master of the chisel or brush. In the Capitol, at Washington, Captain Smith, Miles Standish, William Penn, Roger Williams, and Daniel Boone, with Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Franklin, live on canvas or in marble. Even "the lone Indian," though it be but to perpetuate the memory of his fall and disgrace, and the triumphs of his pale-faced foes, has been redeemed from the general oblivion by the painter's brush or sculptor's chisel. I stood in the Capitol, at Washington, and saw the colossal statue of Ethan Allen just as it was placed in position in Statuary Hall. It was Vermont's grateful tribute to the memory of her son, the hero of Ticonderoga. A few words, nobly and bravely spoken, when asked by what authority he demanded the surrender of the fort, entitled Allen to a place among the sculptured heroes and statesmen of the Capitol. And may not John Wesley have some memorial in America, as in Westminster Abbey? John Wesley walking barefooted in the streets of Savannah, or preaching the gospel at Yammacraw to Tomachichi, the Indian chief, or looking on

while the Elders Spangenberg and Nitschmann ordained a Moravian bishop, is fitting study for the worthiest disciple of Canova or of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

But it is not to imitate the spirit which ostentatiously builded and garnished the sepulchers of the prophets that we purpose in America some memorial of the founder of Methodism. Nor is it because we believe he needs any monumental pile, or marble shaft, or statue, or painting, to perpetuate his name. His memory lives in the love and veneration of the millions who follow him as he followed Christ. His name is the most treas ured household word wherever the itinerant minister, with heart of love and tongue of fire, has preached the gospel which he preached. His monument in America is the many thousand Methodist churches in the United States and the Canadas, the great army of local and itinerant preachers, the millions of children in Methodist Sabbath-schools, the many universities and colleges which American Methodism has devoted to the cause of sanctified learning, and the many consecrated Methodist printing-presses, whose leaves are for the healing of America's increasing millions. His likeness is sculptured or pictured in the hearts of the vast multitude of believers who, in the love-feast, the prayer-meeting, and the class-meeting, testify to God's free grace and pardoning love, and praise him for the gift of Wesley to man.

But, while this is so, the Methodists of Savannah, in no spirit of hero worship, but with eye single to the honor of the Great Head of the Church whose servant he was, desire to show their appreciation of the labors of Wesley by some fitting memorial there. George Washington, first in war and peace, is first in *the hearts* of his countrymen. And yet a grateful people have erected monuments to his memory, called their capital by his name, and perpetuated his likeness on canvas, in bronze, and in marble. Roger Williams, the great Baptist champion of soul-liberty, has been placed in marble in Statuary Hall, side by side with Nathaniel Greene, the compatriot and companion in arms

of Washington. In Savannah, too, a monument has been erected to Greene, and another to Pulaski, though these heroes live in the hearts of the people. In like manner, though he is enshrined in their affections, Savannah Methodists have begun a monument to Wesley. That monument, however, is no granite pile, no marble column, no sculptured, no pictured, memorial. But it is what is infinitely more becoming—a noble Christian temple, in which his doctrines shall be preached, sinners called to repentance and faith in Christ, the shouts of new-born souls and saints made perfect in love be heard, and the songs of Charles, his poet-brother, be sung.

And what place more fitting for such a memorial to Mr. Wesley than Savannah? He has imperfectly read the history of Methodism who does not see the special hand of God in conducting Wesley to Georgia. The ship which bore him there in company with the Moravians; the storm which tried his faith on the Atlantic; the intimacy with the Moravians, Spangenburg and Nitschmann, and with the Salzburghers, Bolzius and Gronau; the trials, persecutions, vigils, fastings, and perils in the solitudes of the wilderness, were necessary to form and develop the future revivalist and reformer for the great work to which God had called him. However viewed, they were as necessary to him as the residence in Midian to Moses, the sojourn by the brook Cherith to Elijah, or the life among the captives by the river Chebar to Ezekiel. What Abel Stevens has written of Wesley's life on the deep in the ship with the pious families of Herrnhut, may be affirmed of his whole life in Georgia: "It was practical Methodism still struggling in its forming process; it was Epworth rectory and Susanna Wesley's discipline afloat on the Atlantic."

The difference between Mr. Wesley's spiritual life in Savannah and his subsequent life, for which the former prepared him, was indeed great. But it was no greater than the difference between Moses before and after his experience at the burning bush; between Isaiah before and after his lips were touched by

one of the seraphim with a live coal from the altar, or Peter before and after Pentecost. It was no greater than the difference between a babe in Christ, or a young man who has overcome the wicked one, and a father in Israel who has known Him that is from the beginning. And it was no greater than the difference between St. John before and after he received the perfect love which casteth out fear. The difference between John Wesley in the storm-tossed ship on the Atlantic and in his struggles after the higher life in Savannah, and John Wesley after his communion with Peter Böhler and visit to Herrnhut, is the difference between John Wesley justified by grace through faith and John Wesley sanctified wholly by the Spirit; between the contrasted man in his sermons on "Justification by Faith" and in his sermons on "Christian Perfection;" between an inexperienced and an experienced Christian, in whom tribulation hath wrought patience, and patience experience, and experience the hope that maketh not ashamed. Mr. Wesley's self-condemnatory expressions at this period of his life no more make against the soundness of this opinion than the like condemnatory things which many Old and New Testament saints recorded against themselves prove them to have had, at the time they uttered them, no real experience in the things of God.

The reader of Methodist history, who has studied Wesley's life and work in Savannah, must see the developing process of Methodism there. No part of his life in Savannah was insignificant. In Delamotte's school the children who wore shoes and stockings ridiculed those who had none. This produced discord, which Delamotte sought in vain to suppress. Exchanging schools with his friend, Wesley walked barefooted in the streets, and went barefooted in the school-room. The poor were encouraged; they who had shoes and stockings, imitating the example of their minister and teacher, went barefooted also; and so peace was restored to the school. This has been contemptuously called asceticism. It may be; but it was such

asceticism as revealed the character of the future reformer, who, like the great apostle to the Gentiles, was willing to be all things to all men that he might save the more. By self-denial in the wilderness, by waging war against all manner of sin, by systematic methods of labor, by constant ministrations to the poor, by visiting from house to house, by forming serious persons into classes, some to meet once and some to meet twice a week, in order "to instruct, exhort, and reprove one another," (the beginning of the class-meetings and band-meetings which Mr. Wesley afterward introduced into his Societies,) and by gathering together the children of the parish at the house of God, on every Sunday afternoon, to learn the catechism and receive other religious instruction—a work which had in it the very best elements of the Sabbath-school—Mr. Wesley in Savannah was developing the system which became peculiar to Methodism, and was preparing himself to be the greatest reformer since the days of the apostles. Nor was this all. In Savannah he was not only drawn by his intimacy with the Moravians to seek after the higher life, but there, too, his High-Church notions received "a staggering blow," when, while witnessing the simplicity and solemnity with which the Moravian elders elected and ordained a bishop, he was carried back, as he records in his journal, to the days in which "form and state were not; but Paul the tent-maker, and Peter the fisherman, presided; yet with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

The Sabbath-school in Savannah deserves to be treated more fully. Wesley's method of Sabbath-school instruction while there was not simply the old custom of catechising the young on Sunday afternoons. And yet even this, when Wesley appeared, had been abandoned by the parochial clergy of the Church of England. The good Bishop Wilson, in the Isle of Man, alone kept it up; elsewhere it had fallen into disuse. Wesley did a great deal more than revive the custom. His Sunday instruction of the children in the parish of Christ

Church, Savannah, as has been said, had in it all the best elements of the Sunday-school. Raikes' teaching was secular; it carried the week-day school into the Sabbath, for the benefit of the poorer urchins whose parents were not able to send them to the week-day schools. The elements of reading, writing, and even arithmetic, were taught by paid teachers; Bible or spiritual teaching was for a long time almost, if not wholly, neglected. The primary, if not the sole, object of Wesley's Sabbath-school instruction was to bring the children to Christ; and with what result the following extract from his journal will show:

"May 29, [1737.] Being Whitsunday, four of our scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were, at their earnest and repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's table. I trust their zeal has stirred up many to remember their Creator in the days of their youth, and to redeem the time, even in the midst of an evil and adulterous generation.

"Indeed, about this time we observed the Spirit of God to move upon the minds of many of the children. They began more carefully to attend to the things that were spoken, both at home and at church, and a remarkable seriousness appeared in their whole behavior and conversation. Who knows but some of them may 'grow up to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ?'"

"Here," says the Rev. Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris, in his "Biographical Memorials of General Oglethorpe," "is a prototype of the modern Sunday-schools." "This," says William Bacon Stevens, the learned Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, in his "History of Georgia," "was a regular part of his [Wesley's] Sunday duties; and it seems that John Wesley, in the parish of Christ Church, Savannah, had established a Sunday-school nearly fifty years before Robert Raikes originated his noble scheme of Sunday instruction in Gloucester."

But, whatever the scheme of Robert Raikes, even that was suggested to him by Sophia Cooke, a Methodist young woman,

who subsequently became the wife of Samuel Bradburn, one of Wesley's best and ablest lay-preachers. And Hannah Ball, another Methodist woman, fourteen years before Raikes began his Sunday-school in Gloucester, had a Sabbath-school at High Wycombe. It is claimed, also, that Sabbath-schools were established by Lindsay, in 1765; by James Hey, in 1775; by David Simpson, in 1778; and by Mrs. Catherine Boey, of Huxley Abbey, "long before Raikes was born." Raikes was born in 1761.

But, no matter to whom the credit of the Sabbath-school is due, it cannot be denied that Wesley, aided by Delamotte and Ingham, in Savannah, 1736–37, had a Sunday-school pre-eminently worthy of the name. No minister of the Lord Jesus, since the apostolic times, more fully understood the meaning and the spirit of the Master's command to Peter, "FEED MY LAMBS," or more implicitly obeyed it. No preacher more keenly than John Wesley felt its responsibility; a responsibility which he never shifted. No Sabbath-school teacher, no superintendent of a Sunday-school, no instructor of a Bible-class, could have done for him the work expressed and implied in the command, "FEED MY LAMBS." Indeed, it may well be questioned whether a departure from Wesley's methods has not worked much injury; whether pastors of Churches, in these more advanced days of Sabbath-schools, have not made them a substitute for the work which the Great Head of the Church especially committed to their hands.

A truer and more faithful shepherd of the lambs of the flock the Church of Christ has never had than John Wesley. No one more deeply drank into the spirit of Him who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me." They ever had his tenderest regards; they ever felt for him the most devoted love as well as the profoundest reverence. Revering him, they did not fear him; they flocked around him wherever he went; they often blocked up the entrance to the church that they might receive his blessing; they hung upon the skirts of

his coat, and only let go their hold when he entered into the place of preaching or ascended the pulpit. Think of the children who sat at the feet of John Wesley and received his instruction! It was a great privilege to the young who sat at the feet of John Milton, and read Homer on week-days and the Greek Testament on Sundays, having England's greatest epic poet for their instructor. It was a greater privilege to the children of Savannah to be taught by John Wesley how to love and serve their Creator, and Jesus Christ, who, when on earth, took the little ones into his loving arms and blessed them. The touch of Wesley's hand when placed on their heads in blessing was never forgotten; Robert Southey, on whose head, while a mere child in Bristol, the hand of the apostolic man was placed, remembered that touch, and felt its benediction down to his latest day.

And who was a greater friend to the general Sabbath-school movement than John Wesley? From no one did Robert Raikes receive greater encouragement than from the great Methodist reformer. With pen and voice Mr. Wesley eloquently supported the movement. He was the first to see that God had in the Sabbath-school "a deeper end therein than men are aware of," and to speak of them as "nurseries for Christians." To Richard Rodda, in 1787, Wesley wrote: "It seems these [Sabbath-schools] will be one great means of reviving religion throughout the nation;" to Duncan Wright, in 1778: "I verily think these Sunday-schools are one of the noblest specimens of charity which have been set on foot in England since the time of William the Conqueror;" to Charles Atmore, in 1790: "I am glad you have set up Sunday-schools in Newcastle. It is one of the noblest institutions which have been seen in Europe for some centuries, and will increase more and more, provided the teachers and inspectors do their duty. Nothing can prevent the increase of this blessed work but the neglect of the instruments. Therefore, be sure to watch over these with great care, that they may not grow weary in well-

doing."—These men were Wesley's lay preachers; these letters show the deep interest Wesley took in the religious instruction of children and in the Sabbath-school revival.

If these things are true, what more appropriate than the WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH in Savannah, and especially the MEMORIAL SABBATH-SCHOOL ROOM AND LIBRARY there, which are intended to commemorate, and preserve to Methodism, where it rightfully belongs, the fact that Mr. Wesley had a Sabbath-school in Savannah forty-three years before Robert Raikes had a Sunday-school in Gloucester? Sophia Cooke, who suggested to Raikes his Sabbath-school idea, and Hannah Ball, of High Wycombe, who had a Sabbath-school fourteen years before, are surely entitled, above Robert Raikes, to the claim of priority in the Sabbath-school movement. These noble Christian women were Methodists; hence, even in that view, to Methodism, more than to Robert Raikes, belongs the credit of the Sabbath-school revival. From the wreath which encircles the honored brow of Robert Raikes we would not pluck a single flower. But of this revival—for it was only a *revival*, Sabbath-school instruction having been known to the Church from apostolic times—truth compels us to give the honor where the facts of history have placed it.

But, to return, what if Mr. Wesley, after his departure from Georgia, did say that he who went to America to convert Indians was not himself converted? When St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, called himself "less than the least of all saints;" or, when writing to Timothy, he called himself "the chief of sinners," was St. Paul an unconverted man? The *first* he wrote of himself eighteen years after he was caught up into paradise; the *second* he wrote in his last prison, after his last battle was fought and won, the race ended, and the goal gained. And it was eighteen years after his vision of paradise that the great apostle wrote to the Philippians that he had neither already attained nor was he already perfect. Neither did Mr. Wesley—so exalted was his idea of Christian

perfection—ever admit—up to 1767—that he had attained it, as the following from Mr. Wesley to Dr. Dodd will show:

"'*Rusticulus*,' or Dr. Dodd, says, 'A Methodist, according to Mr. Wesley, is one who is perfect and sinneth not in thought, word, or deed.'

"Sir, have me excused. This is not according to Mr. Wesley. I have told all the world, *I am not perfect;* and yet, you allow me to be a Methodist. I tell you flat, I have not attained the character I draw. Will you pin it upon me in spite of my teeth?"

"The above," says Mr. Tyerman, "is an important letter, were it for nothing else than showing that Wesley preached a doctrine he himself did not experience. For above forty years he had taught the doctrine of Christian perfection; but he here flatly declares that as yet [1767] he had not attained it: he taught it, not because he felt it, but because he believed the Bible taught it."

The truth seems to be, the closer Wesley walked with God, the greater to him seemed the distance between absolute and relative perfection. Inasmuch as the heavens are unclean in the sight of the absolutely and infinitely Holy One, and cherubim and seraphim veil their faces in his presence, the holiest here, comparing their derived and relative holiness with the absolute and infinite holiness of God, often write themselves unholy and unclean. The entrance of God's word, which giveth light, reveals to the spiritual sense, with every increase of light, imperfections it never saw before. When, then, John Wesley sanctified compared himself with John Wesley justified, he wrote that till then he had never been converted; and when John Wesley, wholly sanctified, compared himself with the possibilities of that Spirit who reveals the deep things of God, he shrank from confessing that he had attained perfect sanctification. Hence, if John Wesley was not converted before he saw Peter Böhler, John Wesley lived and died never having received the blessing of perfect love. For, while he

denied, as above, all claim to the latter, his denial of the former was in later years qualified by the added note—"But I am not sure of this." Not sure of what? He was not sure that he was right when he denied his conversion. "Neither are we," says Mr. Tyerman. Indeed, Mr. Tyerman adds, "Wesley's assertion was too strong; in after life he felt it so; and those who quote it ought, in all fairness, to add what he himself appended." Hence, while he had not the confidence and joy of an assured son, Mr. Tyerman believes that "Wesley in Georgia was accepted of God through Christ." Mr. Overton, in "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," writes: "It is somewhat curious that he [Wesley] places the commencement of the revival at a date nine years earlier than that of his own conversion; but it must be remembered, that in his later years he took a somewhat different view of the latter event from that which he held in his hot youth." And Dr. Stoughton, in "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges," says: "But though the change at this moment [in Aldersgate-street, May 24, 1738] is denominated a conversion, few will believe that Wesley was altogether unconverted before." *

When, in after years, Mr. Wesley reviewed his life in Georgia, he declared that even then he had the faith of a servant of God, though not that of a son. But what did he mean by the faith of a son—that which, while in Savannah, his soul was craving? Let Mr. Wesley himself answer. "It was," he says, "a faith that would enable him to say, with St. Paul, 'I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh

* The view which I am presenting does not affect "Methodist terminology." It simply vindicates Mr. Wesley against himself. It is merely an opinion as to *when* Mr. Wesley was converted, and *when* he was wholly sanctified. I believe he was a *converted* man while he was in Savannah. And I equally believe that he was subsequently *wholly sanctified*, though he wrote that he was not. I am humbly persuaded that, by thus vindicating Mr. Wesley against himself, I am more effectually vindicating both Wesley's doctrine of justification by faith and his doctrine of Christian perfection.

I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.'" He wanted, he adds, that faith by which whosoever hath it is "freed from sin," and by which the whole "body of sin is destroyed." Now in what does such a state differ from Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection? The truth is, Wesley, not satisfied with himself, was at this time longing for something, as panting hart for cooling water-brook. That something was this blessing of perfect love; and that something, as we believe, he found on that memorable night in Aldersgate-street. If, on that night, he received his first blessing—the peace of justification—when did he receive the second—the perfect love which casteth out fear? But, however this may be, no one, perhaps, will question what George Smith, the historian of British Methodism, tells us, when he writes: "In the general sense in which the word 'converted' is often used, as implying a turning from sin to God, it could not be said that Wesley had never up to this time been converted." And to this we add, If a holy and blameless life be any evidence of conversion, Mr. Wesley's life in Savannah furnishes such evidence.

Wesley in Savannah was, indeed, a ritualist, but he was no bigot. An unsectarian spirit Wesley ever breathed. He was no bigot, no sectarian, who recognized Christ in the humble Moravians of Savannah and the equally humble Salzburghers of Ebenezer, and, sitting at their feet as a little child, looked up to them as his spiritual guides. He was ascetic, and, for the times, rigid and severe in discipline—too much so for his own peace, for out of it came all his troubles in Savannah. But then, discipline in the Church of England was at that time so lax as to be wholly abandoned. It is no surprising thing, therefore, that he who was sent to reform the Church sought to restore its discipline by laying the ax "unto the root of the tree." Young and susceptible, he became entangled in an affair of love. But, acting on the advice of his spiritual guides, he tore this idol from his heart, because he was per-

suaded that it would hinder the work to which his life was consecrated. Indiscreet, perhaps, he was; and by many, perhaps, he will ever be so regarded. But not a taint of dishonor attaches to his name. If Wesley's austere morality and pure religious life had not been a rebuke and offense to the worldly and unprincipled man who was both the chief magistrate of Savannah and uncle to the young lady, no charge for refusing the communion to Sophia Hopkey after she became Mrs. Williamson would ever have been brought against John Wesley. In keeping, too, with this charge, was the charge that he had broken up a State-dance by a prayer-meeting which he was then conducting in another room. That John Wesley, when her conduct became obnoxious to the rules and discipline of the Church, refused the communion to Mrs. Williamson, proves, if he ever had regarded her with affection, that he was no respecter of persons. In a letter to the Bishop of London, written December 22, 1737, by the Rev. Alexander Garden, the bishop's commissary in Charleston, Mr. Garden writes: "This sudden event [Wesley's leaving Georgia] indeed surprised me, for no one could be more approved, better liked, or better reported of by all the people of Georgia than this very gentleman was, till lately he presumed to expel the chief magistrate's niece from the Holy Communion, which has brought down such a storm of resentment upon him as I wish he may be well able to weather."—Such was the view taken of this affair by the Bishop of London's representative in Charleston. It was the resentment of pride against the faithfulness of a zealous and devoted parish priest.

But do we claim for Mr. Wesley that he was without fault, or free from mistakes? By no means. For we remember that John Wesley was, after all, a man, and not an angel; not a perfect man, but a man "compassed with infirmity;" yet still, a man approaching as nearly, through grace, to the stature of the fullness of Christ—Fletcher of Madeley, perhaps, alone excepted—as any other man of the eighteenth century. No true

follower of John Wesley has ever made him an angel. No enemy has more faithfully exposed his mistakes than Luke Tyerman, his devoted follower. And yet Mr. Tyerman says that John Wesley was "as perfect as we ever expect men to be on this side heaven." If Wesley's character has been made to appear more than human it has been owing to the unfounded attacks of his open enemies, or to the misguided representations of lukewarm friends. For nothing so exalts real virtue as when the merest trifles are the only things that can be brought against its possessor. The labored and over-zealous efforts of those who have exhausted their ingenuity to prove that John Wesley was not faultless have done more to give a highly-wrought coloring to his character than all the laudations which he has received from the most partial of his followers. For the impartial judgment of history must be, that he must have been far above his fellows against whose long life of over fourscore years of active public labor naught can be alleged except the most venial indiscretions of youth.

Wesley made mistakes; he erred in judgment; he was too trustful, too charitably credulous, and was, therefore, sometimes deceived. But, notwithstanding the mistakes of his long and eventful life, all future candid historians must confirm the judgment of Mr. Overton, that one all-absorbing, all-controlling principle was the rule of Wesley's life: "THE LOVE OF GOD, AND THE LOVE OF MAN FOR GOD'S SAKE." In harmony with this we give the judgments which follow, not one of which, as well as that just quoted from Mr. Overton, was pronounced by a follower of John Wesley:—

Wesley thought of religion only.—*Dr. Samuel Johnson.*

Wesley had a genius for godliness.—*Matthew Arnold.*

It was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently, May my last end be like his!—*Alexander Knox.*

The purest, noblest, most saintly clergyman of the eighteenth century, whose whole life was passed in the sincere and loyal effort to do good.—*Mr. Curteis: Bampton Lectures.*

I do not say he was without fault, or above mistakes, but they were lost in the multitude of his excellences and virtues.—*Woodfall's Diary, July*, 1791.

We are not blind to his faults, but even these will be found to have sprung from the sincerity, openness, and native simplicity of his character.—*Dr. Dobbin.*

Whatever ignorance of his real character, the fatuity of prejudice, or the insolence of pride may have suggested, the day is coming when the great and adorable Master will condemn every tongue that hath risen up in judgment against him, and say in the presence of men and angels, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."—*Dr. Haweis, Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon.*

Mr. Wesley, may I be found at your feet in heaven!—*Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London.*

Wesley will be so near the throne, and we shall be at such a distance, that I shall hardly get a sight of him.—*George Whitefield.*

But let us return to Mr. Wesley's earlier spiritual life. In his journal we find this remarkable entry:

Saturday, *March* 14, 1738.—I found my brother at Oxford recovering from his pleurisy; and with him Peter Böhler, by whom (in the hand of the great God) I was, on Sunday, the 5th, clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.

Now if these words stood by themselves, they might be used to throw discredit upon what we have been saying. But they do not stand by themselves. They are fully explained and qualified by Mr. Wesley's own added note, "With the full Christian salvation."

"'The full Christian salvation' was PERFECT LOVE, or CHRISTIAN PERFECTION. Whenever Wesley applied the tests of conversion to his own personal experience, he ever demanded fruits in himself which he always ascribed to others whom he acknowledged to be perfect in love."

From the Preface to "Hymns and Sacred Poems," 1739, we may learn what Wesley once thought a child of God must be: "1. He is freed from self-will, desiring nothing—no, not for one moment. 2. From evil thoughts, so that they cannot

enter into him—no, not for one moment. Aforetime when an evil thought came in, he looked up, and it vanished away. But now it does not come in; there being no room for this in a soul which is full of God. 3. From wanderings in prayer; they have no thought of any thing past, or absent, or to come, but of God alone."—But Mr. Wesley afterward said that these words were too strong; in a subsequent preface he qualified and corrected them.

In his later years, also, Mr. Wesley said that he had been too strong in what he had held about the evidence of conversion. In the Minutes of 1770 appears the following: "But how are we sure that the person in question never did fear God, and work righteousness? *His own saying so* [italics ours] *is not proof; for we know how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect.*" And, in extreme old age, he writes, "When, fifty years ago, my brother Charles and I, in the simplicity of our hearts, taught the people that unless they *knew* their sins were forgiven they were under the wrath and curse of God, I marvel they did not stone us. The Methodists, I hope, know better now. We preach assurance, as we always did, as a common privilege of the children of God, but we do not enforce it under pain of damnation denounced on all who enjoy it not."

In Aldersgate-street, on the evening of May 24, 1738, it is claimed that John Wesley was converted. His "heart was strangely warmed" while one "was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ;" an assurance was then given that "his sins were pardoned," and that he "was saved from the law of sin and death." But what shall we say when we remember that this conversion was soon, and emphatically, denied by Mr. Wesley? January 4, 1739, not eight months after that eventful evening in Aldersgate-street, he writes in his journal the words which follow, [the italics being ours:] "*My friends affirm I am mad, because I said I was not a Christian a year ago. I affirm, I am not a*

*Christian now. . . . But that I am not a Christian at this day I as assuredly know as that Jesus is the Christ. For a Christian is one who has the fruits of the Spirit of Christ, which (to mention no more) are love, peace, joy. But these I have not.*" He had not love, he tells us, because sometimes he had "more pleasure in the world than in God." He had not joy, because the joy which he felt was transient, and no greater than that which he had "on some worldly occasions." Nor had he even peace, for the peace which he had might "be accounted for on natural principles."

Reader, what do you say to these things? Was Wesley still unconverted? Then go to your knees and call mightily upon God for the forgiveness of *your* sins. And yet this denial of his conversion in Aldersgate-street was far more unqualified than the denial of his conversion before that time.

How guardedly, how depreciatingly, did Mr. Wesley often speak of his own personal experience in the things of God! Nothing of earthliness would he allow in himself; in him all earthliness was sin. The clearer and more scriptural view of justification by faith alone, which he did receive from Peter Böhler, admitted no possible merit in works as a ground of acceptance with God; and his notions of the divine law, colored as they were by previous ascetic discipline, tolerated in himself neither the slightest spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, whether in act, or word, or thought. But how strange the contrast between what he denied in himself and what he allowed in others! Wherever he went, he witnessed conversions and sanctifications which to him were clear and convincing. In the conversion and sanctification of thousands he placed the most implicit confidence, while his own were questioned and even denied. What catholicity! what liberality! what condemnation of self! His credulity was only equaled by his humility. The truth is, as in the great apostle to the Gentiles, humility was the characteristic which, more than any other trait, distinguished the apostle of the great revival of the eighteenth century.

Much concerning Mr. Wesley's spiritual life previous to his so-called conversion may be learned from his sermons and letters at Oxford, and from his hymns written in Savannah. In a sermon preached before the University at St. Mary's, Oxford, January 1, 1733, on "The Circumcision of the Heart," Mr. Wesley said: "Circumcision of the heart is that habitual disposition of soul which, in the sacred writings, is termed holiness; and which directly implies the being cleansed from sin, 'from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit;' and, by consequence, the being endued with those virtues which were also in Christ Jesus; the being so 'renewed in the spirit of our mind' as to be 'perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect.'" "Here we have propounded in the plainest terms," says Mr. Tyerman, "as early as the year 1733, Wesley's famous doctrine of Christian perfection." But what did Mr. Wesley himself, in after years, say of it? "This sermon"—the sermon preached before the university in 1733—he writes in 1765, "contained all that I now teach concerning salvation from all sin and loving God with an undivided heart." Later still, in 1778, he writes: "I know not that I can write a better sermon on circumcision of the heart than I did five-and-forty years ago." In the same sermon at Oxford, he also tells us that holiness of heart is attained by faith alone—"by unshaken assent" to these Scriptures—"Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners," "he bore our sins in his own body on the tree," and "he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." And to this he adds: "Those who are thus, by faith, born of God, have also strong consolation through hope. This is the next thing which the circumcision of the heart implies; even the testimony of their own spirit with the Spirit which witnesses in their hearts that they are the children of God." Wonderful words from an Oxford High-Church sacramentarian! "Such, then, were the principles," writes Mr. Tyerman, "held by Mr. Wesley and the Oxford Methodists in 1733. From

these he never varied; and dark will be the day when they are either abandoned or forgotten by his followers."

We pass by another sermon written the same year and place, on "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God," etc., a sermon equally evangelical, and defending doctrines which distinguish Wesleyan Methodism. We omit also, "A Collection of Forms of Prayer for every Day in the Week," Wesley's "first printed production," and "originally intended for the use of his college pupils;" prayers that, "for reverential feeling, simplicity and beauty of expression, scriptural sentiment, Christian benevolence, and earnest longings for the highest holiness; for adoration, penitence, deprecation, petition, thanksgiving, and intercession," his recent biographer thinks, "have no superiors, perhaps hardly any equals, in the English language." We hasten from these to the wonderful hymns written by Mr. Wesley while a missionary in Georgia.

In Savannah Mr. Wesley acquired three European languages, the German, Spanish, and Italian. While there he prepared a small volume of 74 pages, with the title-page: "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, Charles-town, printed by Lewis Timothy, 1737." This collection was unknown until it was recently discovered in London. It had been supposed that the "Collection of Psalms and Hymns, 1738," was the oldest hymn book Mr. Wesley ever published. But it was in America, not in England, the first Wesleyan hymn book was published; and it was prepared, not in England, but in Georgia; not on the Thames, but on the Savannah. It had been known that some of his hymns were translated in Savannah from languages of the continent of Europe. But it seems to have remained a secret that to America is due the first of the series of the psalms and hymns that came from the Wesleys. It had been known that class-meetings, band-meetings, and Sabbath-schools—whether called by these names or not makes no difference, for they were one in every essential particular with those subsequently organized

in England—were established first in Savannah. It had been known also that Mr. Wesley, while there, pursued the custom of visiting from house to house—a custom which has given to the itinerant ministry so much of its success—and that while there he continued his methods of systematic benevolence. And it had been known that Mr. Wesley, in his "Short History of the People called Methodists," had said that these observances in Savannah were "the first rudiments of the Methodist Societies." But it was not known till 1878 that in Savannah the first Methodist hymn book was compiled.

It is true that attempts have been made to throw discredit on the genuineness of this hymn book. This has been because none of Charles Wesley's hymns are in the Savannah hymn book, and because John Wesley has made no mention of it in his journal. The first may be accounted for by the fact that Charles, in 1737, was in England. Mr. Wesley left Savannah for Charleston, December 2, 1737; on December 13 he arrived in Charleston; and on Saturday, 24th, he "sailed over Charles-town bar." This allowed him nearly two weeks in Charleston, and gave him ample time to confer with Lewis Timothy, the "Charles-town" publisher. Mr. Wesley may have left Charleston before the book was issued from the press; hence, it may never have been seen by him; and hence, perhaps, it happened not to have been mentioned.

But December, 1737, was not the only time Mr. Wesley was in Charleston. July 31, 1736, he was there to see his brother sail for England; and April 14, 1737, he was there on a visit to Mr. Garden, the Bishop of London's commissary.

It has been said, that perhaps some Moravian published this hymn book without the knowledge of Mr. Wesley. What possible motive could have prompted it? Could this have happened without coming at some time to Mr. Wesley's notice? And when it came to his knowledge, as it must have come, is not Wesley's silence about the fraud more marvelous than his silence respecting the publication? Stronger reasons must

be adduced to prove the "Charles-town" hymn book a forgery, or show that it was surreptitiously published. Lewis Timothy, while Wesley was in Savannah, was a well-known "Charles-town" publisher of books. The writer has seen a book from Timothy's "Charles-town" press, written by a Savannah man, and published just after Mr. Wesley left Georgia. In Rich's "Bibliotheca Americana Nova," is the notice of a "report of the committee appointed to examine into the proceedings of the people of Georgia," etc., a tract which was printed by Lewis Timothy.

To add to what has been said, the Collection of Psalms and Hymns, eighty-four pages, 12mo, 1738, is admitted to be John Wesley's. And yet no mention of it occurs in Wesley's journal; neither does it contain any hymns by Charles Wesley; nor does the name of the printer or author appear on the title-page. But in one of Mr. Wesley's letters, as Mr. Tyerman states, which appeared in Rawlinson's "Continuation of Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis," Mr. Wesley mentions "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns" published by him in 1736. "Is this date an error?" asks Mr. Tyerman. Is it not rather, we ask, more than probable that the "Charles-town" hymn book of 1737 is the one to which Mr. Wesley, in the above-mentioned letter, has reference? Mr. Wesley was in Charleston in 1736. He then may have made arrangements with Mr. Timothy. But the book may not have been published till 1737.

But, however this may be, in the "Charles-town" hymn book there are hymns translated by Mr. Wesley while he was in Savannah from European languages which he had acquired in Georgia. These translations, as well as the paraphrase of the 104th Psalm, fully prove "that if Wesley had cultivated his poetic talents he might easily have attained to no inferior position among the bards of Britain." But they are valuable, not only as compositions of great poetic genius worthy of the muse of sacred lyric poetry and of a place in the songs of the sanctuary, but as indices of the then spiritual

inner life of John Wesley, missionary to Tomachichi and his dusky tribe. The Savannah hymns are among the noblest in the Wesleyan collection. The vast superiority of Wesley's translations over the Moravian translations of the same hymns has often been pointed out. Take this, from Wesley's translation of the German of Ernest Lange:

O God, thou bottomless abyss!
Thee to perfection who can know?
O height immense! what words suffice
Thy countless attributes to show?
Unfathomable depths thou art;
O plunge me in thy mercy's sea!
Void of true wisdom is my heart;
With love embrace and cover me!
While thee, all-infinite, I set
By faith before my ravished eye,
My weakness bends beneath the weight,
O'erpowered I sink, I faint, I die!

* * * * * * * * *

Yet, while at length who scorned thy might
Shall feel thee a consuming fire,
How sweet the joys, the crown how bright,
Of those who to thy love aspire!
All creatures prove the eternal name!
Ye hosts that to his courts belong,
Cherubic choirs, seraphic flames,
Awake the everlasting song!
Thrice Holy! thine the kingdom is,
The power omnipotent is thine;
And when created nature dies,
Thy never-ceasing glory shines.

Or this, from the German of John Joseph Winkler:

The love of Christ doth me constrain
To seek the wandering souls of men;
With cries, entreaties, tears, to save,
To snatch them from the gaping grave.

For this let man revile my name;
No cross I shun, I fear no shame;
All hail, reproach! and welcome, pain!
Only thy terrors, Lord, restrain.

Or this from the German of Gerard Tersteegen:

Is there a thing beneath the sun
That strives with thee my heart to share?
Ah, tear it thence, and reign alone,
The Lord of every motion there!
Then shall my heart from earth be free,
When it hath found repose in thee!

* * * * * * * * *

Each moment draw from earth away
My heart, that lowly waits thy call;
Speak to my inmost soul, and say,
"I am thy love, thy God, thy all!"
To feel thy power, to hear thy voice,
To taste thy love, be all my choice.

Or this from the French of Madame Antoinette Bourignon:

Nothing on earth do I desire,
But thy pure love within my breast:
This, only this, will I require,
And freely give up all the rest.

Or this from the unknown lyric poet of Spain:

In a dry land, behold I place
My whole desire on thee, O Lord;
And more I joy to gain thy grace,
Than all earth's treasures can afford.

More dear than life itself, thy love
My heart and tongue shall still employ;
And to declare thy praise will prove
My peace, my glory, and my joy.

And, was one who could thus sing unconverted? It may be; for the outward lips do not always represent the heart within;

the worst may appear as angels of light. But, whatever may be said of John Wesley, he was an Israelite in whom there was no guile. These hymns, at least, express the intense longings of a soul all athirst for God — for the living God. We would rather, therefore, think that the Spirit of holiness indited these hymns; that his lips were touched by the self-same Spirit of whom, in the Oxford sermon already quoted, he wrote, "Without the Spirit of God we can do nothing but add sin to sin; it being as impossible for us ever to think a good thought without his supernatural assistance as to create ourselves, or to renew our whole souls in righteousness and true holiness. He alone can quicken those who are dead unto God, and breathe into them the breath of Christian life." We believe that the "breath of Christian life" had been breathed into the Georgia missionary by the Spirit of God.

But it is said that Wesley in Savannah was a ritualist and High-Churchman. Does this prove that he was unconverted? Are all High-Churchmen unconverted? Wesley, in old age—when, like a ripe apple ready to drop by its own weight from its parent stem, he was fully meet for the kingdom of glory—did not write a sweeping sentence of condemnation against High-Churchmen. His broad and heaven-born catholicity never allowed him to excommunicate others solely because they were High-Churchmen from the communion of saints and fellowship with God's dear children. The riper he was for heaven, the greater his catholicity. They who unchurch all who differ from them in doctrine have neither the mind of Wesley nor the spirit of Him whose teachings he so closely followed.

But grant that Wesley was a ritualist and High-Church sacramentarian when he arrived in Savannah. He did not long remain so, for in Savannah his views began to undergo an entire change. It was there his High-Churchmanship received its deadly wound. He left Savannah a very different, a wiser, and a better man. The great change begun in Georgia was

completed in England; and so great was this change, so much did it make him feel like a new man, that he wrote unguardedly about his former life. Any thing strange in this? If some ritualist and sacramentarian of the Church of England, whose piety no one questions, were to undergo a change of views similar to Wesley's, might he not speak of his former religious life as Wesley, after his so-called conversion, spoke of his? If Mr. William Arthur, who wrote "The Tongue of Fire," should be troubled about his baptism, and come to believe that to go under the water is necessary to follow his Lord fully, what a new life, after plunged by Mr. Spurgeon beneath "the liquid grave," might open to his spiritual vision! Like experiences, produced by change of doctrinal views and Church relations, are things of commonest occurrence. Every proselyte to a new faith thinks he has taken a new departure. The peace which settled religious conviction brings to him who has been troubled about doctrine is too often mistaken for a greater and more radical change. When Adoniram Judson became a Baptist his peace was greater than when he was a Congregationalist. But was Judson, the Congregationalist, an unconverted man when, standing before the committee at Bradford, in Massachusetts, he exclaimed, "Woe is me, if I preach not the gospel to the heathen?"

But it is also said Wesley was afraid in the storm on the Atlantic, while the Moravians, knowing no fear, were joyfully singing psalms. What of this? St. Paul feared lest, having preached to others, he himself might be a castaway. This he wrote in the earlier days of his ministry. Not until his last battle was fought and won did he raise the triumphant shout, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." The increased and overflowing love, given as a new and confirmed pledge of the divine approval, and *shed abroad* in the heart by the Holy Ghost, ἐκκέχυται, poured out, running over, refining and assimilating all to God, cannot be claimed unless faith, tried by tribulation, has through grace

fruited in patience, experience, and hope. He who has just put on his armor has not the experience of the veteran of a hundred battles. He who has just received license to pilot a ship has not the confidence of him who has piloted ships through a thousand storms.

Nor is this all. Some of the holiest men have a constitutional shrinking from death. There is a natural timidity not inconsistent with faith in God. On the other hand, fearlessness of death has often distinguished those who have little claim to holiness, or even to justifying faith. The greatest moral courage is not always that which faces death without alarm. There are other conflicts by which moral courage is more severely tried. Its sublimest victories are won on other battle-fields. To preserve integrity in a corrupt age, to wage an uncompromising war against patronized vice, to contend for principle against scorn, and, in defense of despised truth, to brave contempt and ridicule, require greater moral heroism than to meet death by land or sea. Wesley at Oxford and Savannah was braver than Lannes at Lodi, or Arnold at Quebec. Many fearless of death are moral cowards; many shrinking from the pains of death are moral heroes. If timidity in the hour of danger, by flood and tempest, by pestilence and cyclone, be proof that one is not born again, then thousands of truest moral courage here have never known the peace of sins forgiven. Many who condemn Wesley for his experience on the Atlantic wave have confessed to a greater shrinking from death a hundred times.

That Wesley had a constitutional fear of the sea appears more than once from his journal. During his *homeward* passage the ship was driven by fierce storms. January 13, 1738, he writes: "I was at first afraid; but cried to God, and was strengthened. Before ten I lay down, I bless God, without fear." "From that time," he says, "I had no more of that fearfulness and heaviness, which before almost continually weighed me down." February 3, 1738, he adds: "Hereby I

am delivered from the fear of the sea, which I had both *dreaded and abhorred* [italics ours] *from my youth.*"

But it is doubtful whether Mr. Wesley ever fully overcame his dread of the sea. September, 1743, five years after his experience in Aldersgate-street, he crossed from St. Ives' to St. Mary's, one of the isles of Scilly. Though he was in "the best sailer of any in the town," he tells us that when the waves began to swell and hang over their heads he called to John Nelson and Mr. Shepherd, who were with him in the boat, to unite their voices with his in song. And they sang "lustily:"

When, passing through the watery deep,
I ask in faith his promised aid,
The waves an awful distance keep,
And shrink from my devoted head:
Fearless, their violence I dare;
They cannot harm, for God is there!

"They sang," he adds, "with a good courage."

On the voyage to Savannah, in the third storm—which was the fiercest of all—while it was raging with terrific fury, Mr. Wesley tells us that "a child was brought to be received into the Church," and that "after prayers" they "spent two or three hours in conversing suitably to the occasion, confirming one another in a calm submission to the wise, holy, gracious will of God." "And now," he adds, "a storm did not appear so terrible as before. Blessed be the God of all consolation!" And when the storm was at its height, and he found the Germans happy and singing praises at a time "a terrible screaming began among the English," what did John Wesley do? "From them"—the Germans—as he records in his journal—"I went to their crying, trembling neighbors, and pointed out to them the difference in the hour of trial between him that feareth God and him that feareth him not."

What a sublime picture! Amid the howling of the tempest, the creaking of the cordage, the groaning of the ship's timbers,

and the shrieking of the terrified, the young missionary to the Georgia Indians, drawing a lesson from the scene before him, was calmly and hopefully exhorting the timid and the fearful to faith in God. Never did John Wesley appear grander than at that moment! He had but one constitutional dread—a thing which haunted his imagination from earliest youth—the waves of the sea lashed to fury by the storm cloud. And yet behold him, when nature demands repose, sleeping a sleep in the cabin of the tempest-driven ship "as peaceful as an infant's," and yet a sleep whose awakening, he thought, might be "at the bar of God!" Behold him in the morning when, refreshed by sleep, he looks out upon the deep and finds that God, while he slept, had said to the roaring waves, "Peace, be still!" See the smoke of the incense of praise which, as a sweet-smelling savor, ascends heavenward from the lips of the young missionary as he leads the morning devotions of the rescued passengers and crew! Behold him, in the fiercest storm, after receiving into the ark of God's covenant a lamb of the little flock, quieting the terror-stricken parents and children by pointing them to the fear of God as a sure refuge and hiding-place from the storm —a sheet-anchor whose flukes are so securely fixed in the Rock of ages that no power of wind and wave can move them from their fastenings!

And yet this is the man who is represented to us as a then trembling, guilty sinner, not knowing God as his reconciled Father, or Jesus Christ as his loving Saviour. This is the man who, in the first storm, "lay down in the great cabin, and in a short time fell asleep, though very uncertain whether he should wake alive;" who, in the third storm, while receiving the child into the Church, was "put in mind of Jeremiah's buying the field when the Chaldeans were on the point of destroying Jerusalem, and saw in it a pledge of the mercy God designed to show us, even in the land of the living." And this is the man who, after this storm, again returned thanks to God for the deliverance which he again had wrought, and

spoke to all of the difference between them who "obey God from fear and them who obey him from motives of love!"

Will the hypocrite always call upon God? Was there an hour in which John Wesley, even at this period of his life, did not, in sickness and in health, in trouble and in joy, in storm and in calm, always call upon God? Wesley's experience in the storm on the Atlantic was his first experience of impending death since his rescue in childhood from the burning at Epworth. He had come to believe that the least shrinking from death, however imminent and ghastly, could not be reconciled with perfect faith. Not yet able to joy in prospect of immediate death, he questioned whether he had faith at all. But he lets us into the secret when, either during the first storm, or after it was over, he wrote in his journal: "O how pure in heart must he be who would rejoice to appear before God at a moment's warning!"

It was well, perhaps, that John Wesley's views of the power of divine grace to deliver from all possible fear would allow no weakness whatever in himself. For the consciousness of the slightest weakness only humbled him the more, and led him to seek after more perfect crucifixion with Christ. And it is well that he who was so ready to condemn himself was exceedingly charitable to the weaknesses of others; otherwise he could not have given comfort where it was most needed. If he had not made straight paths for his own feet he never could have healed many that were lame and in danger of being turned out of the way. The humility which a sense of his own weakness inspired, caused him to bear more meekly his own cross; the charity which was born of his humility, the better enabled him to strengthen others to bear theirs.

The view which we have taken in this article of Wesley's life before May, 1738, seems to us the only true and consistent one. It makes Wesley true to himself and his doctrine. All appears clear, if he was a truly justified soul before the night in Aldersgate-street, and if, on that night, he received the bless-

ing of entire sanctification. It does justice to Wesley's catholicity and unsectarian spirit. It relieves those who, not holding to all of Wesley's doctrinal views—those other sheep which are not of this fold—yet have the clear marks of justifying and sanctifying faith. His self-depreciation, in this view, is as well understood as St. Paul's. It is a view that gives encouragement to many true children of God who, on account of Wesley's depreciation of himself, have been led into heaviness, or into doubts about their acceptance with God. It reconciles things in his experience which to thousands have appeared irreconcilable. It illustrates more beautifully his doctrine of Christian perfection. It demonstrates more fully that it is a blessed privilege that may be attained by faith. It takes away the discouragments which many, while seeking it, have felt from what they have been led to believe was Wesley's experience. For the thought that Wesley had not obtained the blessing of perfect love has, no doubt, led thousands to fear that it is impossible to attain it. Seen, too, in its true light, his self-depreciation, instead of being a discouragement, will be an incentive. But not only an incentive; it guards against presumption. It makes one more cautious and searching. It produces greater humility, and consequently, greater dependence on grace. It is a defense against intolerance and uncharitableness. It is proof against Pharisaic bigotry. It begets a sense of unworthiness that makes us bear the infirmities of the weak. It produces a meekness and gentleness that makes us forgiving and Christlike. It magnifies the law, and is a guard against solifidian pride and sloth, and all antinomianism. It makes us more obedient and careful to maintain good works. It the more faithfully reminds us to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, and to sanctify the Lord of hosts himself, and make him our fear and dread. It keeps our eyes more steadily fixed on the mark for the prize. It endures hardness; it bears the cross; it grows in grace; it thirsts for the living God; and it increases in love to God and man.

Nothing, indeed, has been more discouraging to babes in Christ than mistaken views of Wesley's experience in the things of God. And the same thing is true of penitents seeking to know God in the forgiveness of sin. If Wesley was unconverted before 1738, what fruits, many ask, can we bring forth meet for repentance, conformable to amendment and newness of life? But when they see that Wesley's self-condemnation was the fruit of humility, they are encouraged and strengthened, knowing that it is the evidence of a contrite spirit, well pleasing and acceptable to God. And when such a man as Wesley speaks distrustfully of himself, what carefulness it works in others! what vehement desire! what heart-searching! what humbling of self! They say that Wesley's experience is in harmony with the experience of him who called himself the chief of sinners, and less than the least of all saints.

Great injustice has been done to Mr. Wesley and the doctrine he taught by distorting single expressions and isolated experiences which occur here and there in the progress of a life that was, as was St. Paul's, one protracted conflict from his college days at Oxford till he closed his eyes in death at his house in City Road. Never was there an experience more clearly illustrative of the workings of the divine Spirit on the human soul; and never has Christian teacher, since the days of the apostles, taught Christian doctrine more in harmony with that taught by the great Teacher, and illustrated by those whom he first commissioned to preach it. But, while this is so, Wesley's experience and Wesley's doctrine have suffered by the unskillful use of both. Imperfectly understood by many as his doctrine has been, by trying to make consistent the contradictory utterances of a fallible and uninspired man, it has always had in it so much of consistency and truth, even when imperfectly interpreted, that its triumphs, more than the triumphs of any other, have been commensurate with the triumphs of the gospel as it was

preached by men on whom the cloven tongues of fire descended at Pentecost. It is, even as understood, more nearly the truth of God than any other formula of doctrine known to the Christian Church. If some skillful hand could perfectly formulate it, Wesleyan doctrine would soon be the acknowledged and undisputed theology of the Church of Christ.* As it is, it has wonderfully changed the theology of the pulpit the world over, and no little modified the theology of the schools. Clear it of its seeming contradictions—contradictions which attach to it only because Wesley is always made to interpret Wesley, as if every thing he ever said were consistent with the system of doctrine which was perfected by him—and then apply to Wesley's experience—and especially the self-condemning things which he often wrote about himself—the same rule which we apply to St. Paul, and Wesley's doctrine will be the doctrine of the united Church of the future.

Returning again to Wesley in Savannah, we ask, What motive carried him to Georgia? Let Mr. Wesley answer: "Our end," he writes, "in leaving our native country, was not to avoid want, (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings,) nor to gain the dung or riches of dross or honor; but simply this, to save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God." And what were the results of his labors in Savannah? The ship which bore Mr. Wesley back to England was passed by the ship which was bearing Mr. Whitefield to Georgia. On his arrival in Savannah Mr. Whitefield wrote; "*The good* [italics ours] *Mr. John Wesley has done in America is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people; and he has laid a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake. O that I may follow him as he hath followed Christ!*"

Such is the testimony of Mr. Whitefield as to the results of Mr. Wesley's labors and the savor of his name in Georgia.

* I am glad to know that this view is powerfully confirmed by Dr. Pope in his article in this volume.

Such his testimony to the Christlike spirit of Wesley, his old spiritual leader and adviser at Oxford, and, indeed, his spiritual father, as Whitefield always gratefully confessed. And such his prayer for his own growth in grace! He thought it enough if the Oxford disciple could be like his Oxford teacher. And this from one whose conversion while at Oxford has not been questioned; and that, too, in spite of his asceticism there, and self-inflicted penance of wearing "woolen gloves, a patched gown, and dirty shoes, and living in Lent on coarse bread and sage tea without sugar." The conversion of Whitefield at Oxford—the defender of slavery and the slave-trade—is allowed; the conversion of Wesley before 1738—who was always the opposer of both—is denied.

It is well known that Mr. Wesley himself, in after years, gratefully recounted the many reasons he had to bless God for having been led to Georgia. Mr. Tyerman, having given these reasons in Wesley's own words, adds: "These are no mean results to be realized in about two years—self-knowledge, caution, acquaintance with the Church that was to help him to clearer views of the plan of salvation, the acquisition of three European languages, the unprecedented fact of preaching Christ to all the widely-scattered inhabitants of an English colony, steps taken to evangelize negroes and Indians, many children religiously educated, and the way prepared for promoting the prosperity of Georgia to the end of time."

Here, perhaps, it may be well to pause and ask, Is it providential that nowhere has Methodism taken a deeper hold on the colored race than in Georgia and South Carolina? The missions to the blacks, inaugurated by Dunwody and Capers, have yielded the richest harvest. Is it providential that the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, and the Cherokees, descendants of the aborigines to whom Wesley preached Christ on the banks of the Savannah, are to-day by far the most civilized and Christianized of all the Indian tribes of America? Is it providential that Georgia is, in all respects, regarded as the

empire State of the South? And is it providential that Savannah should be the first to propose a monument to Mr. Wesley to be builded by universal Methodism?

And here it is proper to give the testimony of some others as to the results of Mr. Wesley's visit to Georgia. Few purer men, if any, have ever lived than John Martin Bolzius, who, at the time of Wesley's residence in Savannah, was one of the pastors of the colony which the Salzburghers founded at Ebenezer, in Georgia. In July, 1749, this man, who was intimate with Wesley in Savannah—who had entertained him in his own parsonage at Ebenezer, and who knew Wesley's whole life in Georgia and the estimate in which he was held both while there and afterward—says, in a letter to John Wesley: "The sincere love to your worthy person and faithful performance of your holy office which the Lord kindled in my heart during your presence in Savannah, hath not been abated, but rather increased, since the providence of God called you from us and showed you another field for the labor of your ministry." In the "History of the United States," Mr. Bancroft, America's great historian, writes: "The Wesleys desired to make Georgia a religious colony, having no theory but devotion, no ambition but to quicken the sentiment of piety." And again he writes: "The breath of liberty has wafted their messages to the masses of the people, encouraged them to collect the white and negro, slave and master, in the greenwood, for counsel on divine love and the full assurance of grace; and carried their consolation and songs and prayers to the furthest cabins of the wilderness." Abel Stevens records that Wesley's experience in Savannah prepared him "to return better qualified for the predestined work of his life." George Smith tells us, that "with unstained integrity," and "with increased experience," Mr. Wesley returned to England from his labors in Savannah. Richard Watson, speaking of Wesley's life in Georgia, says that Wesley's "integrity of heart and the purity of his intentions came forth without a

stain." "The intolerant High-church ritualist," writes Dr. Rigg, "was all the time, and especially toward the end of his stay in Georgia, inwardly beginning to melt; the light of spiritual liberty, even before he quitted Georgia, was beginning to break through the darkness which had so long wrapped him round, and to dawn into his soul. . . . When he landed at Deal he was a very different man from what he had been two years and a half before, when he sailed for Georgia." And to this we add, If Mr. Wesley had never come to Georgia, he might have been known in history as a distinguished presbyter of the Church of England! he might have become a bishop or even archbishop of York or Canterbury; but it is very doubtful whether he would have become the world's great reformer.

Notice Mr. Whitefield's testimony to the results of Mr. Wesley's labors in Savannah: "The good Mr. Wesley has done there is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people." His name there is still "very precious among the people." But it must be confessed that Wesley's name in Savannah has done as much for the Episcopal as for the Methodist Church. The prestige of his name has been somewhat against us. We are constantly reminded by the Episcopalians of Savannah that Mr. Wesley is theirs, not ours. The now sainted Bishop Elliott venerated the memory of Mr. Wesley as much as we; and he kept the clergy and laity of Georgia true to the Low-church views which Mr. Wesley subsequently fully adopted—views which he first received in Savannah from the Moravian elders.

Now it was to secure to Methodism, where it rightfully belongs, the prestige of Mr. Wesley's name, that the Wesley Monumental Church was first conceived. And a gracious influence it has had ever since its corner-stone was laid by the then Nestor of Methodism, the late Rev. Dr. Lovick Pierce, who, at the time, was the oldest effective itinerant preacher in the world. But, as Savannah Methodists are unable to build a

church such as is needed to represent Methodism in the only city in America where Mr. Wesley lived and labored, they have appealed to all Methodists to help them.

There is no place where so many representative men of the great Methodist family are to be seen, as may often be seen in Savannah during the winter months. Florida and the southern parts of Georgia are being visited by thousands who, escaping the frosts of a northern latitude, are seeking the balmy air of the more southern States. Nearly all these pass through Savannah, and many of them tarry there for weeks and months. To the many Methodists among them Savannah Methodists wish to present a Church edifice that will be a worthy memorial of Mr. Wesley and of Methodism itself.

Nor is this all. This church was begun at a time when the Methodists of the South were cut off from sympathy with the other Methodisms of the world. Slavery, the main cause which separated us, was dead and buried. However brought about, we regarded it as much an emancipation of the white as of the colored race. When Southern Methodists set up for themselves, it was that they might not be hindered in preaching to the colored people. And how they did it thousands of the colored race in glory, and thousands more on the way, will abundantly testify when Southern Methodist preachers from all parts of the South return with rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them. Chancellor Haven and Dr. Rigg, at the Wesleyan Conference, at Bradford, July, 1878, bore their testimony to the faithfulness with which Southern Methodist preachers proclaimed the gospel to the blacks. The colored brethren, who came as fraternal messengers from the African Methodist Episcopal Church to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held at Atlanta, Georgia, May, 1878, bore witness to the same, amid the tears and halleluias of those who, in the log-cabin, in the cotton and rice fields, in forest grove, and in Methodist churches in city and village and country, had baptized their children,

prayed with their dying, partaken with them of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and preached to them Jesus and the resurrection. Who will forget the thrilling words of the Rev. W. D. Johnson, when, confessing that his race had been led to Christ by the preachers of the Church South, he made this appeal: "The mother can well afford to assist the child in setting up for himself, when, with a loving heart, the debt of gratitude is so affectionately acknowledged. With a mother's satisfaction and a mother's prayers will the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, undoubtedly watch the further advancement of the colored child, as it increases in stature, and in favor with God and man." Southern Methodists said that they would, and pledged themselves to help their colored brethren in all their work of education and preaching, by all means in their power. They hailed all true fraternal signs, and when the fraternal hand was held out they took it in hope that the dead past would forever bury its dead. It was then Savannah Methodists offered the WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH as the olive branch of peace, and hoped that it would prove a nucleus around which might crystallize the prayers of all who longed for rest from strife. The reception which the proposition met at the Round Lake Camp-meeting, in New York, in 1875, and at the General Conference in Baltimore, in 1876, from the bishops and distinguished clergymen and laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, did more to accomplish fraternity than all the speeches and resolutions ever spoken or written on the subject. And to this Bishop Bowman and Chancellor Haven, the distinguished fraternal messengers from the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Wesleyan Conference, at Bradford, in a joint published address to the Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland, gave their testimony.

The noble gifts of Mr. Oliver Hoyt, of Stamford, Connecticut, and of Mr. G. J. Ferry, of Orange, New Jersey, to the Monumental Church, carried gladness to Savannah Methodists

and to all Methodists of the South. Nor was this confined to Methodists. Nothing, since the Southern flag was furled at Appomattox, spoke so eloquently and touchingly to the Southern heart. It assured Southern Methodists that the grace of God is able to break down all prejudice and overcome all enmities. It convinced us that Methodist "blood is thicker than water." It was a Savannah boy, Commodore Tatnall, of the United States Navy, (another Savannah boy, John E. Ward, then the United States Minister to China, sustaining Tatnall in it before his government,) who, in spite of our treaty with China, and the risk of incurring the displeasure of the authorities at Washington, crying "*Blood is thicker than water*," rushed to the rescue of imperiled British seamen, and snatched them from death by the waves of a Chinese sea and the guns of a Chinese fort. It was the tonic tide of Anglo-Saxon blood flowing in the veins of the gallant Georgian which constrained him to fly to the help of his struggling British cousins. And so we felt that the old Methodist blood, which ran in the veins of the earlier Methodist fathers and made us kinsmen, was warming toward us, anxious once more to acknowledge the kinship and its obligations. How much has this feeling deepened, since, to the appeal of Savannah Methodists, a generous response has been given by Methodists the world over! And now, if this monument to the great founder were builded, the mighty throng of Methodists in glory, with Charles Wesley to lead the choir, would make heaven's eternal arches resound with jubilees over this sure harbinger of the return of fellowship to all the Methodist families of the earth. Do not think this rhetoric—high-sounding hyperbole. Do not think the thing too insignificant to effect such result:—

> "The coarsest reed that trembles in the marsh,
> If Heaven select it for its instrument,
> May shed celestial music on the breeze
> As clearly as the pipe whose virgin gold
> Befits the lips of Phœbus."

It is not insignificant, for God is in it and God has blessed it. It is not the gift, but the altar, which sanctifies the gift. It is not this monument to Mr. Wesley, but the heart which lies behind it and prompts it. It is the outward expression of the inward feeling—the embodiment of that which universal Methodism is craving as thirsty traveler for cooling brook—peace, concord, and unity in all the borders of our wide-spread Zion.

Let us, therefore, build this monument to Mr. Wesley. Let not only Methodists of every name—for Methodists, by whatever name distinguished, are one the world over—but let all the Evangelical Churches lend a helping hand. For all are indebted to the life-work of John Wesley. The great Methodist reformer is the special gift of God to the Church purchased with the blood of his Son. We who are Methodists have no right to appropriate him. The common gift to all, the Church universal should claim him, just as we all have a common claim to Abraham, to Moses, to Peter the fisherman, and to Paul the tent-maker.

A MONUMENT TO JOHN WESLEY IN SAVANNAH! What a wonderful and gracious providence! It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes! Little did the Georgia missionary, when, fleeing before his persecutors and struggling through the swamps of Carolina, he was tempted to believe his life a failure, dream that, in a little over one hundred years, nearly six million followers and more than twenty million adherents would erect a monument to his memory on the very spot whence he fled a fugitive almost in despair. What a glorious day it will be when universal Methodism, as some humble recompense to his memory for his life of toil and sufferings in Savannah, consecrates there a memorial to their common founder! What a happy time it will be when representative men and women from the Methodist families of the earth meet, in the ancient city of Oglethorpe, on the banks of the Savannah, to dedicate to the worship of Almighty God the

MONUMENTAL CHURCH which their gratitude and piety have reared in honor of the great and good Wesley! To God be ascribed all the glory, whose servant John Wesley was! Then may grace condescendingly call the walls of this church SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE. And there, as of late on the WESLEY MEMORIAL in Westminster Abbey, let it be written:

"THE BEST OF ALL IS, GOD IS WITH US."

"I LOOK UPON THE WHOLE WORLD AS MY PARISH."

"GOD BURIES THE WORKMEN, BUT CARRIES ON HIS WORK."

# WESLEY AND THE METHODIST MOVEMENT

## JUDGED BY NEARLY A HUNDRED WRITERS, LIVING OR DEAD.

We figure society as a "machine," and that mind is opposed to mind, as body is to body; whereby two, or at most ten, little minds must be stronger than one great mind. Notable absurdity! For the plain truth, very plain, we think, is, that minds are opposed to minds in a very different way; and one man that has a higher wisdom, a hitherto unknown spiritual truth in him, is stronger, not than ten men that have it not, or than ten thousand, but than *all* men that have it not; and stands among them with a quite ethereal, angelic power, as with a sword out of heaven's own armory, sky-tempered, which no buckler, and no power of brass, will finally withstand.—CARLYLE.

NO man of the Church of the eighteenth century has had so much written about him as John Wesley. Books upon books have been written devoted, in whole or in part, to his life and work. From those to which we have direct or indirect access we have selected sayings of nearly one hundred different authors, representing nearly every shade of opinion within and without the pale of Wesleyan Methodism. These were either his contemporaries, or they are those who came after him. What has been said of him by these different authors, when viewed as a whole, is simply marvelous; of no other man of his times could a tenth part as much be written as appears in the extracts which follow.

In these we have given by far the greatest space to the latest publications. In the last year or two several works have appeared relating to Wesley and Methodism, written by those who rank among the very ablest English writers of the present day. Among these we may mention "The History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," by Leslie Stephen; "A Short History of the English People," by J. R. Green; "England in the Eighteenth Century." by W. E. H. Lecky; "A History of the Church of England," by G. G. Perry; "The

Evangelical Movement: its Parentage, Progress, and Issue," by Mr. Gladstone; "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges," by J. Stoughton; and "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," by C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton. Our extracts are so copious from these, that the reader will find in them the sum and substance of what their authors have respectively said of Mr. Wesley and the Methodist movement. This is true of all the works above mentioned except the work of Mr. Leslie Stephen; the reader will find him quoted at length in the article "Wesley and Methodism." We are persuaded that this paper presents such a view of Wesley and the Methodist movement as can be found nowhere else. Many volumes would have to be read to get what is here presented in comparatively a few pages.

Whatever is included in brackets, or in larger type, in this paper, has been added by the Editor. In the extracts the reader will find abundant authority for every thing said of Wesley and Methodism in this volume.

Of the two greatest and most useful ministers I ever knew, one [Whitefield] is no more. The other, [John Wesley,] after amazing labors, flies still with unwearied diligence through the three kingdoms, calling sinners to repentance, and to the healing fountain of Jesus' blood. Though oppressed with the weight of nearly seventy years, and the care of nearly thirty thousand souls, he shames still, by his unabated zeal and immense labors, all the young ministers in England, perhaps in Christendom. He has generally blown the gospel trump, and ridden twenty miles, before most of the professors who despise his labors have left their downy pillows. As he begins the day, the week, the year, so he concludes them, still intent upon extensive services for the glory of the Redeemer, and the good of souls.—JOHN FLETCHER, of Madeley.

As a scholar, poet, logician, critic, philosopher, politician, legislator, divine, public teacher, and deeply pious and extensively useful man, he had no superior, and few, if any, equals. . . . Justice can never be done him unless he be viewed in all these.—ADAM CLARKE.

I make no doubt that Methodism, notwithstanding all the wiles of Satan, is designed by divine Providence to introduce the approaching millennium.—VINCENT PERRONET, Vicar of Shoreham.

God hath raised you up to propagate his spiritual kingdom in the hearts of men.—Vincent Perronet: in a letter to John Wesley.

We have engaged to erect it, [the college determined on at the Conference held in Georgia, March 9, 1789,] God willing, within five years, and do most humbly entreat Mr. Wesley to permit us to name it Wesley College, as a memorial of his affection for poor Georgia, and of our great respect for him.—Thomas Coke.

When we consider his plain and nervous writings, his uncommon talent for sermonizing and journalizing, that he had such a steady flow of animal spirits, so much of the spirit of government in him, his knowledge as an observer, his attainments as a scholar, his experience as a Christian, I conclude his equal is not to be found among all the sons he hath brought up, nor his superior among all the sons of Adam he may have left behind.—Francis Asbury.

I was like a wandering bird cast out of the nest, until Mr. John Wesley came to preach his first sermon in Moorfields. O, that was a blessed morning to my soul! As soon as he got upon the stand he stroked back his hair, and turned his face toward where I stood, and I thought fixed his eyes on me. His countenance struck such an awful dread upon me before I heard him speak, it made my heart beat like a pendulum, and when he did speak, I thought his whole discourse was aimed at me. When he had done I said, "This man can tell me the secrets of my heart. He hath not left me there, for he hath showed the remedy, even the blood of Jesus." Then was my soul filled with consolation, through hope that God for Christ's sake would save me. — John Nelson.

How many sons and daughters, begotten by him through the gospel, shall at that day rise up and call him blessed!—shall own and confess him their spiritual father, while he looks round with astonishment and asks, "Who hath begotten me these?"—Joseph Benson.

Now that he is no longer the object of envy, it is hoped prejudice will give way to more candid and honorable sentiments, and thereby leave the public at liberty to do justice to one of the greatest characters that has appeared since the apostolic age.—Lady Maxwell.

I do not know that I ever heard of a life so crowded with action; so universally filled up *with* and *for* God. Not one vacant moment in the twenty-four hours! Many sons have done well; but if I do not see him through a too flattering medium, he excels them all.—Lady Maxwell.

On looking over my journal, I miss some observations which I wrote

on the death of my dear father in Christ, Mr. Wesley. . . . I shall have cause to bless God throughout eternity that ever I knew that precious and highly favored servant of the Lord Jesus.—MARY FLETCHER.

The solemnity of the dying hour of that great and good man, I believe, will be ever written on my heart. A cloud of the divine presence rested on all; and while he could hardly be said to be an inhabitant of earth, being now speechless, and his eyes fixed, victory and glory were written on his countenance, and quivering, as it were, on his dying lips. No language can paint what appeared in that face! The more we gazed upon it, the more we saw of heaven unspeakable!—HESTER ANN ROGERS.

. . . Finding that we could not understand what he said, he paused a little, and then, with all his remaining strength, cried out, "THE BEST OF ALL IS, GOD IS WITH US!" and then, as if to assert the faithfulness of our promise-keeping Jehovah, and comforting the hearts of his weeping friends, *lifting up his dying arm in token of victory, and raising his feeble voice with a holy triumph not to be expressed, he again repeated the heart-reviving words*, "GOD IS WITH US!" . . . The last word he was heard to articulate was, "FAREWELL!" A few minutes before ten, while we were kneeling around his bed, according to his oft-repeated desire, without a lingering groan, this man of God gathered up his feet in presence of his brethren. We felt what is inexpressible. The ineffable sweetness that filled our hearts as our beloved pastor, father and friend entered into his Master's joy, for a few moments blunted the edge of our painful feelings on this glorious yet melancholy occasion.—ELIZABETH RITCHIE.

No agency has appeared in the Church, or out of it, tending to the general instruction and evangelizing of the nation, and operating on a large scale, which is not much subsequent in its origin to the exertions of the Messrs. Wesley and Whitefield, and which may not be traced to the spirit which they excited, and often into the very bosoms of those who derived their first light and influence either directly or indirectly from them.—RICHARD WATSON.

In the course of fifty years Wesley gave away between twenty and thirty thousand pounds.—DR. WHITEHEAD.

Mr. Wesley's accounts lie before me, and his expenses are noted with the greatest exactness. Every penny is recorded; and I am persuaded the supposed £30,000 might be increased several thousands more.—HENRY MOORE.

I know that from the Conference of 1780 to the Conference of 1781 he

gave away in private charities about £1,400. He told me himself, in 1787, that he never gave away out of his own pocket less than £1,000 a year. He never relieved poor people in the streets but he removed his hat to them when they thanked him.—SAMUEL BRADBURN.

For upward of eighty-six years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continued conviction that I save all I can and give all I can; that is, all I have.—JOHN WESLEY, July 16, 1790.

*Sir*—I have two silver spoons at London and two at Bristol. This is all the plate I have at present; and I shall not buy any more while so many around me want bread.—JOHN WESLEY: reply to the Commissioner of Excise.

Perhaps the most charitable man in England was Mr. Wesley. His liberality to the poor knew no bounds but an empty pocket. He gave away, not merely a certain part of his income, but all that he had. His own wants provided for, he devoted all the rest to the necessities of others.—JOHN HAMPSON, JUN.

No man was accustomed to address larger multitudes, or with greater success. . . . It may be fairly questioned whether any minister in modern ages has been instrumental in effecting a greater number of conversions. He possessed all the essential requisites of a great preacher; and in nothing was he inferior to his eminent friend and contemporary except in voice and manner. In respect of matter, language, and arrangement, his sermons were vastly superior to those of Whitefield.—THOMAS JACKSON.

When the late Earl of Liverpool read its peroration [to one of Wesley's sermons] in Southey, he declared that, in his judgment, it was the most eloquent passage he had ever met with in any writer, ancient or modern. —THOMAS JACKSON.

Abel Stevens affirms that a sermon which Wesley preached at Bristol was the most impassioned of his sermons, containing passages as eloquent as the pulpit literature of our language affords.

The spirit of Wesley's labors, and the character which he impressed upon his Societies, were in perfect harmony with the brightest triumphs of civilization, intellectual progress, and religious advancement which mark the present period of our world's history; if, indeed, they were not always, what in some instances they undoubtedly were, the germs whence these glories of our days grew up.—GEORGE SMITH.

The history of Wesleyan Methodism is not only a *desideratum* to general readers, but especially so to the statesman, Christian philosopher, philanthropist, and, indeed, to every one who desires to possess a full knowledge of the religious state and progress of the Anglo-Saxon race. —GEORGE SMITH.

He whom Providence makes a wonder must become a study. John Wesley is, therefore, increasingly an object of attention; and thoughtful men desire to know the springs of his power. Great works ever reflect back upon their authors the interest they have themselves excited; and thus, as men encounter the result of Wesley's labors in every nook of England, on every shore of our colonies, and in every State of America, they naturally turn back to the man, and inquire into his mental and moral characteristics. That those who are called his own followers should study him is only natural; but as time widens the range over which his memory spreads, and dissipates many misconceptions through which it was formerly seen, it is equally natural that from the Catholic Church, and from the philosophic world, eyes should search for the true character of this universal agent in the new forms and combinations which Christianity has exhibited in our day.—WILLIAM ARTHUR.

O that [written from Savannah on Whitefield's first arrival there] I may follow him [Wesley] as he hath followed Christ!—GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

*Ipse*, [written when Whitefield was embarking for Georgia, September 12, 1769] *Deo volente*, *sequor*, *etsi non passibus æquis*.—GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

Wesley will be so near the throne, and we shall be at such a distance, that I shall hardly get a sight of him.—GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

I leave a mourning ring [Whitefield's last will and testament] to my honored and dear friends and disinterested fellow-laborers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them in heart and Christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine.—GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

Wesley's ministry was so full of profit and consolation to him [George Whitefield] that he [Whitefield] always accounted him his spiritual father.—JOHN GILLIES: "Memorials of Whitefield."

A chosen vessel [John Wesley] set for the defense of the gospel.—SELINA, Countess of Huntingdon.

I have often experienced your words to be as thunder to my drowsy soul. I presume, though a stranger, to become a petitioner, begging

you would send me a personal charge to take heed to feed the flock committed unto me. . . . It is the request of one who, though he differs from you, and possibly ever may, on some points, yet must ever acknowledge the benefit and light he has received from your work and preaching; and, therefore, is bound to thank the Lord of the harvest for sending a laborer among us so much endowed with the spirit and power of Elias; and to pray for your long continuance among us, to encourage me and my brethren by your example, while you edify us by your writings.—HENRY VENN: in a letter to John Wesley.

I see no reason why we should keep at a distance while we continue servants of the same Master, and especially when Lot's herdsmen are so ready to lay their staves on our shoulders. Though my hand has been mute, my heart is kindly affected toward you.—JOHN BERRIDGE: in a letter to John Wesley.

The more I write the more I love you. I am sure you are one of God's elect.—HOWELL HARRIS: in a letter to Wesley.

Excuse my frank acknowledgments, and give me leave to differ and love. God bless you to your latest period, and make your last days your best.—CORNELIUS WINTER: in a letter to Wesley.

I will invite you, my father and friend, to meet me among the spirits of the just made perfect, since I am not likely to see you any more in the flesh. Then will I bid you welcome; yea, I will tell of your love before the universal assembly, and at the tremendous tribunal I will hear with joy the Lord Jesus say of you, "Well done, good and faithful servant. You have served your Lord and generation with your might. You have finished the work which my Father gave you to do. If others have turned their thousands, you have turned your ten thousands from the power of Satan unto God. Receive, therefore, a glorious kingdom, a beautiful and immortal crown, from my hands!"—JAMES HERVEY: in a letter to Wesley.

Whatever ignorance of his real character [Wesley's] the fatuity of prejudice or the indolence of pride may have suggested, the day is coming when his great and adorable Master will condemn every tongue that hath risen up in judgment against him, and say, in the presence of men and angels, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!"—Rev. THOMAS HAWEIS, LL.D., Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, etc.

I know of no one to whom my heart is more united in affection, nor to whom I owe more as an instrument of divine grace.—JOHN NEWTON, Vicar of Olney: in a letter to Mr. Wesley.

Yet, above all, his luxury supreme,
And his chief glory, was the gospel theme;
There he was copious as old Greece or Rome,
His happy eloquence seemed there at home—
Ambition not to shine or to excel,
But to treat justly what he loved so well.

—COWPER.

Watts had lingered in hospitable retirement at Abney Park, whence he beheld with grateful surprise the religious revolution which was spreading through the country. He received there occasional visits from Charles Wesley, Lady Huntingdon, and other leading Methodists. Doddridge still survived, welcoming Whitefield and the Wesleys at Northampton, and corresponding with them.—ABEL STEVENS.

Wesley once more opened to me his whole heart. I entreated him to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, *for that then* [the italics are ours] *not only he, but many others with him*, [which a Moravian writer considered prophetic of Wesley's future,] *would be saved.*—PETER BÖHLER.

The sincere love to your worthy person which the Lord kindled in my heart *during your presence in Savannah*, [the italics are ours,] hath not been abated, but rather increased, since the providence of God called you from us, and showed you another field for the labor of your ministry.—JOHN MARTIN BOLZIUS: in a letter to John Wesley, from Ebenezer, Georgia, July 25, 1749.

He thought prayer to be more his business than any thing else, and I have often seen him come out of his closet with a serenity that was next to shining; it discovered where he had been, and gave me double hope of receiving wise direction in the matter about which I came to consult him.—JOHN GAMBOLD, afterward a Moravian bishop.

Going forth upon their pilgrimage they [the Moravians and the Salzburghers] are, in the providence of God, brought in contact with a personage [John Wesley] of great genius and learning, upon whose heart their exemplary deportment and calm and heavenly temperament made a lasting impression; and he subsequently becomes, through the transforming power of the gospel, a chosen instrument, by which is put in motion the greatest moral revolution that has occurred since the Reformation by Martin Luther.—Rev. P. A. STROBEL, pastor—1844–49—of the Salzburgh Congregation, at Ebenezer, Georgia: "History of the [Georgia] Salzburghers."

One measure naturally led to another, and soon Mr. Wesley found it necessary to form those "Societies" which afterward became the basis

of that ecclesiastical organization known as "Wesleyan Methodism;" a system whose beneficial effects upon the spiritual condition of the world have been seen and felt in almost every part of the globe, and will, no doubt, continue to exert a wider and still wider influence until the end of time.—P. A. STROBEL.

It is a fact susceptible of proof, especially in relation to the Methodist Church, that their very best members, [in Savannah, and in Effingham County, which the Salzburghers settled, and where Bolzius and Gronau preached,] both as to piety and influence, are those who descended from the Salzburghers.—P. A. STROBEL.

To your uncle, Mr. Wesley, and your father, and to George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon, the Church, in this realm, is more indebted than to all others.—KING GEORGE III.: to Charles Wesley, Jun., the musician.

These gentlemen [the Wesleys] are irregular, but they have done good, and I pray God to bless them.—DR. POTTER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mr. Wesley, may I be found at your feet in another world!—DR. LOWTH, Bishop of London.

I was encouraged by him [John Wesley] to go on vigorously with my own designs. I saw in him how much a single man might achieve by zeal and perseverance; and I thought, Why may I not do as much in my way as Mr. Wesley has done in his if I am only as assiduous and persevering? And I determined that I would pursue my work with more alacrity than ever.—JOHN HOWARD.

John Howard told Henry Moore that John Wesley preached the sermon which made the first impression on his mind. See Moore's "Life of Wesley."

Except Mr. Wesley, no man ever gave me a more perfect idea of angelic goodness than Mr. Howard.—ALEXANDER KNOX.

For my own part, I never was so happy as while with him, [John Wesley,] and scarcely ever felt more poignant regret than at parting from him, for well I knew I ne'er should look upon his like again.—ALEXANDER KNOX.

In him [John Wesley] even old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud, and it was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently, "May my latter end be like his!"—ALEXANDER KNOX.

He can talk well on any subject.—DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

I could converse with him all night.—DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Wesley thought of religion only.—DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

The lecturer was surely in the right, who, when he saw his audience shrinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato stayed.—DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

In the above most delicate compliment Dr. Johnson, by calling Wesley *Plato*, showed the high estimate he placed in the judgment of the great Methodist reformer. If Wesley approved, Johnson cared not for the condemnation of others.

Whatever might be thought of some Methodist teachers, he [Dr. Johnson] said he could scarcely doubt the sincerity of that man who traveled nine hundred miles in a month, and preached twelve times a week; for no adequate reward, merely temporal, could be given for such indefatigable labor.—BOSWELL.

The author and founder of these Societies [the Methodist]—for he was careful himself to keep them from being formed into a sect—was a regularly ordained minister, a man orthodox in his belief, simple and disinterested in his own views, and adorned with the most amiable and distinguished virtues of a true Christian. He found thousands of his countrymen, though nominally Christians, yet as ignorant of true Christianity as infidels and heathens; and in too many instances (it is useless to conceal or disguise the fact) ignorant, either through the inattention of the Government in not providing for increased numbers, or through the carelessness and neglect of those whom the National Church had appointed to be their pastors.—BISHOP COPELSTONE.

I do not think that any question can be deemed or considered of a trifling nature which concerns the well-being—I may also say the existence—of a body such as that which is composed of the Wesleyan Methodists. It is my firm belief that to that body we are indebted for a large portion of the religious feeling which exists among the general body of the community, not only of this country, but throughout a great portion of the civilized world besides. When, also, I recollect that the Society owes its origin and first formation to an individual so eminently distinguished as the late John Wesley, and when I remember that, from time to time, there have arisen out of this body some of the most able and distinguished individuals that ever graced and ornamented any society whatever—I may name one for all, the late Dr. Adam Clarke—I must come to the conclusion that no persons who have any proper under-

standing of what religion is, and regard for it, can look upon the general body of the Wesleyan Methodists without the most affectionate interest and concern. — SIR LAUNCELOT SHADWELL, Vice-Chancellor of the Court of Chancery: from his decision sustaining the validity of Wesley's "Deed of Declaration."

On appeal, in an opinion equally pronounced, Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor, sustained the decision of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Launcelot Shadwell.

The Methodism of the past age points forward to the next-coming development of the powers of the gospel.—ISAAC TAYLOR: "Wesley and Methodism."

The Methodist movement is the starting-point of our modern religious polity, and the field-preaching of Wesley and Whitefield is the event whence the religious epoch, now current, must date its commencement. —ISAAC TAYLOR.

No reformer that the world ever saw so remarkably united faithfulness to the essential doctrines of revelation with charity toward men of every Church and creed.—LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Under the horsehoof of Attila the grass never grew. So the grass never grew under the tread of John Wesley.—LONDON ATHENÆUM.

The man that was to work a wider change upon the religious and social aspect of England than has ever been effected by any reformer since Christianity visited our shores.—DR. DOBBIN.

When Wesley appeared, the Anglican Church was an ecclesiastical system under which the people of England had lapsed into heathenism, or a state hardly to be distinguished from it; Methodism preserved from extinction, and reanimated, the languishing Nonconformity of the last century, which, just at the time of the Methodistic revival, was rapidly in course to be found nowhere but in books.—ISAAC TAYLOR.

He was the chief reviver of religious fervor in all Protestant Churches, both of the old and the new world.—DEAN STANLEY.

The most extraordinary thing about him [Wesley] was, that while he set all in motion, he was himself perfectly calm and phlegmatic: he was the quiescence of turbulence.—ROBERT HALL.

I have been reading Dr. Whitehead's "Life of Wesley." It has given me a much more enlarged idea of the virtues and labors of that extraordinary man [John Wesley] than I ever had before. I would not incur the guilt of that violent abuse which Toplady cast upon him, for points

merely speculative and of very little importance, for ten thousand worlds. When will the Christian world cease disputing about religion, and begin to enter into its spirit and practice its precepts?—ROBERT HALL.

But the great constructive and organizing mind, appointed, doubtless, by the Head of the Church, to gather and embody the fruits of the new evangelism, can by no means be forgotten. John and Charles Wesley, with their own peculiar associates, performed a very eminent part in the work of awakening and conversion; but in nourishing and guiding the multitude of humbler minds which this outdoor evangelism gathered to Christ, and organizing them into a new spiritual estate, so to speak, of his realm, destined to an unparalleled growth, activity, and success, in this important office, John Wesley is rather alone than eminent. . . . The system of Methodism must be admitted by every observer of ordinary information to have been one of the most important products of this latter day, and a striking manifestation of God's wisdom and providence. It has given an embodiment, a consciousness, and an impulse, as well as a luxuriant development, to the most energetic order, perhaps, of the Christian mind. . . . It is the greatest, aptest, single monument of the popular religious movement of the last century.—WM. C. CONANT: "Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents."

John Wesley distinguished the origin of Methodism into three periods. . . . "The second," he writes, "was at Savannah, in 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house." . . . Thus, this city [Savannah] and this Church [Christ Church] are connected with the most marked religious movement of the eighteenth century. This historical relationship the founder of Methodism himself asserts, and we must accept his decision.—WM. BACON STEVENS, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, author of the "History of Georgia:" from an address in Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., May 22, 1873, before the Fiftieth Annual Convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Its history [Methodism] shows that it was the natural outgrowth of that Church-teaching which the Brothers Wesley first imbibed at Oxford, and that most of its peculiarities were borrowed by them from the ante-Nicene Church. It owes its birth to the attempt to revive within the Church usages and agencies which were freely used in the primitive ages; and to develop, through these churchly forms and labors, deeper spirituality in the believer, and a more vigorous onset against the world, the flesh, and the devil. . . .

Even the innovation of lay preachers, as a body of men set apart

to expound the word of God—a body entirely distinct from the priesthood and the diaconate—[as well, Bishop Stevens contends, as class-meetings, band-meetings, love-feasts, watch-nights, and quarterly tickets,] is quite a defensible measure, both from Scripture and primitive antiquity. . . .

Had the bishops in Wesley's day acted in this wise way, [done what Bishop Stevens says the bishops have lately done in England, viz: "issued letters of orders" to laymen, and given them authority "to read prayers," and "to read and explain the holy Scriptures within the parish, under the direction of the minister thereof,"] what a change would have been wrought in the Church of England and in the whole attitude of Methodism toward the Church! . . .

There was nothing in the views, or plans, or usages of the Wesleys down to as late a period as 1784, when John Wesley was fourscore years old, which was absolutely antagonistic to the Church of England, or which might not, without any wrenching or violence, have been brought into harmony with the Anglican system. . . . That fatal act in 1784—that new and schismatic point of departure when lines of action hitherto nearly parallel to the Church were suddenly deflected into a course at right angles with all preceding measures—was the ordination of Coke and Asbury as Superintendents of the American Societies.—WM. BACON STEVENS.

Let any one read Wilberforce's "History of the American Church" and he will find it absolutely impossible to speak another harsh word of Wesley's irregular proceedings in 1784.—Mr. CURTEIS: Bampton Lectures for 1871.

The true explanation of John Wesley's conduct in this matter [the ordination of Coke] may perhaps be found in the intensely practical character of his mind. His work in America seemed likely to come to a dead-lock for want of ordained ministers. Thus we come back to the old motive—every thing must be sacrificed for the sake of his work. Some may think this was doing evil that good might come; but no such notion ever entered into John Wesley's head. His rectitude of purpose, if not the clearness of his judgment, is as conspicuous in this as in the other acts of his life.—JOHN H. OVERTON, Vicar of Legbourne, Lincolnshire: "The Evangelical Revival," in Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century."

John Wesley had been long convinced that no particular form of Church government is prescribed in the New Tes-

tament, and that bishops and presbyters are of one order. Hence he wrote as follows:

"I verily believe I have as good a right to ordain as to administer the Lord's Supper. Church or no Church, we must save as many sinners as we can. What instance or ground is there in the New Testament for a National Church? We know none at all. I neither set it up nor pull it down. . . . Let us build the city of God."

And hence Dr. Dixon, in his "Methodism in its Origin," declared:

"The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church is only a development of Wesley's opinions of Church polity. . . If we mistake not, it is to the American Methodist Episcopal Church that we are to look for the real mind and sentiments of this great man."]

How strange that two such men, [Wesley and Whitefield,] springing from Oxford and from the Church of England, should each have come here [Savannah] to be the rector of this Church, [Christ Church,] and go hence to quicken into life and consolidate into power the greatest religious movement of the eighteenth century!—WM. BACON STEVENS.

It is not a little remarkable that of the few young men, students of Oxford University, with whom Methodism took its rise, four of them, namely, the Rev. John Wesley, of Lincoln College; the Rev. Charles Wesley, of Christ Church College; the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College; and the Rev. George Whitefield, of Pembroke College, should visit and labor for a season in Georgia. It is also a fact of peculiar interest that the only parish of which John Wesley was ever rector, and the only parish of which George Whitefield was ever rector, was Christ Church, Savannah, thus linking your parochial history with the founder of Methodism and with the prince of pulpit orators. And yet, once more, it is a striking group of facts that John Wesley, the leader of the greatest religious movement of the eighteenth century; that Charles Wesley, the purest and most popular hymnist of the age; that George Whitefield, whom Christian and infidel pronounced the greatest preacher of his generation; that James Oglethorpe, one of the noblest philanthropists of his country; that Christian Gottleib Spangenburg, the first Moravian Bishop in America; and David Nitschmann, the founder of the settlement of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, were all personally and intimately connected with Georgia, and contributed to shape its character and its institutions.—WM. BACON STEVENS.

No four persons in the eighteenth century did more to break up the ice-crust that had congealed over the Church of England; to reopen the primitive but long-clogged channels of access to the people's hearts, and outlets of the people's emotions; to sow broadcast the seed of the divine word; to raise up the public mind from its apathy and debasement; and to infuse into the Church fresh life, fresh thought, fresh action, than John Wesley, Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon.—WM. BACON STEVENS.

This sudden event [Wesley's leaving Georgia] indeed surprised me, for no one could be more approved, better liked, or better reported of by all the people of Georgia, than this very gentleman was, till lately he presumed to expel the chief magistrate's niece from the holy communion, which has brought down such a storm of resentment upon him as I wish he may be well able to weather.—REV. ALEXANDER GARDEN, Commissary of the Bishop of London, at Charleston, S. C.: in a letter to the Bishop, December 22, 1737.

The delegation of these pious evangelists [the Wesleys in Georgia] was encouraged by flattering suggestions, and acceded to with the most raised expectations; and its objects were pursued by them with untiring zeal and unsparing self-devotedness, through continued hardships. The opposition which they met was encountered with all long-suffering and patience.—DR. HARRIS: "Biographical Memorials of General Oglethorpe."

Yet, was their labor here [in Georgia] really a failure? I answer, No. . . . The failures of the Wesleys, and especially of John, became as beacons to him in all the future, and did more, perhaps, to shape his future than could possibly have been done by uninterrupted success and a perfect fulfillment of his original designs.—WM. BACON STEVENS.

The intolerant High-Church ritualist was all the time, and especially toward the end of his stay in Georgia, inwardly beginning to melt; the light of spiritual liberty, even before he quitted Georgia, was beginning to break through the darkness which had so long wrapped him round, and to dawn into his soul. . . . When he landed at Deal he was a very different man from what he had been two years and a half before, when he sailed for Georgia.—JAMES HARRISON RIGG.

The good Mr. John Wesley has done in America [Whitefield wrote on his arrival in Savannah] is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people; *and he has laid a foundation* [the italics are ours] *that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake.*—GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

We may safely say that Methodism, as far as her peculiar doctrines are concerned, was born in Georgia, for here it was that he who was to give them form, and to defend them, and to propagate them, emerged from the darkness of mystical delusion, broke the shackles of churchly tradition, and became fully convinced of those truths which, as Wesleyan, have had so mighty an influence in the world.—REV. GEORGE G. SMITH: "History of Methodism in Georgia."

Who could have imagined that in one hundred and thirty years [from 1736] this huge wilderness [America] would be transformed into one of the greatest nations upon earth; and that the Methodism *begun at Savannah* [italics ours] would pervade the continent, and, ecclesiastically considered, become the mightiest power existing?—LUKE TYERMAN.

The Wesleys desired to make Georgia a religious colony, having no theory but devotion, no ambition but to quicken the sentiment of piety. . . . By John Wesley, therefore, who resided in America less than two years, no share in molding the political institutions was desired or excited. As he strolled through natural avenues of palmettos and evergreen hollies, and woods somber with hanging moss, his heart gushed forth in addresses to God:

"Is there a thing beneath the sun
That strives with thee my heart to share?
Ah, tear it thence, and reign alone,
The Lord of every motion there!"

—BANCROFT.

How felicitously has America's greatest historian quoted from Tersteegen's beautiful hymn! Did Mr. Bancroft know that Wesley translated that hymn "as he strolled through natural avenues of palmettos and evergreen hollies, and woods somber with hanging moss?" If he did, nothing could be more apposite; if he did not, it was a most felicitous hit.

Some of these translations [John Wesley's, in the Wesleyan Hymn Book] are very beautiful. Such, for instance, is the stanza which Richard Cobden is said to have repeated with his last breath:

"Thee will I love, my joy, my crown;
Thee will I love, my Lord, my God;
Thee will I love, beneath thy frown
Or smile, thy scepter or thy rod.

What though my flesh and heart decay?
Thee shall I love in endless day."

CHARLES J. ABBEY,

Rector of Checkendon, Oxon., late Fellow of University College, Oxford: Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century."

This was a regular part of his Sunday duties, [instructing the children,] and it shows that John Wesley, in the parish of Christ Church, Savannah, had established a Sunday-school nearly fifty years before Robert Raikes originated his noble scheme of Sunday instruction in Gloucester. —BISHOP STEVENS: "History of Georgia."

Here is a prototype [commenting on the facts above mentioned] of the modern Sunday-school.—THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D.D.: "Biographical Memorials of General Oglethorpe."

Raikes established the first of his Sunday-schools in 1781, but it is certain that one was established before this by Hannah Ball, [a Methodist woman,] at High Wycombe, in 1769, and it is probable that there were also others.—OVERTON.

It is usually supposed that Sunday-schools were begun by Raikes, in 1781; but, though he appears to have been the first to organize them on a suitable scale, there is no doubt they were established by Lindsay, in or immediately after 1765.—BUCKLE: "History of Civilization in England."

It deserves to be mentioned that Hannah Ball, a young Methodist lady, had a Methodist Sunday-school at High Wycombe fourteen years before Robert Raikes began his at Gloucester; and that Sophia Cooke, another Methodist, who afterward became the wife of Samuel Bradburn, was *the first who suggested to Raikes* [the italics are ours] the Sunday-school idea, and actually marched with him, at the head of his troop of ragged urchins, the first Sunday they were taken to the parish church.—LUKE TYERMAN.

Francis Asbury organized a Sabbath-school, 1786, in Hanover County, Virginia, five years before any other.—W. P. STRICKLAND: "Life and Times of Francis Asbury."

"No man in England," says Mr. Tyerman, "took a greater interest in Sunday-schools than Wesley." July 18, 1784, Wesley wrote in his journal: "I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?" January 17,

1787, he wrote to Richard Rodda: "It seems these will be one great means of reviving religion throughout the nation;" January 9, 1788, to Duncan Wright: "I verily think these Sunday-schools are one of the noblest specimens of charity which have been set on foot in England since the time of William the Conqueror;" and March 24, 1790, to Charles Atmore: "It is one of the noblest institutions which has been seen in Europe for some centuries, and will increase more and more, provided the teachers and inspectors do their duties. Nothing can prevent the increase of this blessed work but the neglect of the instruments." *

Wesley's method of Sabbath instruction, while in Savannah, was not merely the old parish custom of catechising the children on Sunday afternoon. And yet even this, when Wesley appeared, had been abandoned by the parochial clergy. The good Bishop Wilson, it is true, had kept it up in the Isle of Man; elsewhere it had fallen into general, if not entire, disuse till Wesley restored it. But Wesley did a great deal more than simply catechise the children. The Sunday instruction which he and Delamotte imparted to the children in the parish of Christ Church, Savannah, had in it all the best elements of the Sunday-school. The poorer children, who could not attend the parochial day-schools, were helped to read; and all were taught not only the Catechism, but lessons drawn from the sermon of the morning and the study of the word of God.

Raikes did no more in Gloucester than Wesley in Savannah, and not so much. We quote from Raikes's own account of his Sabbath-school movement: "This conversation [had with the Methodist woman who advised him what to do] suggested to me that it would be at least a harmless attempt, if it were productive of no good, should some little plan be formed to check the deplorable profanation of the Sabbath. I then inquired of

* The main facts in this paper relating to Sabbath-schools are told in "Wesley in Savannah," etc. They are given here because this paper would not be complete without them.

the woman if there were any decent, well-disposed women of the neighborhood who kept schools for teaching to read. I presently was directed to four; to them I applied, and made an agreement with them to receive as many children as I should send upon the Sunday, whom they were to instruct in reading and in the Church Catechism. For this I engaged to pay them each a shilling for their day's employment."

This was the beginning. The children were soon gathered and divided into classes, meeting in the parish church on Sunday morning. They who could not read were taught to read, and all were instructed in the Church Catechism. Such is Mr. Raikes's account of his schools. It may be seen in the "Gloucestershire Tracts."

Dr. Stoughton says of these schools: "The instruction given included the elements of reading, writing, and even arithmetic; Bible instruction, for awhile, was much neglected. Religious knowledge was chiefly conveyed through Catechisms; little room was allowed for the exercise of free religious conversation with the pupils, and the warm play of spiritual affections."

Let us now return to Wesley's method in Savannah. "On Saturday," he says, "in the afternoon, I catechise them all. The same I do on Sunday, before the evening service. And in the church, immediately after the second lesson, a select number of them having repeated the Catechism, and been examined in some part of it, I endeavor to explain at large, and to enforce, that part, both on them and the congregation."

Let us see the result. We quote again from Wesley's journal: "May 29. Being Whitsunday, four of our scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were, at their earnest and repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's table. I trust their zeal has stirred up many to remember their Creator in the days of their youth, and to redeem the time, even in the midst of an evil and adulterous generation.

"Indeed, about this time we observed the Spirit of God to move upon the minds of many of the children. They began

more carefully to attend to the things that were spoken, both at home and at church, and a remarkable seriousness appeared in their whole behavior and conversation. Who knows but some of them may 'grow up to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ?'"

The first British Bible Society that existed, "The Naval and Military," was projected by George Cussons, and organized by a small number of his Methodist companions. The London Missionary Society originated in an appeal from Melville Horne, who, for some years, was one of Wesley's itinerant preachers, and then became the successor of Fletcher as Vicar of Madeley. The Church Missionary Society was started by John Venn, the son of Henry Venn, the Methodist clergyman. [Henry Venn, as we have seen, acknowledged the benefit and light he had received from Wesley's work and preaching.] The first Tract Society was formed by John Wesley and Thomas Coke, in 1782, seventeen years before the organization of the present great Religious Tract Society in Paternoster Row—a society, by the way, which was instituted chiefly by Rowland Hill and two or three other Calvinistic Methodists. It is believed that the first dispensary that the world ever had was founded by Wesley himself in connection with the old Foundery, in Moorfields. The Strangers' Friend Society, paying, every year, from forty to fifty thousand visits to the sick poor of London, and relieving them as far as possible, is an institution to which Methodism gave birth in 1785.—LUKE TYERMAN.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society was formed in 1817, but *the first Wesleyan missionaries* [the italics are ours] *who went out under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Coke, entered the British Colonies in* 1786. The Baptist Missionary Society was established in 1792; the London Missionary Society in 1795; and the Edinburgh or Scottish, and the Glasgow Missionary Societies in 1796. . . . The Church Missionary Society was organized in the first year of the present century.—Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS: "History of the London Missionary Society."

Above it is said that the Wesleyan Missionary Society was organized in 1817. But this was only a new form to a society which had been in existence for many years. The words in italics, in the above extract, show that Wesleyan missionaries, as early as 1786, were preaching the gospel "in the regions beyond." Earlier than that, in 1773, Wesley's itinerant

missionaries were proclaiming the doctrines of free grace to the negroes of the West Indies. And in 1784—eight years before the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society—an organized Wesleyan Missionary Society was in existence. I have before me the photo-lithograph of the original document entitled, "A Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathens." * The original is in the possession of Mr. Samuel D. Waddy, Q. C., M. P., of London; the photo-lithograph was kindly given me by Mr. Waddy for the Wesley Memorial Volume. This document gives the objects of the Society, provides for annual meetings of its members, appoints committees, and prescribes their duties. It also presents the names of the members with the amount subscribed by each; and, on the third page, it gives an autograph letter from Dr. Coke to Mr. Fletcher. It furnishes irrefragable proof that the Wesleyans, in 1784, formed the first missionary society known to the religious history of England, for sending the gospel to the heathen. This was followed up, in 1786, by "An Address to the pious and benevolent, proposing an Annual Subscription for the support of Missionaries in the Highlands and adjacent islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec." It was signed by Dr. Coke, and contained a prefatory letter from Wesley, who gave to it his approval. In 1787 these missions were called, "Missions established by the Methodist Societies;" and, at the Conference of 1790, the last over which Mr. Wesley presided, "a committee of nine preachers, of which Coke was chairman, was appointed to take charge of this new interest." These facts give to Wesleyan Methodism—where it rightfully belongs—the credit of the first missionary society to which the Great Revival gave birth. But this one—and no less all the others—owes its origin, if not directly yet indirectly, to John Wesley.

* See this document on page 490 of this volume.

His [Wesley's] life stands out, in the history of the world, unquestionably pre-eminent in religious labors above that of any other man since the apostolic age.—ABEL STEVENS.

Voltaire predicted about this time [while the Wesleys were at Oxford] that in the next generation Christianity would be overthrown throughout the civilized world; these young men defeated the prophecy and rendered the next generation the most effective in Christian history since the days of Martin Luther.—ABEL STEVENS.

The "Great Awakening" under Edwards, had not only subsided before Whitefield's arrival, but had reacted. Whitefield restored it; and the New England Churches received, under his labors, an inspiration of zeal and energy which has never died out. [*Martin Luther said that, for fifteen or sixteen hundred years, the longest revival lasted only through a single generation. How different the effects of the "Great Revival!" One hundred and fifty years have come and gone since Wesley inaugurated the Methodist movement.* That movement has not "died out;" its effects are still felt not only in all Methodist, but in all the Protestant evangelical Churches of Christendom.] He extended the revival from the Congregational Churches of the Eastern, to the Presbyterian Churches of the Middle States. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where Frelinghuysen, Blair, Rowland, and the two Tennents had been laboring with evangelical zeal, he was received as a prophet from God, and it was then that the Presbyterian Church took that attitude of evangelical power and aggression which has ever since characterized it. These faithful men had begun a humble ministerial school in a log-cabin twenty feet long, and nearly as many broad. "The work is of God," said Whitefield, "and therefore cannot come to naught." The fame of Princeton has verified his prediction. "Nassau Hall received a Methodistic baptism at its birth. Whitefield inspired its founders, and was honored by it with the title of A. M.; the Methodists in England gave it funds; and one of its noblest presidents (Davies) was a correspondent of Wesley and honored him as a restorer of the true faith." Dartmouth College arose from the same impulse. It received its chief early funds from the British Methodists, and bears the name of one of their chief Calvinistic associates [the Earl of Dartmouth] whom Cowper celebrated as "the one who wore a coronet and prayed." Whitefield's preaching, and especially the reading of his printed sermons, in Virginia led to the founding of the Presbyterian Church in that State, whence it has extended to the South and South-west. The stock from which the Baptists of Virginia and those of all in the South and South-west have sprung, was also Whitefieldian.

[Dr. Stevens cites as one of his authorities, Benedict's "History of the Baptists."] The founder of the Free-will Baptists of the United States was converted under the last preaching of Whitefield.—Abel Stevens.

The death of Mr. Wesley, which occurred March 2, 1791, deeply affected the Methodists in America, as well as in England. They felt as a large and affectionate family feels in the loss of a father.—Bishop Robert Paine: "Life of M'Kendree."

I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century—the man who will have produced the greatest effects, centuries, or perhaps millenniums hence, if the present race of men should continue so long.—Robert Southey.

I venture to avow it as my conviction, that either Christian faith is what Wesley here describes, or there is no proper meaning in the word.—Coleridge.

It was not a masterly sermon, [one of Wesley's sermons, at Aberdeen,] yet none but a master could have preached it.—Beattie.

Thousands who never heard of Fontenoy or Walpole, continue to follow the precepts and to venerate the name of John Wesley.—Earl Stanhope.

The "Life of Wesley" [Southey's] will probably live. Defective as it is, it contains the only popular account of a most remarkable moral revolution, and of a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have made him eminent in literature, whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu, and who, whatever his errors may have been, devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered as the highest good of his species.—Lord Macaulay.

John Wesley and Cowper's friend, John Newton, were both presbyters of this Church, [the Church of England.] Both were men of ability. Both we believe to have been men of rigid integrity; men who would not have subscribed a confession of faith which they disbelieved, for the richest bishopric in the empire.—Lord Macaulay.

We have read books called Histories of England under the Reign of George II., in which the rise of Methodism is not even mentioned. A hundred years hence this breed of authors will, we hope, be extinct. —Lord Macaulay.

To the Theotine order a still higher interest belongs. Its great object was the same with that of our early Methodists, namely, to supply the deficiencies of the parochial clergy. The Church of Rome, wiser

than the Church of England, gave every countenance to the good work. —LORD MACAULAY.

Under two of the most remarkable men of the eighteenth century, Whitefield, the first of theological orators, and Wesley, the first of theological statesmen, there was originated a great system of religion which bore the same relation to the Church of England that the Church of England bore to the Church of Rome.—BUCKLE.

The breath of liberty has wafted their messages to the masses of the people; encouraged them to collect the white and negro, slave and master, in the greenwood, for counsel on divine love and the full assurance of grace; and carried their consolations and songs and prayers to the farthest cabins in the wilderness.—BANCROFT.

No Church in the country [the United States] has so successfully engaged in the cause of education as the Methodist Church; no one that, during the last twenty-five years, has done more for the advancement of the cause.—EDWARD EVERETT.

In the Methodist economy, as well as in the zeal, the devoted piety, and the efficiency of its ministry, is one of the most powerful elements in the religious history of the United States, as well as one of the firmest pillars of their civil and political institutions.—BAIRD: "Religion in America."

Wesley had a genius for godliness.—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

The revival took effect on distant circles which certainly seemed outside of the Methodist movement, but which yet, assuredly, belonged to it; the Clapham sect, for instance, *with all its consequences*, [the italics are ours,] so pleasantly described by Sir James Stephen in his "Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography."—E. PAXTON HOOD.

The purest, noblest, most saintly clergyman of the eighteenth century, whose whole life was passed in the sincere and loyal effort to do good. —Mr. CURTEIS: "Bampton Lectures for 1871."

I remember his face well. He was a very old man, and had very long white hair; his voice was very soft and beautiful, not like any voice I had ever heard before. I was a little girl, and scarcely knew any thing, and this old man seemed to me such a different sort of man from any body I had ever seen before, that I thought he had perhaps come down from the sky to preach to us, and I said, "Aunt, will he go back to the sky to-night, like the picture in the Bible?" That man of God was Mr. Wesley, who spent his life in doing what our blessed Lord did—preaching the gospel to the poor.—DINAH [EVANS] MORRIS: in "Adam Bede."

It was a great open space called Moorfields. Thousands of dirty, ragged men and women were standing listening to a preacher in a clergyman's gown. We were obliged to stop while the crowd made way for us. At first I thought it must be the same I heard near Bristol, but when we came nearer I saw it was quite a different looking man; a small man, rather thin, with the neatest wig, and fine, sharply-cut features, a mouth firm enough for a general, and a bright, steady eye, which seemed to command the crowd.

Uncle Henderson said, "It is John Wesley."

His manner was very calm, not impassioned like Mr. Whitefield's; but the people seemed quite as much moved.

Mr. Whitefield looked as if he were pleading with the people to escape from a danger he saw but they could not, and would draw them to heaven in spite of themselves. Mr. Wesley did not appear so much to plead as to speak with authority. Mr. Whitefield seemed to throw his whole soul into the peril of his hearers. Mr. Wesley seemed to rest with his whole soul on the truth he spoke, and, by the force of his own calm conviction, to make every one feel that what he said was true. If his hearers were moved, it was not with the passion of the preacher; it was with the bare reality of the things he said.

But they were moved indeed. No wandering eye was there. Many were weeping, some were sobbing as if their hearts would break, and many more were gazing as if they would not weep, nor stir, nor breathe, lest they should lose a word.—DIARY OF MISTRESS KITTY TREVYLYAN.

His sole object was to bring back the Church to a pure and holy life, and to save the degraded and neglected.—Prof. C. W. BENNETT, D.D.: in "Appleton's American Cyclopædia."

Wesleyanism was, in many respects, by far the most important phenomenon of the eighteenth century.—LESLIE STEPHEN: "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century."

Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II., they must yield, I think, in real importance, to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect, extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount

and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history. — LECKY: "England in the Eighteenth Century."

It undoubtedly emancipated great numbers from the fear of death, and imparted a warmer tone to the devotion, and a greater energy to the philanthropy, of every denomination both in England and the Colonies. —LECKY.

The Methodist movement was a purely religious one. All explanations which ascribe it to the ambition of its leaders, or to merely intellectual causes, are at variance with the facts in the case.—LECKY.

They and their colleagues [the leaders of the so-called Evangelical party in the Church] gradually changed the whole spirit of the English Church. They infused into it a new fire and passion of devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the whole tone and tendency of the preaching of its ministers. . . . *But beyond all other men*, [the italics are ours,] *it was John Wesley to whom this work was due.*—LECKY.

Like Whitefield, he had the power of riveting the attention of audiences of eight thousand, ten thousand, and sometimes even twenty thousand souls.—LECKY.

His administrative powers were probably still greater than his power as a preacher. Few tasks are more difficult than the organization into a permanent body of half-educated men. . . . Wesley accomplished the task with an admirable mixture of tact, firmness, and gentleness; and the skill with which he founded the Methodist organization is sufficiently shown by its later history.—LECKY.

My brother Wesley acted wisely. The souls that were awakened under his ministry he joined in class, and thus preserved the fruits of his labor. This I neglected, and my people are a rope of sand.—GEORGE WHITEFIELD to JOHN POOL.

Nothing can be more unjust than to attribute to him [John Wesley] the ambition of a schismatic, or the subversive instincts of a revolutionist.—LECKY.

His many-sided activity was displayed in the most various fields, and his keen eye was open to every form of abuse. . . . He was among the first to reprobate the horrors of the slave-trade, to call attention to the scandalous condition of the jails, to make collections for relieving the miserable destitution of the French prisoners of war. He supported with the whole weight of his influence the Sunday-school movement. And he made praiseworthy efforts to put down among his followers that

political corruption which was, perhaps, the most growing vice of English society.—LECKY.

They [the Methodists] have already far outnumbered every other Nonconformist body in England, and every other religious body in the United States, and they are probably destined largely to increase; while the influence of the movement transformed for a time the whole spirit of the Established Church, and has been more or less felt in every Protestant community speaking the English tongue.—LECKY.

Thus he [John Wesley] threw aside, boldly and unhesitatingly, the dreamy follies of the Moravians, and he took a noble and admirable stand on the doctrine of the fullness, freeness, and universality of the grace of God.—G. G. PERRY, M.A., Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington: "A History of the Church of England."

This led to the separation of the Wesleys from Whitefield, who had been attracted by the writings of the older Puritans to adopt Calvinistic views. Whitefield wrote angrily and feebly against Wesley, who, a far abler man, magnanimously spared him. There was still love between them, though a divergence in sentiment.—PERRY.

He [John Wesley] disliked separation from the Church; he constantly spoke in the strongest way against it, but he *did nothing to hinder it.* He allowed the machine which he had set in motion to take its course. He saw, probably, that that course was inevitable, and though he perhaps salved his own conscience by his protests against Dissent, yet if Methodism was not to be had without Dissent, he was prepared to accept it at this price. By and by he brings himself to the distinctly schismatic act of performing a mock consecration of *bishops* [the italics are ours] for America.—PERRY.

They [the Wesleys] brought out with great force the teaching of the Church on the doctrines of grace, and showed to many of the clergy the meaning of their formularies which they had not before apprehended. . . . They led men to examine and weigh subjective truths which had been long almost entirely overlooked, and to understand more fully the language of Scripture on these topics.—PERRY.

The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students. . . . Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all others the preacher of the revival. . . . Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the "sweet-singer" of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery convictions of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. . . .

But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the vast movement, but the very movement itself. . . . In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient — an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had, besides, a learning and skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed. He was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all.—J. R. GREEN, M.A., Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford: "A Short History of the English People."

But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy, and the "Evangelical" movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time no body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard.—J. R. GREEN.

But the mischiefs [resulting, as Mr. Gladstone believes, almost in a general paralysis — at the time Wesley appeared — of the religious life, both in the Church and in the Nonconformist bodies of England] at which I now very slightly glance were, if not confined to the Church, much more general, intense, and scandalous within its borders than beyond them. It was well, therefore, that from within the precinct where the darkness lay the thickest the light should first and most brilliantly arise.—Rt. Hon. WM. E. GLADSTONE: in the "British Quarterly Review," July, 1879.

These last words, it need hardly be said, refer principally, though not entirely, to John Wesley. I make no attempt in this paper to follow the career of that extraordinary man, whose life and acts have taken their place in the religious history not only of England, but of Christendom. I only observe, first, that the course of Wesley takes its origin from the bosom of devout but high Anglicanism, in which, as a youth, he was bred, and which long and rather obstinately, though varyingly, held its ground within his interior mind, in despite of circumstances the most adverse. Secondly, that with this origin it should still, perhaps, be regarded as having given the main impulse out of which sprang the Evan-

gelical movement. Thirdly, that while it imparted the main impulse, it did not stamp upon that movement its specific character. The principal share of the parentage was not represented in the particular contour of the features. Probably that which Wesley did not supply to it is to be traced in a great degree, yet by an indirect line, to Whitefield. It would seem rather as if the Evangelical Succession, as Sir J. Stephen has called it in his "Essays," may more directly have found its fountain-head in another quarter. Some rivers spring from only a group of pools; and there were a small number of clergymen, sporadically and very thinly distributed over the broad surface of the Church of England, whose names have been handed down to us in conjunction with the rare phenomenon of the profession of high Calvinism, or of a leaning more or less pronounced toward it. Of these the best known are Hervey, Berridge, Romaine, and Toplady. Perhaps they are to be regarded as, along with Whitefield, the fathers of the Evangelical school.—Mr. GLADSTONE.

It ought, perhaps, to be remarked, that in an interesting historic sketch the Rev. Canon Garbett has traced the origin of the Evangelical movement, and assigns it to Mr. Law and his "Serious Call to a Holy Life." But such an ascription seems to me incorrect. There are no distinctive relations, that I can find, between this movement and the nonjuring party to which Law belonged; and the large and prominent development of the doctrinal element in the Evangelical writings is out of all proportion to its retired position in the works, so far as I know them, of Law. This succession is rather to be found in Bishop Wilson, in Jones of Nayland, and in Hook or Keble of our time.—Mr. GLADSTONE.

It may not be unreasonable, then, to regard the group of clergymen whom I have named as the spiritual fathers of the Evangelical school. *The deep and sharp lines of their ultra-Calvinism, however, were softened in their successors, as, for example, in Thomas Scott, and gradually disappeared.* [The italics in this paragraph are ours.] *That scheme of doctrine has more than once made its appearance in the Church of England, as, for example, in the notorious Lambeth Articles, but always with the note of sterility, the mark of the hybrid, upon it. Elsewhere it has found more congenial soils, and has been associated with great results; but within the Anglican precinct it has always been a transient phenomenon.* The points in which the Evangelical school permanently differed from the older and traditional Anglicanism were those of the Church, the sacraments, and the forensic idea of justification. They are not, in my view, its strong points, and I do not mean to dwell upon them. Its main char-

acteristic was of a higher order, [which characteristic it received from John Wesley, "principally," if not "entirely."] *It was a strong, systematic, outspoken, and determined reaction against the prevailing standards both of life and preaching. It aimed at bringing back, on a large scale, and by an aggressive movement, the Cross, and all that the Cross essentially implies, both into the teaching of the clergy, and into the lives as well of the clergy as of the laity.* The preaching of the Gospel became afterward a cant phrase; but that the preaching of the Gospel a hundred years ago had disappeared, not by denial but by lapse, from the majority of Anglican pulpits, is, I fear, in large measure, an historic truth. To bring it back again was the aim and work of the Evangelical reformers in the sphere of the teaching function. Whether they preached Christ in the best manner may be another question; but of this there is now, and can be, little question—that they preached Christ; they preached Christ largely and fervently where, as a rule, he was but little and but coldly preached before. And who is there that will not say from his heart, "I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice?"—Mr. GLADSTONE.

Much that has become characteristic of Evangelic Christianity had its origin in Lady Huntingdon's drawing-room. . . . The fact of this religious transmission, which connects the venerated names of Venn, Newton, Scott, Milner, and others in no very remote manner with the founders of Methodism, might, to a reader of its history, seem too conspicuous to be called in question; nor does it very clearly appear what those manly and Christian-like feelings are which should prompt any parties at this time to deny it. A wiry task surely is it which those undertake who labor, thread by thread, to disengage the modern Episcopal Evangelical body from the ties of filial relationship to Wesley, Whitefield, and their colleagues.—ISAAC TAYLOR.

That great body of the Church of England which, assuming the title of Evangelical, has been refused that of Orthodoxy, may trace their spiritual genealogy by regular descent from Whitefield. . . . The consanguinity is attested by historical records, and by the strongest family resemblance. The quarterings of Whitefield are entitled to a conspicuous place in the Evangelical escutcheon, and they who bear it are not wise in being ashamed of the blazonry.—SIR JAMES STEPHEN: "Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography."

But let us look into the facts of the case. Has the Evangelical body, either in the eighteenth or the present century, ever denied that Whitefield and the Wesleys, and their coadjutors, were pioneers in the great movement which *they* took up; that those good men bore the burden

and heat of the day, and blunted the keen edge of prejudice, which would otherwise have assailed *them* more vehemently than it did? Surely not. . . . But they apprehend that to trace back their genealogy to him [Whitefield] would be to abandon what they consider, rightly or wrongly, to be the strength of their position. They trace back their genealogy to Peter, and Paul, and John; and afterward, in a direct line, to Augustine, and Anselm, and Wiclif, and Hooper, and Jewell, and Hooker. They think that "much"—yea, most—"of what is characteristic of Evangelical Christianity" had its origin, not in Lady Huntingdon's drawing-room, but in a far less aristocratic apartment, even in the upper-room at Jerusalem, "where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews."—Overton: Abbey and Overton's "Church of England in the Eighteenth Century."

Mr. Overton does not answer Isaac Taylor and Sir James Stephen. They had reference to the joint influence of Wesley and Whitefield on the piety and zeal, and to the special influence of Whitefield's Calvinism, on the theology of the Evangelical party. So far as Peter, and Paul, and Augustine, and Anselm, and all the rest, and the upper-room at Jerusalem, are concerned, Wesley and Whitefield could trace their "genealogy" from the same source, and by the same line. All that Mr. Overton says about the succession may be true, and yet it may be also true, as Mr. Gladstone writes, that Wesley has "the principal share of the parentage," and Whitefield "the particular contour of the features." Indeed, all that Mr. Gladstone, and Isaac Taylor, and Sir James Stephen mean, is fully admitted, as we shall see, both by Mr. Abbey and Mr. Overton in their truly great and noble contribution to the ecclesiastical history of England.

All honor to men like Whitefield, who, by their burning words, their inexhaustible energy, and their nobly devoted lives, helped the party to raise its head again. Such credit the later Evangelical party would gladly have accorded to Whitefield, but they rightly demurred to the acknowledgment that he was in any sense their founder.—Overton.

In the senses Mr. Overton evidently has in mind, Wesleyans and all Methodists demur to the acknowledgment that even

Mr. Wesley is their founder. For they go back of Peter and Paul, and the upper-room at Jerusalem, and claim that their sole Founder is Jesus Christ, the Rock of Ages. But see what Mr. Overton admits:

> The difficulty—indeed, the *impossibility* [the italics are ours]—of disentangling Evangelicalism from Methodism in the early phases of both, confronts us at once when we begin to consider the cases of individuals.—OVERTON.

This "difficulty," or "impossibility," rather, Mr. Overton will fully establish before we are done with this paper.

> It [the Calvinistic controversy] taught the later Evangelical school to guard more carefully their Calvinistic views against the perversions of Antinomianism.—OVERTON.
>
> Once [Henry Venn,] when asked about a young minister, whether he was a Calvinist or Arminian, replied: "I really do not know; he is a sincere disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that is of infinitely more importance than his being a disciple of Calvin or Arminius." In short, he was what was called a "moderate Calvinist," a term which was much caviled at in the hot days of the Calvinistic controversy, but which really expressed the form which the Calvinism of the Evangelical school ultimately assumed.—OVERTON.
>
> While agreeing thoroughly with Methodist doctrines, (we may waive the vexed question of Calvinism,) they thoroughly disapproved of the Methodist practice of itinerancy, which they regarded as a mark of insubordination, a breach of Church order, and an unwarrantable interference with the parochial system.—OVERTON.
>
> Not that John Wesley ever desired to upset the parochial system. *From first to last he consistently maintained his position*, [the italics are ours,] *that his work was not to supplant, but to supplement, the ordinary work of the Church.* This supplementary agency formed so important a factor in the Evangelical revival, and its arrangement was so characteristic of John Wesley, that a few words on the subject seem necessary.—OVERTON.

Here we experience "the difficulty of disentangling evangelicalism from Methodism," as applied "to the cases of individuals." The "fathers" of the Evangelical movement, says Mr.

Overton, were Hervey, Grimshaw, Berridge, Romaine, and Venn. Every one of these, except Hervey, was in itinerant labors and in out-door preaching almost as abundant as Wesley and Whitefield.

These divines [the Evangelicals] were mostly Calvinistic, and so [on that account] stood apart [separated] from the Methodists, [the Wesleyans.]—Perry: "A History of the Church of England."

They [the Evangelicals] gave no prominent place to the sacraments and ordinances of the Church.—Perry.

Thus it seems that the Evangelical party—the party historically distinguished from Wesleyan Methodism—was distinguished from Mr. Wesley mainly by the high Calvinism of its first leaders. But even this divergence became less distinct; and, in time, altogether disappeared. Its Romaines and Topladys gave place to its Cecils and Scotts, who were themselves succeeded by those in whom scarcely any traces of the old Calvinism remained. If this be so, is it not true that it was John Wesley who drove (what Mr. Gladstone calls "the hybrid") Calvinism out of the Church of England pulpits?

In what else did Mr. Wesley seriously differ from the earlier leaders of the Evangelical party, or their successors, "the good men of Clapham," who met at the princely mansion of the Thorntons, to discuss philanthropic reforms, and devise larger plans for the conversion of the world? Was it in his Churchmanship?—Not in that; unless it was, as some will assert, that he was more of a Churchman than they. Nearly all, if not all, Church of England writers claim that he was a loyal son of the Church down to his latest breath. In the opinion of some he was such a Churchman that, if he had lived to see these latter days, he would have anticipated the movements of tractarianism, and been the earliest and most pronounced leader of modern ritualism. Wesley would have found many of the Evangelical party to keep him company: Manning and Newman, once its brightest lights, would have been his disciples and collaborators, at least for a time, and perhaps always; for he might have saved

them from Rome. "Had the young Fellow of Lincoln," writes Miss Julia Wedgwood, "died in his thirtieth year, we can imagine that the tradition which might have preserved to Oxford the memory of the little Society of which he was the head, would have presented itself as a dim foreshadowing of the religious movement connected with that university in our own day." Was it in his views of ordination? was it because he held that presbyters and bishops are of one order?—Stillingfleet and Lord King, and many others, both of the evangelical and the traditional Anglicans, past and present, have held the same opinion. Was it in his plan of itinerant preaching?—The fathers of the Evangelical party: Venn, Berridge, Romaine, Grimshaw, and Toplady, long vied with Wesley in itinerant labors and open-air preaching. Grimshaw was Wesley's "assistant," and had charge of a Methodist circuit; John Newton in a letter to Wesley apologized, on account of the feeble state of his health, for not being an itinerant preacher. Was it in Wesley's plan of lay-preaching?—There is no one who believes that John Wesley was opposed to the parochial system of the Established Church. The ablest Church writers of the present day tell us that Mr. Wesley only intended to supplement the labors of the parish incumbent. In sending forth laymen to read and expound the Holy Scriptures, what did Mr. Wesley more than the Archbishops and Bishops assembled at Lambeth, in 1866, when they restored to the Church the "Order of Readers," and afterward, by the laying on of their apostolic hands, consecrated them to the work of reading and expounding the word of God? Was it in Wesley's insubordination to Episcopal authority?—Several of the fathers of Evangelicalism were *in iisdem armis*—in the same condemnation. Nor have their successors been entirely free from the charge; not if Mr. Gladstone reports them correctly when he tells us, that they have been "in some sense rebellious," and that in their scheme there has been "a latent antagonism to express and important portions of the authoritative documents

of the Church of England." Was it in his class-meetings, and band-meetings, and love-feasts?—Not in them; for some of the Evangelical fathers led Wesley's class-meetings, and conducted Wesley's love-feasts. There are episcopal writers who claim that Wesley by these only restored what was of scriptural authority, and common to the earlier Church and to primitive usage. Was it that Wesley would not have been in sympathy with their parliamentary reforms and evangelical work?—If not, it would have been because he was far in advance of their foremost. "His many-sided activity," writes Mr. Lecky, "was displayed in the most various fields, and his keen eye open to every form of abuse." Now he laments "the glaring irregularities of political representation;" now he assails "the costly diffusiveness of English legal documents;" now he is "among the first to reprobate the horrors of the slave-trade;" and now he seeks "to put down political corruption, the most growing vice of English society."

But, finally, was it because the Evangelicals preached Christ and Wesley did not? Did they hold up the cross before them, and Wesley thrust it behind him? Was the preaching of Christ—that which Mr. Gladstone says was their distinctive excellence—peculiar to the Evangelicals? If it was, ask these men themselves from whom they learned the lesson? Ask Toplady, who was awakened under a sermon preached in a barn in Ireland by one of Wesley's most illiterate lay-itinerants! Ask John Berridge, who, after preaching many years without a knowledge of personal religion, was convinced by Wesley that we are saved by grace through faith! Ask Henry Venn, who said that Wesley's "words were as thunder to his drowsy soul," and he will answer, "From John Wesley, the man so much endued with the spirit and power of Elias!" Ask James Hervey, whose boast it was, that he would tell of Wesley's "love before the universal assembly, and at the tremendous tribunal hear the Master say, 'If others have turned their thousands, my servant Wesley has turned his ten thousands

from the power of Satan unto God." Go and ask John Newton, and he will tell you that to John Wesley, as an instrument of divine grace, he owed more than to all others. What preacher of the eighteenth century, pre-eminently above all others, preached Christ? The Yorkshire Methodist, John Nelson, answers, "The man who showed me the evil of my heart, and pointed out to me the remedy;" the Nonconformist, John Howard, the greatest philanthropist of his age, replies, "The man who first convinced me of sin, and led me to the cross;" Dr. Lowth, Lord Bishop of London, answers, "The humble Methodist preacher at whose feet I desired to sit in heaven;" George Whitefield, the greatest pulpit orator of the eighteenth century, replies, "The man who, under God, was my spiritual father—who magnanimously spared me when I turned against him, and always had a warm place for me in his forgiving, loving heart." Ask the mighty throng of blood-washed Anglo-Saxons in glory, the first-fruits to God and the Lamb out of the great revival begun in the eighteenth century, and still going on in the last quarter of the nineteenth, and they with one voice, as the voice of many waters, will send answer back, "John Wesley, the great Methodist Reformer!"

Now, then, is there any one who will say that there was—high-Calvinism excepted—any really insuperable ground of difference between John Wesley and the leaders of the Evangelical party? But the successors did not remain true to the high-Calvinism of the founders. "Ultra-Calvinism," as Mr. Gladstone writes, "softened in their successors, and gradually disappeared." And when this was done, no serious difference remained. Indeed, as we shall presently see, Mr. Abbey thinks that there was no insuperable bar in Wesleyanism to comprehension with the Church of England, even in the days when its ultra Calvinistic Evangelicals were pouring vials of wrath on the devoted head of John Wesley. This being the case, how much more easily might comprehension have occurred if ultra-Calvinism had been eliminated from the Established

Church. That it has been eliminated from the Church was due, as no one will question, more to John Wesley than to any other. Hence, his influence upon the Evangelical party itself has been a profound and permanent influence. Wesley's preaching, and the Calvinistic controversy, compelled the successors of the older Calvinistic Evangelicals to soften the harshness of the Geneva absolute decrees, or, in effect, to abandon them altogether. Not only, therefore, did John Wesley give "the first impulse" to the Evangelical movement, but he either modified its distinctive theological dogma, or caused it to disappear as a *differentia* between pure Wesleyanism and Evangelicalism. And hence, "the principal share of the parentage" is now far more distinctly "represented in the particular contour of the features." The child, at the birth, did not show its perfect likeness to the father; but when fully grown it revealed the well-known family features, and unmistakably asserted its parentage. While the waters were comparatively naught, they seemed to indicate that they flowed from "a group of pools;" but when filtered and freed from extraneous impurities, the sweetness of the purified waters pointed out the deep but clear and pebbly-bottomed spring whence they issued. The truth is, Mr. Wesley not only gave the first, and what Mr. Gladstone calls the main, impulse to the Evangelical movement, but he has been, directly or indirectly, from first to last, the chief inspirer of whatever good it has effected. He was the restorer of spiritual life to all renewed Anglicanism. As the great revivalist of the eighteenth century, he stands equally related to his own immediate followers, the followers of Whitefield and of Lady Huntingdon, to the Evangelicals and their successors, and to the whole body of the Anglican clergy and laity who have experienced the joy of pardoned sin. John Wesley, under God—to whom be all the glory!—both in Europe and America was the restorer of spiritual life in the eighteenth century, and the chief inspirer of the great revival and all its gracious fruits, in all its manifold ramifications, whether in

Arminian or Calvinistic Methodism, Evangelicalism, Anglicanism, the Nonconformist Churches, the Scottish Church, or in the various Churches of America.

Religion was undoubtedly at a very low ebb. In this all writers agree. . . But, apart from Methodism, zeal was out of fashion; and irreligion and immorality flourished, not unrebuked, but unrestrained by any vigorous efforts of religious energy.—C. J. ABBEY: Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century."

In its beginnings it [Methodism] was essentially an agitation which originated within the National Church, and one in which the very thought of secession was vehemently deprecated. As it advanced, though one episcopal charge after another was leveled against it; though pulpit after pulpit was indignantly refused to its leaders; though it was on all sides preached against, satirized, denounced; though the voices of its preachers were not unfrequently drowned in the clanging of church-bells; though its best features were persistently misunderstood and misrepresented, and all its defects and weaknesses exposed with a merciless hand, Wesley, with the majority of his principal supporters, never ceased to declare his love for the Church of England, and his hearty loyalty to its principles.—ABBEY.

The difficulties in the way of union and co-operation ought not to have been insuperable. . . . George II. always maintained that his ministers should have taken his advice and made Whitefield a bishop. The rulers of the National Church would have done better still if they had taken Wesley into their confidence, and, without cramping her freedom of action by the limitations which necessarily attend the Episcopate, had candidly consulted with him. Except that he was sometimes inclined to be overbearing and despotic, Wesley was singularly adapted to the work, if he had been invited to undertake it, of so organizing the new Societies as to make them a substantive part of the fabric of the Church of England. *It is not often that a great reformer*, [the italics are ours,] *whose whole soul is possessed with one fervid idea, is also gifted with large powers of system and with a great love of order. John Wesley, however, had, in a very eminent degree, this important qualification.* No man of his day would probably have shown greater skill in suggesting modes by which an extended Church organization could be safely and practically introduced, [the italics ours,] *without unduly disturbing the parochial machinery of the Church.*—ABBEY.

Wesley wrote in one of his earlier works, and requoted in 1766:

"We look upon ourselves not as the authors or ringleaders of a particular sect or party, but as messengers of God to those who are Christians in name, but heathens in heart and life, to lead them back to that from which they are fallen, to real, genuine Christianity."

The difficulties in the way of comprehending within the National Church men such as these, and societies formed upon such principles, ought not to have been insurmountable.. No doubt they would have been surmounted if the Church of England had been, at that date, in a really healthy and vigorous condition.—ABBEY.

Wesley was a true preacher of righteousness, and had the utmost horror of all Antinomianism—all teaching that insisted slightly on moral duties, or which disparaged any outward means of grace.—ABBEY.

It would never have been Wesley's fault if the thought and feeling which gives ecclesiasticism its spiritual life, and which animates the ritual of the English Liturgy, had been neglected.—ABBEY.

And now that Calvinism had ceased to be the doctrine of more than a comparatively small section of the Church of England, his strongly marked Arminianism would have increased, or certainly not lessened, confidence in him, if he had once been accepted as the leader of a new movement within it.—ABBEY.

*That there was a close relation* [italics ours] *between Wesley's preaching and the newly rising evangelical party in the Church is also sufficiently obvious. . . . The relation between the two was very intimate. They arose out of the same causes, were fostered by similar influences, came into close contact, and were often confused one with the other. . . . Some of the evangelical leaders owed to the instrumentality of Methodism the deep religious impressions they had received—Hervey from Wesley at Oxford, Toplady from a Wesleyan preacher, John Newton from Whitefield.*—ABBEY.

John Newton, as we have already seen, said—in a letter to Wesley—that he owed more to John Wesley as an instrument of divine grace than to any other.

Secker, a favorable representative of the ordinary Churchmanship of his time, was evidently much disturbed by the irregularities of Methodism. But his later charges, as compared with his earlier ones, show how deeply he was impressed by it, and how great was the stimulus it gave to pious and thoughtful minds. In his third charge as Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1766, it had clearly contributed a good deal toward awakening him to the sense that, "We have, in fact, lost many of

our people by not preaching in a manner sufficiently evangelical."—ABBEY.

If the English Church had awakened a little sooner than it did to a fuller sense of its responsibilities—even if a few men of the type of Samuel Coleridge or of Dr. Arnold had lived a little earlier, and had exercised in the cause their talents and their influence—the various bodies of Methodists might still have been English Churchmen. It is the more to be lamented that this was not the case, because a successful association of the two communions might have been most beneficial to both, each supplying the other's lack. . . . The Church would have gained immensely by the comprehension of Methodism. It would have gained in it just what it most needed. But Methodism (*supposing its action* [the italics ours] *to be not cramped thereby*) would have been no less a gainer.—ABBEY.

In the England of the eighteenth century, [enthusiasm is now the subject,] when the force of religion was chilled by drowsiness and indifference in some quarters, by stiffness and formality and over-cautious orthodoxy in others; when the aspirations of the soul were being ever bidden rest satisfied with the calculations of sober reason; when proofs and evidences and demonstrations were offered, and still offered, to meet the cry of those who called for light, how else should religion stem the swelling tide of profligacy but by some such inward spiritual revival as those by which it had heretofore renewed its strength? If Wesley and Whitefield, and their fellow-workers, had not come to the rescue, no doubt other reformers of a somewhat kindred spirit would have risen in their stead—how or whence it is useless to speculate. Perhaps Quakerism, or something nearly akin to it, might have assumed the dimensions to which, a half century before, it had seemed not unlikely to grow. The way was prepared for some strong reaction.—ABBEY.

The soul and heart of all his teaching, [Wesley's,] from which it chiefly gained its searching power, was the faith in a deliverance from, and a victory over, sin. He could appeal with pride, such as might worthily swell in an apostle's breast, to the results which proved the moral strength with which he led the reaction against moralities.—ABBEY.

Nor is the high tone of Wesley's moral teaching to be estimated only by its effects, or by his constant insistance upon outward as well as inward holiness. The dangers of Antinomianism were constantly present to his mind. He turned with alarm from the Moravians as soon as he saw in some of their congregations a tendency in this direction.

He promised never again to use intentionally the term "imputed righteousness," when once he found the "immense hurt which the frequent use of this unnecessary phrase had done." Much of his hostility to Calvinism arose from suspicion of its ethical bearings. He saw that his own doctrine of Christian perfection might be used to countenance the same error, and carefully sought to counteract the danger by teaching the possibility of losing the gift.—ABBEY.

*It may be said of Methodism* [the italics are ours] *that to many thousands of souls it was an unmixed blessing. It stirred the sluggish spiritual nature to its depths; it awoke the sense of sin and an eager longing to be delivered from it. To the age and Church in general its quickening action was scarcely less important, as providing to a considerable extent the very stimulus and corrective which prevailing tendencies most required.*—ABBEY.

The Methodist revival marked a decided turn, not only in popular feeling on religious topics and in the language of the pulpit, *but also in theological* [italics ours] *and philosophical thought in general.* It was scarcely possible for those who had witnessed the effects of Wesley's and Whitefield's preaching to speak or write as if a firm conviction of Christian truth could proceed only from the logic of evidences. . . . Wesley never disparaged reason; but from henceforth inward feeling and spiritual discernment were to reassume a place in the analysis of religious thought which for a long time had been denied to them. The arguments both of deists and of evidence writers rapidly became obsolete, when it was felt that both one and the other—the latter even more than the former—had almost omitted from their reasonings faculties which might prove to be among the most important of which human nature is capable, but which had been contemptuously given over to the speculations of so-called mystics and enthusiasts.—ABBEY.

About the time "when Wesley's power Gathered new strength from hour to hour," theological opinion was in much the same state in England as that described by Goethe as existing in Germany when he left Leipsic, in 1768; it was, to a great extent, fluctuating between an historical and traditionary Christianity on the one hand, and pure deism on the other. William Law, in his own way, and among a select but somewhat limited body of readers, Wesley, in a more practical and far more popular manner, did very much to restore to English Christianity the element that was so greatly wanting—the appeal to a faculty with which the soul is gifted to recognize the inherent excellence, the beauty, truth, and divinity of a Divine Object once clearly set before it. Whatever may have been the respective deficiencies in the systems and teaching

of these men, they achieved, at least, this great result; *nor is it too much to say* [the italics are ours] *that it gave a death-blow to the then existing forms of Deism.*—ABBEY.

It is a fact patent to all students of the period, that the moral and religious stagnation of the times extended to all religious bodies, outside as well as inside the National Church.—J. H. OVERTON: Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century."

If Law was the most effective writer, *John Wesley* was unquestionably the most effective worker connected with the early phase [the evangelical-revival is the subject] of the evangelical revival. If Law gave the first impulse to the movement, Wesley was the first and ablest who turned it to practical account.—OVERTON.

But such an ascription [ascribing to Law the first impulse] seems to me incorrect.—GLADSTONE.

Mr. Overton claims too much for the impression which Law's "Serious Call" and "Christian Perfection" made on the mind of John Wesley at Oxford. Wesley afterward had to undo much of that impression before he was fitted for his great work. If Law deserves as much credit as Mr. Overton gives him, will he refuse what Isaac Taylor, and Sir James Stephen, and Mr. Gladstone have awarded to Wesley and Whitefield? Will he deny to Mr. Wesley the credit of giving "the first impulse" to that part of the great revival called the Evangelical Movement, seeing that Wesley is *directly*, not only the spiritual father of Whitefield himself, but of Hervey, whom Mr. Overton calls "the first in date of the Evangelicals proper," of Henry Venn, and of John Newton, and *indirectly*, of Toplady, Scott, and many others?

But let us follow Mr. Overton further, and we will see that after all he does not differ from Isaac Taylor and Sir James Stephen. "Lady Huntingdon's drawing-room" is a great bug-bear to Mr. Overton. He cannot see how one could renew his spiritual life in "Lady Huntingdon's drawing-room"—though, as he tells us, she was a lady who had "a single eye to her Master's glory, a truly humble mind, and genuine piety"—without impairing the validity of the apostolic orders received

from the "upper room at Jerusalem." If John Wesley's episcopal lamp was kindled by the episcopal breath of the nonjuring Law, we do not see why James Hervey's and Henry Venn's, and John Newton's, might not have been set aglow and burning by the episcopal breath of John Wesley and George Whitefield. For all alike received their apostolic authority to preach the Gospel from the same upper room.

Before proceeding, however, with our extracts from Mr. Overton, we take occasion to gratefully record our unqualified approval of his and Mr. Abbey's great work. Its ability is unquestioned; its impartiality is freely acknowledged. Indeed, except in a very few things—things which may be pardoned in Churchmen—its impartiality, as far as we can judge, is beyond praise.

Neither is it necessary to vindicate the character of this great and good man from the imputations which were freely cast upon him both by his contemporaries, (and that not only by the adversaries, but by many of the friends and promoters, of the Evangelical Movement,) and also by some of his later biographers. The saying of Mark Antony:

> "The evil that men do lives after them;
> The good is oft interred with their bones,"

has been reversed in the case of John Wesley. Posterity has fully acquitted him of the charge of being actuated by a mere vulgar ambition—of desiring to head a party—of an undue love of power. It has at last owned that if ever a poor, frail human being was actuated by pure and disinterested motives, that man was John Wesley. Eight years before his death he said, "I have been reflecting on my past life; I have been wandering up and down between fifty and sixty years, endeavoring in my poor way to do a little good to my fellow-creatures." And the more closely his career has been analyzed, the more plainly has the truth of his own words been proved. His quarrel was solely with sin and Satan. His master-passion was, in his often-repeated expression, the love of God, and the love of man for God's sake. The world has at length done tardy justice to its benefactor.—Overton.

The year 1729 is the date which Wesley himself gives of the rise of that revival of religion in which he himself took so prominent a part. It is

somewhat curious that he places the commencement of the revival at a date nine years earlier than that of his own conversion; but it must be remembered that in his later years he took a somewhat different view of the latter event from that which he held in his hot youth. He believed that before 1738 he had faith in God as a servant; after that, as a son. At any rate, we shall not be far wrong in regarding that little meeting at Oxford of a few young men—called in derision the Holy Club, the Sacramentarian Club, and finally the *Methodists*—as the *germ* [the last italics ours—just what Richard Watson has said, and what we claim] of that great movement now to be described. No doubt the views of its members materially changed in the course of years; but the object of the later movement was precisely the same as that of the little band from the very first, namely, to promote the love of God, and the love of man for God's sake; to stem the torrent of vice and irreligion, and to fill the land with a godly and useful population.—OVERTON.

There is but one clew to the right understanding of Wesley's career. It is this: That his one great object was to promote the love of God, and the love of man for God's sake. Every thing must give way to this object of paramount importance. . . .

Moreover, it is fully admitted that Wesley was essentially a many-sided man. Look at him from another point of view, and he stands in precisely the same attitude in which his contemporaries and successors of the Evangelical school stood—as the *homo unius libri*, referring every thing to Scripture, and to Scripture alone. . . .

It was precisely the same motive which led Wesley to the various separations which, to his sorrow, he was obliged to make from those who had been his fellow-workers. He has been accused of being a quarrelsome man, a man with whom it was not easy to be on good terms. The accusation is unjust. Never was a man more ready to forgive injuries, more ready to own his failings, more firm to his friends, and more patient with his foes.—OVERTON.

It is thoroughly characteristic of the generous and forgiving nature of the man that, in spite of their differences, Wesley constantly alluded to Law in his sermons, and always in terms of the warmest commendation. . . . One is thankful to find that he did full justice to the good qualities of Count Zinzendorf. But as to his separation from the London Moravians, Wesley could not have acted otherwise without seriously damaging the cause which he had at heart. . . . This [Antinomianism, which, as a plain matter-of-fact, Mr. Overton says, admitted even by the Calvinists themselves, did result in the perversion of Calvinism] was

obviously the ground of Wesley's dislike of Calvinism, but it did not separate him from Calvinists; so far as a separation did ensue, the fault did not lie with Wesley. . . . In the slight collisiou into which he was necessarily brought with the evangelical clergy, he was actuated by no vulgar desire to make himself a name by encroaching upon other men's labors, but solely by the conviction that he must do the work of God in the best way he could, uo matter whom he might offend or alienate by so doing.—OVERTON.

There were none who displayed any thing like the administrative talent that he did. From first to last Wesley held over this large and ever-increasing agency [his preachers and Societies] an absolute supremacy. . . . It certainly was an extraordinary power for one man to possess; but in its exercise there was not the slightest taiut of selfishness, nor yet the slightest trace that he loved power for power's sake. His own account of its rise is perfectly sincere and artless, and, it is honestly believed, perfectly true. "The power I have," he writes, "I never sought; it was the unadvised, unexpected result of the work which God was pleased to work by me. I therefore suffer it until I can find some one to ease me of my burden." He used his power simply to promote his one great object—to make his followers better men and better citizens, happier in this life, and thrice happier in the life to come. If it was a despotism, it was a singularly useful and benevoleut despotism, a despotism which was founded wholly and solely upon the respect which his personal character commanded. Surely if this man had been, as his ablest biographer [Southey; but Southey, as is now well known, retracted what he had said] represeuts him, an ambitious man, he would have used his power for some personal end. He would at least have yielded to the evident desire of some of his followers, and have founded a separate sect, in which he might have held a place uot much inferior to that which Mohammed held among the faithful. . . . But Wesley was no tyraut; he had no selfish end in view; it was literally "for their sakes [his preachers] that he ruled as he did;" and since he was infinitely superior to the mass of his subjects (one can use no weaker term) in point of education, learning, and good judgment, it was to their advantage that he did so.—OVERTON.

. . . But some years before John Wesley uttered these memorable words [advice not to separate from the Church] had he not himself done the very thing which he deprecated? Consciously and intentionally, No! a thousand times, no! but virtually, and as a matter-of-fact, we must reluctantly answer, Yes. Lord Mansfield's famous dictum,

"Ordination is separation," is unanswerable. When, in 1784, John Wesley ordained Coke and Asbury to be "Superintendents," and Whatcoat and Vasey to be "elders," in America, *he, to all intents and purposes*, [the italics are ours,] *crossed the Rubicon.* His brother Charles regarded the act in that light, and bitterly regretted it. How a logical mind like John Wesley's could regard it in any other it is difficult to conceive. But that he had in all sincerity persuaded himself that there was no inconsistency in it with his strong Churchmanship, there can be no manner of doubt. *Bishop Stillingfleet's "Irenicon"* [the italics are ours] *had convinced him that no particular form of Church government was prescribed in holy Scripture; Lord King's "Inquiry into the Constitution of the Primitive Church" had proved to him that "bishops and presbyters were essentially of one order, and that, originally, every Christian congregation was a Church independent of all others."* And so he wrote to his brother in 1780, "I verily believe I have as good a right to ordain as to administer the Lord's Supper." . . . His rectitude of purpose, if not the clearness of his judgment, is as conspicuous in this as in the other acts of his life.—OVERTON.

One feature in Wesley's character must be carefully noted by all who would form a fair estimate of him. If it was a weakness, and one which frequently led him into serious practical mistakes, it was, at any rate, an amiable weakness—a fault which was very near akin to a virtue. A guileless trustfulness of his fellow-men, who often proved very unworthy of his confidence, and, akin to this, a credulity, a readiness to believe the marvelous, tinged his whole character. "My brother," said Charles Wesley, "was, I think, born for the benefit of knaves." It is in the light of this quality that we must interpret many important events of his life. His relations with the other sex were notoriously unfortunate; not a breath of scandal was ever uttered against him; and the mere fact that it was not is a convincing proof, if any were needed, of the spotless purity of his life; for it is difficult to conceive conduct more injudicious than his was. The story of his relationship with Sophia Causton, [Hopkey,] Grace Murray, Sarah Ryan, and last, but not least, the widow of Vazeille, his termagant wife, need not here be repeated. In the case of any other man scandal would often have been busy; but Wesley was above suspicion. His conduct was put down to the right cause, viz.: a perfect guilelessness and simplicity of nature. The same tone of mind led him to take men as well as women too much at their own estimates. He was quite ready to believe those who said that they had attained the summit of Christian perfection, though,

with characteristic humility, he never professed to have attained it himself.—OVERTON.

But, after all, these weaknesses detract but little from the greatness, and nothing from the goodness, of John Wesley. *He stands* [italics are ours] *pre-eminent among the worthies who originated and conducted the revival of practical religion which took place in the last century.* In particular points he was surpassed by one or other of his fellow-workers. In preaching power he was not equal to Whitefield; in saintliness of character he was surpassed by Fletcher; in poetical talent he was inferior to his brother; in solid learning he was, perhaps, not equal to his friend and disciple, Adam Clarke. But no one combined *all* these characteristics in so remarkable a degree as John Wesley; and he possessed others besides these which were all his own. He was a born ruler of men; the powers which, under different conditions would have made him "a heaven-born statesman," he dedicated to still nobler and more useful purposes. The good which he did among the poor, whom he loved, is simply incalculable; and his long life, which was almost commensurate with the century, enabled him to see the fruits of his labors. Among the poor, at least, he was always appreciated at his full worth. And one is thankful to find that toward the end of his life his character began to be better understood and respected by worthy men, who could not entirely identify themselves with the Evangelical movement.—OVERTON.

*It remained* [italics ours] *for the present generation to do justice to his memory by giving a place in our Christian Walhalla among the great dead to one who was certainly among the greatest of his day.*—OVERTON.

Methodism, in all its branches, is a fact in the history of England, which develops into large and still larger dimensions as time rolls on; this must be felt by every impartial historian, whatever may be his own private opinions.—JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D: "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges."

The rise and progress of Methodism may be regarded *as the most important ecclesiastical fact of modern times*, [the italics are ours,] and requires to be studied in relation to the Established Church of England, the old Nonconformist bodies, and the missionary interests of Christianity throughout the world, by every one who would understand the religious history of the last hundred years.—STOUGHTON.

In another respect the history of Methodism is important and suggestive. Methodism, like Puritanism, might have been, at least to a large extent, preserved as so much vital force within the National Church;

but neither were allowed a place within its precincts. By a hard, narrow, unsympathetic, and exclusive policy, both these parties were forced into a position outside; and the same policy which ejected so many clergymen at the Restoration, and threw off the Wesleyan revivalists, also increased these sections of Dissent in point of numbers. At the same time this policy strengthened and developed the principles which the two sections embodied. At last it placed their followers in an attitude toward the Establishment far beyond what the leaders had ever contemplated. Of course, that policy was meant to strengthen and preserve the Church, but it had an opposite effect. It perpetuated and promoted Nonconformity. What was employed as a means of union and consolidation operated as a solvent, and separated from the rest *the most* [italics are ours] *active elements of the Church's religion.* This might have been foreseen in 1662 : they must have been blind indeed who did not perceive it a century afterward.—STOUGHTON.

Methodism, as an organization outside the National Church, was the result of circumstances more than of design; its development rose out of no fixed plan, but rather resembled the growth of the English Constitution.—STOUGHTON.

A superficial likeness between the Society of John Wesley and the Society of Ignatius Loyola, has laid hold on some imaginations so as to mislead their judgment. The founder of Methodism, like the author of Jesuitism, was a man of rare administrative ability, and the extent, stability, and permanence of the system rival those of the Roman institute; the order and regularity of proeeedings in the one case may be compared with the steady, methodical action of the other. There the likeness stops; divergences branch into contrasts. As to history, what has been said about the origin of Methodism in Wesley's mind, and the discipline of circumstances leading to unanticipated consequenees, presents a story opposed to that of Jesuitism, which began with raising a new order, according to a definite plan framed from the beginning. *The theory* [italies ours] *that Wesley determined on an ambitious scheme for rivaling other denominations is now exploded:* that Ignatius Loyola designed to create a new institution is an indisputable fact. As to aims, Methodism sprung from a simple desire to save souls, however, in the estimation. of some of its critics, it may have involved fanaticism. It pointed to no political ends, it contemplated no intrigues for the attainment of social influence, it embraced no schemes of literary and scientific culture: such objects were compassed and prominently kept in view by the Jesuit Fathers. As to principles, Methodist doctrine is as

much opposed to those of Loyola, as Luther's doctrine is to that of Rome; and Methodist discipline, whatever the defects charged upon it, is thoroughly free from intolerance with regard to other denominations, its constant maxim having been, "the friend of all, and the enemy of none."—STOUGHTON.

The founder of Methodism now asserted authority over the Connection which he had drawn together. Preachers had joined him voluntarily; he accepted their services, and superintended their work. People had come to him for spiritual counsel and help; he had arranged them in classes, and over them he maintained religious discipline. Every thing was freely done on both sides. It was a mutual compact; nobody was enslaved; and those who did not like the arrangements were free to retire from the body. To keep things together a controlling power was necessary; this fell on Wesley as a burden, it was not sought by him as a privilege.—STOUGHTON.

Among such men [Wesley's lay-preachers] John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln, a classical scholar, a learned divine, a man of accomplishments, spent the years of a long life on terms of intimate friendship; and, while ruling them as their superior, he treated them as his brothers or as his sons.—STOUGHTON.

In winding up what has been said respecting English Presbyterianism, it is sufficient to add, that with all the ability of its ministers, all the respectability of its congregations, all the culture of its society, and all the services which it rendered to science, literature and liberty, it did not advance in numbers or in power. So far from it, its history for fifty years was one of decline. The causes are obvious. A dry, hard, cold method of preaching generally marked the pulpit; warm, vigorous, spiritual life appeared not in the pews. No greater contrast can be imagined than between the Methodist and the Presbyterian preacher, the Methodists and the Presbyterian people. The unction, the fire, the moral force, so visible in the one case, is absent in the other. Methodism laid hold on the conscience of England; Presbyterianism did not. The sympathy elicited there is found wanting here; and no culture, no intellectual power, no respectability of position, could make up for the lack of earnest gospel preaching and warm-hearted spiritual life.—STOUGHTON.

It is very remarkable that at this very time the denomination, [the Baptists—whose "spiritual torpor prevailed," whose "religious faculties were benumbed," and among whom, adds our author, "there was thorough-going Antinomianism in practice,"] whether cognizant of it or

not, really caught the bracing breeze which had come sweeping down the hills of Methodism over Baptist meadows, as well as Independent fields.—STOUGHTON.

Methodism, both in Arminian and Calvinistic forms, served to give personal religion ascendency over ecclesiastical government. . . . Methodism grew out of the feeling that religious experience, and the truth which produces it, take precedence of every thing else, and that to these primary objects all which is merely ecclesiastical must be kept in strict and lasting subordination.—STOUGHTON.

Out of such an idea there arose another, namely, that in evangelical piety we are to look for a center and ground of union; that men may differ in Church views and yet be one in spiritual sentiment. . . . From this manner of looking at the subject [that the Church is not identified with any one visible fellowship, but includes the whole "aggregate of souls renewed by truth and affiliated to the divine Father"] there emanated a conviction that it is possible for persons of different denominations to co-operate in acts of charity, not only for temporal, but for spiritual objects. [Such co-operation between Christians of different denominations as issued in the great Missionary, Tract, and Bible Societies, the author contends, resulted from "the memorable Methodist revival," and never could have come from Anglo-Catholicism; for] "Anglo-Catholicism identifies the visible with the invisible Church, orthodoxy with Orders, faith with early Creeds, spiritual life with the administration of Sacraments, and devotion, at least in public, with liturgical worship. . . . This conception is irreconcilable with the ideas which we discover in the folds of Methodism. . . . Nor is it sufficient to refer to the Anglo-Catholic theory alone. To some other theories this idea of union stood opposed. . . . Many Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists were so attached to their own Church ideas, that they could not see their way at once to step out of inclosed vineyards to work on a broad, open common. . . . Sentiments of brotherly love, and a sympathetic desire to promote the common salvation, however, overcame in a great many ministers and laymen the objections they felt at first. . . . Gradually they came to see that some of the proposed methods of united activity involved no compromise of ecclesiastical principle, required no surrender of distinctive practices, and endangered no denominational interests.—STOUGHTON.

Extra services, and particularly public meetings, mark a further change in the popular religion of the day. Before the rise of Methodism, the Book of Common Prayer and the written sermon were the only

forms of religious utterance within the pale of an English parish; and the meeting-house witnessed little or nothing beyond formal Sunday discourses, the singing of Watts' and Doddridge's hymns, and the offering of extempore prayer. But Methodism carried preaching out of consecrated buildings into private houses, public halls, city streets, and village greens. It gave a new impetus to prayer-meetings on week-days; it led to gatherings for religious conversation. Classes and love-feasts were not adopted by the old Dissent any more than by the orthodox Church; but a tendency to social spiritual engagements beyond those of the stereotyped order was, doubtless, one of the effects produced by the Methodist revival.—STOUGHTON.

I do not say he [Wesley] was without faults or above mistakes; but they were lost in the multitude of his excellences and virtues.—Anonymous: Woodfall's "Diary," London, June 17, 1791.

We are not blind to his faults, but even these will be found to have sprung from the sincerity, openness, and native simplicity of his character.—Dr. DOBBIN.

Was Wesley without faults? Not so; no man but "the Man Christ Jesus" ever was.—L. TYERMAN.

But was he faultless? If he had been, he would have been less admirable to us, for the truest human greatness is in the combat with evil; he would have been less suited for his great work, for to men rather than to angels has the Gospel been committed.

The candid student of history will be able to find in all its records but few men who had fewer faults, however many he may suppose he finds who had greater abilities or greater virtues.—ABEL STEVENS.

# THE WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH.

1785–1879.

OUR Methodism never mourned at such a funeral as that of Lovick Pierce; it never can again: for he was born six years before John Wesley died; he became an itinerant preacher during the Christmas of 1804; he was the contemporary of Asbury and M'Kendree; he lived through over three generations of men; and he was a preacher of the gospel of the the Son of God for seventy-five years. When he mounted his horse, in January, 1805, and bade good-bye to his mother for the wide reaches of the Great Pedee Circuit, in South Carolina, there were but five or six millions of people in the United States; when he died, in Sparta, Georgia, on Sunday evening, November 9, 1879, there were fifty millions. When he began his itinerant career the Indians were in Middle Georgia; when he closed it, our white population, ever pushing westward, had stretched its advancing lines from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. He was before steamboats, railways, telegraphs, to say nothing of more recent and wonderful inventions. During his life-time the most notable helps to the progress and civilization of the human race have come into use.

When Lovick Pierce entered upon his work Methodists were counted only by thousands; when he entered upon his reward they were counted by millions. There are more Methodists among the nations called heathen to-day, than were in England and America when Asbury gave him his first appointment. There are more Methodist preachers in Hindustan to-day than were in Great Britain and the United States when Lovick Pierce was "admitted on trial." The Wesleyan Con-

ference in the Fiji Islands—and the Fijians were cannibals when he was in his prime—is nearly as strong in numbers as was Methodism in the United States when he entered its ranks.

It may be mentioned with propriety, also, that the greatest conservative and aggressive movements of the Church have had their beginning, or have taken on their strength, since our translated father began to preach. The great Bible and Tract and Missionary Societies have been organized, or developed into power, since "Providence gave Lovick Pierce to the human race." Within his time the Church has begun to realize her educational function, both in the founding of great schools, colleges, and universities, and in furnishing the people with sanctified literature. That wonder of modern religious life—the Sunday-school movement—has grown into a power that promises untold blessings to the world, since he began to "call sinners to repentance."

He lived through the "heroic days" of the first period of American Methodist history; he lived through the period of its more perfect ecclesiastical organization; he lived to see Methodist Churches planted on every continent and on every chief island of the sea; he lived to see universal Methodism, counting millions in its ranks, and drawing together in holy, fraternal love, gathering up its God-given energies for its grandest achievements; he lived to see—as in apocalyptic vision—the gray lines of light in the East that herald the dawn of the brightest and divinest day in its history.

Full of years, full of honors, trusted and loved through three generations, revered by millions of godly men and women, respected by his fellow-citizens of every class, prized of heaven and ripe for the harvest, he has "fallen on sleep," he has been "gathered unto his fathers," in the "sure and certain hope of the resurrection of the dead." There was sadness in our Methodism, but not lamentation, the day he died. A mighty man and a prince in our Israel has been buried, but

mingled with our tears are songs of victory. The noblest thing that a man can do is to live and die "in the Lord;" and he whom they laid to rest in Columbus, Georgia, November 12, 1879, had "fought a good fight," had "kept the faith," had "finished his course." He has entered into rest; he has won his triumph. If the Senate of Rome voted Cæsar a triumph when he returned victorious from his wars, shall not the Church of God, although bereaved of a trusted leader, rejoice on the day of his triumphant entrance into the city of God, amidst the acclamations of the heavenly host?

What welcomes he has received! How many thousands, helped to heaven through his ministry—how many veterans, his companions in arms, who toiled, and suffered, and triumphed with him through the campaigns of three quarters of a century, but who outran him to glory—have received him into the company of the redeemed!

We can but notice the coincidence in our long-delayed winter, in 1879, and his greatly prolonged life. It was near the middle of November, but the songs of the harvest had not died away, and the woods and fields were still glorious in scarlet and purple and gold. Lovick Pierce lived among men for nearly one hundred years, but he was not like a tree stripped of its foliage—naked and cold under wintry skies. His faculties of intellect and affection were marvelously spared to him, and when he died the reapers were still gathering the harvests of his fields, and there were only the autumn glories to tell us that the summer of his life was over and gone. His last year among us, year of languishing though it was, was a year of usefulness. Many lessons of divine wisdom were given and received in his sick room; and from that hallowed chamber there went forth to the Churches many epistles, rich in doctrine and consolation. As he lay on his bed of suffering, waiting for the coming of his Lord, the tree of his religious life bloomed and fruited anew.

The following "Plea for the Wesley Monumental" Church in Savannah was written by the "old man eloquent" near the close of his long and beautiful life. The building of this Church was, from its beginning, a thing very near and very dear to his heart. With his own hands he laid its corner-stone, and with his prayers he consecrated it to God. Let universal Methodism, giving heed to Dr. Pierce's "Plea for the Wesley Monumental Church," resolve that this monument to Mr. Wesley shall be speedily completed.

## A PLEA FOR THE WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH.*

TO ALL CALLED METHODISTS, GREETING:—

BELOVED BRETHREN:—By reason of my great age and increasing infirmities, to say nothing of life's uncertain tenure—being in the ninety-fifth year of my age, and the seventy-sixth of my active itinerant ministry—I am prompted to address you in this Memorial Volume, that you may know my views concerning the Wesley Monumental Church, in Savannah, Georgia, now in rising progress to its final finish and dedication to the worship of Almighty God. I do this in earnest hope that all Wesleyan Methodists every-where will put into it a nail, a brick, or a pane of glass.

My principal reason for writing as I now write is, because I fear some persons may do themselves and us injustice by entertaining false conceptions of underlying and prompting motives. The Monumental Church may be looked upon as a mere contrivance to meet an exigency. No, my brethren, I can assure you it is not. I have been mixed up with the noble conception of this monument to Mr. Wesley ever since it was pro-

* The substance of the above "Plea"—to which I have prefixed an Introduction written for me by Dr. Haygood—was originally presented by Dr. Pierce in the form of a petition to the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held at Atlanta, Georgia, May, 1878. It was subsequently prepared and given, in its present form, as Dr. Lovick Pierce's contribution to the WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME.—EDITOR.

jected; had the honor to officiate in laying the corner-stone, and to participate in the memorable ceremonies of the occasion. It is intended to be a Monumental Church in honor of Mr. Wesley, as the apostle and founder of Wesleyan Methodism every-where, but eminently in America, where, at his own instance, it was first organized into a Church. That it should be at Savannah was providentially determined by the fact that Mr. Wesley, who afterward claimed the world as his parish, came to America as an evangelist, and began his evangelistic ministry in Savannah. There is the place for the Wesley Monumental Church.

This Church was never thought of as a means of magnifying Southern Methodism, but universal Methodism. Hence we have appealed to all, even to Old England herself, the mother of Methodism, and every-where we have met with approval. We have judged it best to bring this grand enterprise before our millions of Wesleyan Methodists every-where, in Great Britain and Ireland, in Australia, in the Canadas, and in the United States, and wherever Methodism has a home, and ask for enough to complete the building. It will be a blot upon Methodists to let this Monumental Church grow old with its scaffolding around it. It is with great pleasure I state that this edifice is in a state of forwardness which renders its early completion certain. If the Wesleyan family will say so, it shall be completed. There is in this move what will furnish for devout minds, and all who love Wesleyan Methodism, occasion for enlarged faith in God's provisional providence. I suppose for the hundred and thirty-six years that intervened between Mr. Wesley's ministry in Savannah and the conception of building a Monumental Church there in honor of his name, no one thought of it until the idea was happily conceived, in 1875, by the Rev. Alexander M. Wynn, of the South Georgia Conference, who was at that time pastor of Wesley Church in Savannah. At the very time when some nucleus was needed around which hearts rent asunder by

ecclesiastical and civil war might come together again in fraternal union, comes up this Monumental Church. It cannot be that Methodists will fail to unite in thus doing honor to the memory of their great father and founder. From this attractive idea and its correlative issues began to flow the endearing sympathies of fraternal affection.

Your brother in Christ, Lovick Pierce.

# STATISTICS OF METHODISM.

IN the earliest period of Methodism it was a part of the *method* of its founder to write down, for the information of all inquirers, every fact of importance connected with the rise and progress of his Societies. "Minutes of Conversations" between Mr. Wesley and his ministers in their yearly Conferences were carefully printed, showing not only the doctrines and polity of the new movement which he snpervised, and which was justly exciting public attention, but also noting its successes or failures in every department of its economy. This rigid system of statement in detail has given to Methodism a statistical history far superior in variety, extent, and correctness to that of any other religious denomination.

That portion of the British Wesleyan Conference Minutes commencing with the Annual Conference of 1744, and closing with that of 1860, fills fourteen large octavo volumes, with an aggregate of 8,299 pages. The Minutes of the Annual Sessions of Conference since 1860 fill nineteen volumes 12mo., with a total of 7,688 additional pages, many of them in small type, of which a considerable portion is made up of carefully tabnlated statistics. This grand total of thirty-three volumes includes the returns for one hundred and thirty-six years.

The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church thus far issued cover the period from 1773 to 1879 inclusive. These Minutes make seventeen volumes, aggregating 10,387 pages. The gradual and ever-increasing extension of the records of the annual returns marks the constant growth of the Church in all departments of her work. Beginning with a Conference when the whole of American Methodism embraced only ten preachers, and five pastoral

charges, with 1,160 lay members, the first Minutes were circumscribed in scope, and were correspondingly brief in extent. The whole records for the first fifty-six years, covering the period from 1773 to 1828, inclusive, are included in the first volume, of 574 pages. The second volume includes the Minutes of eleven years; the third, seven years; the fourth, six years; the fifth, four years. Beginning with the sixth volume, and with the year 1856, each volume is filled with the records of only two years, and recently, in order to include two yearly records within the proper compass of a single volume, the type has been greatly reduced in size. The last volume (for 1878 and 1879) contains 831 super-royal octavo pages, and of these 402 are filled with tabulated figures closely arranged, and in type so small that a single page contains six times as much matter as a page of this book. The General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, show a similar fullness and exactness of annual numerical returns. The writer has before him the Minutes for 1866 to 1869, 1874, 1875, and 1879. These (embracing the reports of nine years) fill 1,315 pages of similar size to those of the Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In addition to these volumes of "Minutes" are the "Journals" of the General Conferences. Those of the Methodist Episcopal Church alone fill nine large octavo volumes, and furnish, in their reports and other records, a vast amount of connectional statistical information not contained in the Minutes of the Annual Conferences. Those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, report, with similar minuteness, the proceedings of nine quadrennial General Conferences, the last (that of 1878) making a volume of 280 octavo pages. To all these must be added the printed annual reports of the various missionary and benevolent organizations of these two great branches of Methodism. These reports embrace in their several departments a total of many closely-printed volumes of statistical information. Branches of Methodism, inheriting the

usage from the parent Church, are all characterized severally by an ample statistical history. As already indicated, no denomination outside of the Methodist family furnishes statistical information approaching this, either in the scope of the topics or in the regularity, extent, and fullness of the current statistical returns.

In correctness, as well as in scope and fullness, Methodist statistics are also far in advance of those of other denominations in this country. While being far from perfect, (so that there is a desire in all directions among us for improvement,) they are so incomparably more reliable than those of other leading Churches, as to have secured the highest praise from the best statisticians of the age. Hon. Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the last United States Census, in his official report of the same to the Secretary of the Interior, (and by the latter communicated to Congress, and by that body ordered published,*) says:

Some of the larger religious denominations, either in consequence of their peculiar organization, or by reason of special efforts, maintain a careful system of reports and returns, and the statistics of such denominations are accordingly entitled to great consideration.

Foremost among these is the Methodist Church, which, by reason of its episcopal form of government and its scheme of changing periodically the pastors of Churches, is always in possession, as nearly as it would be possible to effect, of the true condition of its organization in all parts of the country to a late date. Dead Churches are not allowed to incumber its rolls, and consequently the lists of its several branches present their exact strength "for duty." This denomination, therefore, affords a high test of the accuracy of the returns of the Census; and, notwithstanding that it presents as much difficulty in enumeration as any other, the general correspondence between the statements embodied in the Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the principal branches of the Church, after making allowance for the known strength of certain minor branches which do not publish official returns, and the statistics

* See "Ninth Census of the United States," 1870. Mr. Walker is also Superintendent of the United States Census of 1880, the returns of which have not yet been published.

of the denomination as given in the Census, is, taking all the States of the Union together, very decided. The slight differences that exist are sufficiently explained by differences between the dates of the returns and by the different rules of construction and classification which would naturally be adopted in doubtful cases by parties acting independently of each other.

There are other denominations—one or two, notably the Baptists, of great importance—in which an absence of central control in the government of the Churches, and the want of a thorough system of reports and returns, deprive Church statistics of value. It is in respect of these, as a whole, that the discrepancies between the claims of the denomination and the results of the Census are greatest. In all such cases full and searching inquiry has been made; the recognized authorities of the Churches interested have been consulted, and assistant marshals have been called on to explain the discrepancy, and to review their own statements. Hundreds of letters have been written from the Census Office on the subject; thousands of Churches have been inquired for; and where differences, after all has been done, still exist, it only remains to be said that if this or that denomination has as many churches as it claims, the agents of the Census have not been able to find them.

Mr. Walker's official report, after furnishing this high testimony to the correctness of our Methodist statistics, proceeds to show remarkable discrepancies between the Census returns and those made by several of the other denominations. The Baptists, he says, report for the year 1870 a total of 17,535 churches, while the Census gives them only 14,084, a difference of 3,061. Another denomination claims 3,121 churches; the Census allows only 2,887; and another claims 3,753, while the Census allows only 1,445! In unanswerable argument Mr. Walker proceeds to show that in each of the cases the disparity arises chiefly, if not wholly, from the incorrectness of the returns made by the Church compilers.

My own inquiries, made with as much thoroughness as possible, assure me of the general correctness of Mr. Walker's conclusions on the subject referred to. I have now before me two *Almanacs* of the Protestant Episcopal Church for 1878. Both seem to be the work of competent compilers, and each,

in the absence of the other, being issued by a well-known and respectable publishing house of that denomination, would be regarded as officially correct. And yet in the reports of members, as given in the *Almanacs*, there is a discrepancy of over 20,000. Which is correct? The troubled inquirer is left to conjecture. The annual register of another denomination, issued since January 1, 1878, and giving the latest statistical summaries, contains two widely different "official statements" concerning members, the discrepancy being nearly 30,000. The statistician in search of correct figures is confounded by such a showing, and retires from the investigation in despair.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, every pastor is required to report each year to the conference secretaries, over his own signature, the statistics of his charge, revised to date; and in case of his decease or absence the Presiding Elder is held responsible for such reports. The reports are usually prepared in duplicate, one of the copies being forwarded to the Publishing House for insertion in the "General Minutes," and the other printed in the local conference minutes, for home circulation. This method of reporting and publishing each year, thus supplementing the system in each pastoral charge of keeping the register of members by classes, and of revising the lists yearly, (and in many charges, quarterly, and even monthly,) secures a very remarkable degree of accuracy in the annual returns of the Church. While there are occasional and even unpardonable mistakes in the reports of the pastors, and in some instances in those of the conference secretaries, (made chiefly in transcribing them,) they are much less frequent than some of our preachers have supposed. Indeed, the more careful and extensive the examination by any competent statistician, the more assuring will be the conclusion that our statistics are, comparatively, a marvel of general accuracy and excellence.

METHODIST ORGANIZATIONS—HISTORIC NOTES.

The term "Methodist" was first applied to the Wesleys and their associates in 1729. The "Holy Club," at Oxford, of which Charles Wesley, then twenty-one years of age, was the founder, was composed of but four members, viz.: Mr. John Wesley, who was fellow of Lincoln College; Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christ Church; Mr. Morgan, commoner of Christ Church, the son of an Irish gentleman; and Mr. Kirkham, of Merton College. They were all young, earnest students and sympathetic religions inquirers. They met four evenings a week for reading the Greek Testament and the ancient classics, and on Sunday evenings for studying divinity. Their rigid adherence to method in their religious habits led to the appropriation to them, by outsiders, of the name "Methodists." The reference to them under this appellation was made in jest by a fellow-student.

Charles Wesley dated his conversion on May 21, 1738; John's conversion took place three days later, viz., May 24, 1738. The first class-meeting was held in Bristol on Thursday evening, April 4, 1839; the first division of the Methodist Society into classes was made at Bristol, February 15, 1742. The first Methodist "United Society was organized by Mr. John Wesley in London in the latter end of the year 1739," and consisted of eight or ten persons. One hundred years from that date the British Conference celebrated the Centennial Anniversary of Wesleyan Methodism, the special Thanksgiving service being held by direction of the Conference on Friday, October 25, 1839.* Mr. Wesley's first sermon in the Old Foundery, London, after its being regularly opened as a place for public worship, was preached November 11, 1739. His first watchnight service was held in Bristol, December 31, 1740. His first Methodist Conference was held in London,

* The offerings in the British Wesleyan Connection aggregated about $1,080,000; in the United States, on the same occasion, the collections aggregated about $600,000.

June 25, 1744, consisting of John and Charles Wesley, four other ordained English clergymen, and four lay preachers.*

**British Wesleyan Statistics, 1880.**—Number of districts, (in Great Britain, 34, in missions, 31,) 65; circuits, (in Great Britain, 721, in missions, 448,) 1,169; itinerant ministers, (in Great Britain, 1,914, in missions, 479,) 2,393; members, including probationers, (in Great Britain, 402,502, in missions, 97,421,) 499,923; total ministers and lay members, 502,319. The numbers were reported from the various sections of the work as follows:

| | Districts. | Circuits. | Ministers. | Lay Members. | Probationers. | Ministers and Members. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 34 | 721 | 1,914 | 376,678 | 25,824 | 404,416 |
| France | 1 | 7 | 8 | 131 | | |
| Germany | 1 | 25 | 30 | 2,117 | | |
| Italy | 2 | 38 | 28 | 1,374 | | |
| Spain and Portugal | 1 | 5 | 8 | 336 | | |
| Malta | 1 | 1 | 2 | 100 | | |
| South Ceylon | 1 | 44 | 40 | 2,154 | | |
| North Ceylon | 1 | 27 | 27 | 857 | | |
| Madras District, India | 1 | 31 | 22 | 582 | 10,636 | 97,903 |
| Mysore District | 1 | 16 | 15 | 560 | | |
| Calcutta District | 1 | 6 | 8 | 143 | | |
| Lucknow and Benares District | 1 | 5 | 6 | 64 | | |
| Canton District, China | 1 | 4 | 10 | 179 | | |
| Wuchang District, China | 1 | 3 | 8 | 174 | | |
| South Africa | 7 | 111 | 114 | 18,288 | | |
| Western Africa | 3 | 53 | 45 | 13,647 | | |
| West Indies | 7 | 72 | 108 | 46,082 | | |
| Total | 65 | 1,169 | 2,393 | 463,466 | 36,460 | 502,319 |

RECAPITULATION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of districts | 65 |
| Number of circuits | 1,169 |
| Number of itinerant ministers | 2,393 |
| Number of lay members | 463,466 |
| Number of probationers | 36,460 |
| Number of ministers and lay members | 502,319 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Sunday-schools in Great Britain | 6,376 |
| Number of Sunday-school teachers and officers | 119,911 |
| Number of Sunday-school scholars | 787,143 |
| Number of volumes in libraries | 744,293 |
| Expenses of Sunday-schools | $332,870 |
| Number of Wesleyan day schools | 851 |
| Number of scholars in day schools | 179,900 |
| Expenses of Wesleyan day schools | $1,088,645 |

* The four clergymen were, John Hodges, Henry Piers, Samuel Taylor, and John Meriton: the four lay preachers were, Thomas Maxfield, Thomas Richards, John Bennett, and John Downes.

The British Conference collections in 1879 for Connectional Funds reached the following totals:

| | |
|---|---|
| For Foreign Missions | $675,701 |
| For Home Mission and Contingent Fund | 172,724 |
| For Theological Institutions | 49,921 |
| For School Fund | 45,946 |
| For General Education | 42,292 |
| For Children's Fund | 132,500 |
| For Wornout Ministers' Fund | 116,194 |
| For General Chapel Fund | 49,007 |
| Total in 1879 for Connectional Funds | $1,284,285 |
| Raised in 1879 to relieve Church debts | $213,275 |
| Paid in 1879 for new Church edifices | $1,916,220 |

The above is exclusive of the sum raised directly for pastors' salaries and for Thanksgiving Fund.

THANKSGIVING FUND.—This great Special Connectional offering was planned in 1878, and duly reported to the Conference in 1879. At first it was proposed to raise the sum of $1,000,000. This was soon raised to $1,200,000; later, to $1,500,000; and still later, fixed by the Conference, at $1,575,000! On November 3, 1880, the subscriptions to the Fund had already reached the magnificent sum of $1,497,470.

**Primitive Methodist Church.**—The Primitive Methodist Connection was organized in England in 1810. The first Society was composed of ten members, none of whom had ever been members of any other Church. Hugh Bourne, its founder, also began the organization of the Primitive Church in Canada and in the United States in 1844. The Sixty-first Annual Conference was held at Grimsby, England, commencing June 9, 1880. The official numerical returns (exclusive of Canada) gave the following summaries: 17 districts; 174,469 members; 1,041 traveling preachers; 14,244 local preachers; 10,220 class-leaders; 4,072 Connectional chapels; 1,846 other preaching places; 3,884 Sunday-schools; 57,016 teachers; 363,336 Sunday-school scholars, and 7,772 catechumen members. The value of Church property is over $10,000,000. Thirty-six ministers were received on probation. The members in Australia and New Zealand number 7,689; in South Australia, 2,004; Victoria, 2,749; New South Wales, 1,300; Queensland, 578; New Zealand, 1,067.

The new theological school at Manchester (costing over $30,000) has now twenty-two ministerial students. Thirty-three candidates for the ministry were accepted at Conference.

**Methodist New Connection Conference.**—This body was organized in England in August, 1797. The eighty-fourth Annual Conference was held in Staffordshire, England, June 14, 1880. The statistics show:

| COUNTRIES. | Chapels. | Societies. | Circuit Preachers. | Local Preachers. | Members. | Probationers. | Sunday-School's. | Teachers. | Scholars. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England | 426 | 415 | 166 | 1,086 | 25,393 | 3,755 | 425 | 10,796 | 76,126 |
| Ireland | 9 | 8 | 8 | 12 | 699 | 102 | 8 | 116 | 609 |
| Australia | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 120 | 14 | 2 | 25 | 330 |
| China | 41 | 26 | 4 | 39 | 809 | 260 | 14 | 14 | 185 |
| Totals in the Connection.. | 478 | 451 | 180 | 1,138 | 27,021 | 4,131 | 449 | 10,951 | 77,250 |

A Thanksgiving Fund of $100,000 was inaugurated, and $10,000 of it was subscribed at the Conference. It was proposed to give $27,500 to the Home Mission Fund, and the same amount to establish a Connectional Loan Fund. There are five English missionaries employed in China, one of them a medical missionary, assisted by twenty-eight Chinese assistant missionaries and catechists.

**United Methodist Free Churches.**—This organization was formed in England in 1857. It was composed of the Wesleyan Methodist Association (organized in 1836) and a large number of Wesleyan Reformers, who dated their beginning in 1827. The following statistics were reported at the recent Annual Assembly: Itinerant ministers, including supernumeraries, 431; local preachers, 3,391; leaders, 4,249; members, 72,044; members on trial, 7,433; Sunday-schools, 1,345; Sunday-school teachers, 26,919; scholars, 189,038; missionary contributions in 1880, about $90,000.

**Bible Christians.**—This branch of British Methodism was founded in Cornwall, England, in 1815, by William O'Bryan, a local preacher. In doctrine and Connectional polity they are similar to the Wesleyans. They began their organizations in Canada in 1833, and have since organized an Annual Conference there, with a publishing house and periodicals at Bowmanville, Ontario. The numerical returns report 84 circuits and home missions in England and 114 abroad; 307 itinerant preachers; 1,882 local preachers; 32,051 lay members; 53,450 Sunday-school scholars; and 9,860 teachers.

**Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.**—These are the outgrowth of the societies organized by the followers of Whitefield in 1743. They

are Wesleyan in general usages, having conferences, etc., but are Calvinistic in doctrine, and hence are not classed with Arminian Methodists. In 1879 they reported 565 ministers and 119,809 lay members.

**Wesleyan Reform Union.**—This smallest of the English Wesleyan Methodist branches was organized in 1848. The returns of 1879 report 19 preachers and 7,623 lay members.

**Methodism in Ireland.** — Methodism was introduced into Ireland in 1747 by Thomas Williams, who crossed the channel and preached in the streets of Dublin. A little later in the same year (August 9, 1747) Mr. Wesley preached his first sermon in Dublin. Irish missions were commenced by Dr. Coke in 1799. Irish mission schools were established in 1823. Charles Wesley bought the first "preaching-house" in Dublin soon after John's first visit. It was at "Dolphin's barn," near the present Cork-street Chapel. The first Sunday-school was held in Cork in 1791. The One Hundred and Eleventh Irish Wesleyan Conference (the ninety-sixth annual) was held in Dublin, June 15–25, 1880. The next Conference is to be held in Cork, June 17, 1881, and is to be composed of one hundred ministers and one hundred laymen.

*Statistics.*—Preachers, 247; districts, 10; circuits, 137; lay members, 25,186; Sunday-schools, 309, with 2,754 teachers and 24,440 scholars; collection for Home Mission and Conference Fund, $17,591; for General Mission Fund, $27,668; for Auxiliary Fund, $3,026; for Chapel Fund, $2,296; for General Educational Fund, $979; total Connectional collections, $51,560. Wesley College, Dublin, (built at a cost of $102,475,) has 237 pupils. Belfast College has 288 pupils. The Conference resolved to raise a Thanksgiving Fund of $100,000, to be appropriated thus: Methodist Union Guarantee Fund, $10,000; Home Mission and Contingent Fund, $40,000; Methodist Orphan Fund, $5,000; Fund for the Education of Ministers' Daughters, $15,000; to relieve debt of Wesley College, Dublin, $20,000; for theological department in Methodist College, Belfast, $5,000; for foreign missions, $5,000.

**Methodism in Australasia.**—The first Methodist mission was opened in New South Wales (then a penal colony of Great Britain) in August, 1815. The first Annual Conference was formed in January, 1855. The Australasian General Conference was organized in May, 1875. The work is now divided into four Conferences, holding their annual sessions in January. Their sessions in 1880 were held as follows: New South Wales and Queensland, Sydney, January 21; Victoria and Tasmania, at Melbourne, January 21; South Australia, at Adelaide, January 20; New Zealand, at Dunledin, January 21. The statistics give the

following totals: Ministers, 423; local preachers, 3,763; Church members, 66,905; adherents, 331,862; chapels, 2,128; Sunday-schools, 2,478; Sunday-school teachers, 13,648; Sunday-school scholars, 134,183.

Included in these summaries are the following totals reported from the four missionary districts of Fiji, Samoa, the Friendly Islands, and New Guinea, viz.: 16 European and 78 native ministers; 30,999 Church members; 125,472 adherents; 42,950 Sunday-school scholars; 1,003 churches; and 397 other preaching-places. There are four colleges: Newing College, New South Wales; Horton College, Tasmania; Prince Alfred College, South Australia; and Wesley College, (Theological Institute,) New Zealand. The next General Conference is to be held in Adelaide, in May, 1881.

The above are exclusive of the returns of the other Methodist Churches. The recent census of New Zealand gave a total Methodist population in that colony alone of 35,975, of which 3,676 were Primitive Methodists.

**Methodism in Sweden.**—The Methodist Episcopal Church work was introduced into Sweden by John P. Larsson, under the supervision of Rev. O. P. Petersen, in 1854. Owing to the law against holding public religious services outside of the State Church, no organization was effected until 1864, when a mission was begun at Wisby, in the island of Gottland. In 1867 the work opened in Stockholm. The following are the statistical summaries for 1880: Districts, 3; native traveling preachers, 61; native local preachers, 79; lay members, 7,824; average attendance at public worship, 16,475; baptisms during the year, 200; Sunday-schools, 128; scholars, 6,436; church edifices, 47; halls and other preaching-places, 32; value of churches, 462,325 crowns; collections for Missionary Society, 6,108 crowns; for other benevolent societies, 625 crowns; for self-support, 10,442 crowns; for church building and repairing, 9,385 crowns; total, 26,560 crowns.

**Methodism in France.**—The first Wesleyan Societies were formed in 1790. The first French Methodist district meeting was held at Perrieres, April 20, 1820. The French Conference was organized in 1852. The twenty-eighth Conference was held at Le Vigean, July 1, 1880. Statisties: Preachers, 29; local preachers, 92; evangelists, 16; class-leaders, 92; lay members, 1,844; day schools, 9, with 355 pupils; Sunday-schools, 49, with 287 teachers and 2,559 scholars; number of attendants, 10,622; chapels, 162.

**Methodism in Germany.**—The first Wesleyan preacher, C. G. Müller, organized societies in Wurtemburg in 1830. The Methodist

Episcopal Church was introduced into Bremen in November, 1849, by Dr. L. S. Jacoby. His first sermon was preached December 23, 1849. The first Sunday-school was organized in Bremen, and the German Book Concern started, in 1850. In 1856 the Methodist Episcopal Conference of Germany and Switzerland was organized by Dr. Jacoby, and included 9 traveling and 7 local preachers, 428 members, and 99 probationers. The first number of *Der Evangelist* was issued May 21, 1850. In 1854 *Der Kinderfreund*, the first Sunday-school paper, was started.

The statistical summaries of the Methodist Episcopal Conference of Germany and Switzerland for 1880 are as follows: Itinerant preachers, 68; local preachers, 59; members in full, 9,444; probationers, 2,377; total lay members, 11,821; baptisms during the year, 846; Sunday-schools, 372; officers and teachers, 1,522; Sunday-school scholars, 18,716.

Our English Wesleyan brethren have one district in Germany, embracing 25 pastoral charges, 30 traveling preachers, 35 lay preachers, and 2,117 lay members.

**Methodism in Norway.**—The first Methodist missionary from the United States, O. P. Petersen, reached Norway in 1853. The Churches were organized into a Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1876. The statistics in 1880 were as follows: Circuits, 27; preachers, 32; local preachers, 16; full lay members, 2,588; probationers, 409; total lay members, 2,997; baptisms during the year, 221; churches, 22; parsonages, 3; value of churches and parsonages, 310,518 crowns; Sunday-schools, 42; officers and teachers, 311; scholars, 2,285.

**Methodism in Denmark.**—The mission work was successfully organized in 1858 by Rev. C. Willerup at Fredericshald. There were in 1879: Missions, 1; local preachers, 4; preaching-places, 44; lay members, 712; baptisms during the year, 39; Sunday-schools, 14, with 59 teachers and 696 scholars. The Conference collections aggregate $2,044.

**Methodism in Italy.**—Methodism was first introduced into Italy by the preachers of the French Conference in 1852, and a Society was organized at Turin. The British Wesleyan missionary work was begun in 1861, and that of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1872. The latter Church reported in October, 1880: Missionaries, 1, assistant missionaries, 1, native preachers, 16, total preachers, 18; full lay members, 570, probationers, 245, total preachers and lay members, 833: churches, 1, (in Rome,) valued at $19,000; parsonages, 1, valued at $3,000; Sunday-schools, 9; number of preaching-places, 14. The mission publishes one paper, "La Fiaccola," a monthly. Including the

Wesleyans there were in 1880 in Italy 48 Methodist ministers, 2,932 lay members, and 44 churches. Two of these are in Rome and three in Naples.

**Methodism in Bulgaria.**—The Methodist mission work in Bulgaria was opened by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1857. Revs. Wesley Prettyman and Albert L. Long were the first missionaries. The statistics of 1879 report 2 American and 4 native Bulgarian ministers, 33 lay members, and 2 Sunday-schools.

**Methodism in India.**—The British Wesleyan Missionary Society opened its first mission in Ceylon in 1813, and in India proper in 1817. The present statistics of that society's work are given on page 704. The Methodist Episcopal missionary work in North India was opened by Rev. William Butler, in North Bengal, in 1856. Rev. William Taylor opened a new mission in Bombay in 1872; and later, initiated extensive Church work in the leading cities of Southern India. So rapidly has the work spread in India that it is now embraced in two Annual Conferences, reporting in 1879 a total of 6 districts, 46 missionaries, 1,780 probationers, 2,907 members; total lay members, 4,687: 871 baptisms during the year; 38 churches, and 59 parsonages, valued at $222,072; 205 Sunday-schools, with 637 teachers and 8,993 members; 195 day schools, with 340 teachers and 7,097 scholars.

**Methodism in China.**—The Methodist Episcopal mission work was opened in 1847 by M. C. White and J. D. Collins; that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was opened in 1848 by C. Taylor, M.D., and Revs. B. Jenkins and W. G. E. Cunnyngham; that of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1852; that of the United Methodist New Connection in 1872. The United Methodist Free Churches have also a successful mission in China.

*Statistics.*—In 1879 the Methodist Episcopal Church reported 3 missions, viz.: Foochow, Central China, and North China, with 25 American missionaries and 12 assistants; 86 native preachers; 12 Bible women; 2,370 lay members and probationers; 266 baptized children; 25 day schools, with 370 pupils; 53 Sunday-schools, with 907 pupils; 59 chapels and 18 parsonages, valued at $54,901. In 1880 the British Wesleyan Church reported 2 districts (Canton and Wuehang) and 6 circuits, with 19 preachers and 353 full members. In 1879 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, reported in China, 5 missionaries, 8 native preachers, 2 women missionaries, 6 Bible women, 19 Sunday-school and 11 day-school teachers, 97 Church members, and 186 scholars in Sunday-schools and 105 in day schools.

**Methodism in Japan.**—In 1873 Rev. Dr. R. S. Maclay as superintendent, assisted by Revs. J. C. Davison, J. Soper, M. C. Harris, and I. H. Correll, organized the mission work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Japan, with Yokohama as head-quarters. The statistics of 1879 gave the following summaries: Missionaries, 8; assistant missionaries, 5; native helpers, 40; total agents of the Missionary Society, 53: lady missionaries of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 5, with 5 native assistants; lay members and probationers, 620; day schools, 7, with 346 pupils; Sunday-schools, 7, with 773 pupils; churches, 5, valued at $12,500; parsonages, 5, valued at $17,500.

The Methodist Church in Canada has also opened a prosperous mission work at Tokio and Shidzuoka, Japan; but the latest reports of that work have not been received.

**Methodism in Africa.**—The British Wesleyans sent their first missionaries to Sierra Leone in 1811, and to South Africa in 1814. In 1880 the minutes of that Church reported a total of 7 districts, 111 circuits, 114 preachers, and 31,935 full members. The Methodist Episcopal Church organized its work in Liberia in 1833. The Liberia Conference returns of 1879 show 4 districts; 18 preachers; 47 local preachers; 2,110 lay members; 29 churches and 3 parsonages, valued at $22,925; 30 Sunday-schools, with 221 teachers and 1,560 scholars. The United Methodist Free Churches have also a flourishing mission work in Africa, but the recent statistics are not in hand.

**Methodism in Mexico.**—Under appointment of the Methodist Episcopal Church Rev. Dr. William Butler organized the mission work in the city of Mexico in the spring of 1873. In the same year the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, entered the same field, the early work being supervised by Bishop Keener. In 1879 the Methodist Episcopal statistical summaries were as follows: Missionaries, 6; assistant missionaries, 6; missionaries of Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 4, assisted by 4 Bible women; missionary teachers, 12; Mexican preachers, 13; lay members, 544; pupils of orphan school, 70; day-school teachers, 24, with 473 scholars; Sunday-school teachers, 33, with 479 scholars; theological students, 7; churches owned by the mission, 5; other preaching-halls, 14; parsonages, 5; value of Church property, $94,400; collections during year, $4,253.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, reported in 1879 in the Central Mexican Mission 30 stations, 14 preachers, 531 members, and 15 Sunday-schools, 8 day schools, with 186 Sunday-school scholars and

105 scholars in day-schools. In its Central Mexican Mission, (along the Rio Grande,) 13 stations, 14 missionaries, 651 members, 4,800 church attendants, 25 Sunday-schools, and 472 scholars.

**Methodism in South America.**—The first Methodist Church was planted in Buenos Ayres in 1835 by Rev. F. E. Pitts. There are now three principal missions, viz.: at Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, and Rosario. The latest summaries show 3 missionaries and 3 assistants; 6 missionaries sent by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. There were also 3 native preachers and 6 local preachers; 693 lay members; 3 churches and 1 parsonage, valued at $61,000; 12 Sunday-schools, with 58 officers and teachers and 770 scholars. In 1879 Rev. William Taylor visited the western coast of South America, and opened schools and missions in several of the principal towns in Peru and Chili, and a year later repeated this work in Brazil. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has stations at Rio de Janeiro and Piracruca, with two missionaries and 36 members.

**Methodism in the United States.**—The first Methodist Society in America was organized in New York in October, 1776, by Philip Embury, a Wesleyan local preacher. Not far from the same time Robert Strawbridge, also a local preacher, began preaching in Frederick County, Md. Two years later, on the last Sunday in October, 1778, the John-street Church (then named Wesley Chapel) was dedicated. The present Methodist organizations in the United States, with their latest reported statistical summaries, are briefly represented below.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—Organized out of the previous Wesleyan Methodist Societies at the "Christmas Conference," 1784. Statistics for 1879: Annual Conferences, (in 1880,) 95; missions not included in Annual Conferences, 8 home missions and 9 foreign missions; bishops, 13; itinerant preachers, 11,636; local preachers, 12,475; lay members and probationers, 1,700,302; adult baptisms during 1879, 63,218, infant baptisms during year, 56,565, total baptisms for year, 119,783; church edifices, 16,955; value of churches, $62,520,417; parsonages, 5,689; value of parsonages, $8,435,092; total value of churches and parsonages, $70,955,509; Sunday-schools, 20,359; officers and teachers, 217,967; Sunday-school scholars, 1,449,315; missionary receipts for the year, $551,859 30; Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, $66,843 69; Church Extension Board, $110,653 98; Freedmen's Aid Society, $75,260 76; total Conference collections, $882,278 91.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.—This Church was organized at a convention of delegates from the Southern Conferences of the Meth-

odist Episcopal Church, held in Louisville, Kentucky, May 1, 1845. The first General Conference was held in 1846. Statistics for 1879: Bishops, 6;* Annual Conferences, 39; missions not included in Annual Conferences, 3; itinerant preachers, 3,867; local preachers, 5,832; white members, 816,294, colored members, 1,251,† Indian members, 4,931, total members, 822,476; total preachers and lay members, 832,175: adult baptisms during year, 49,798, infant baptisms during year, 28,011, total baptisms during year, 77,809; Sunday-schools, 8,941; Sunday-school teachers and officers, 58,528; Sunday-school scholars, 421,137; collections for Conference Claimants, $66,833 62; collections for missions, $129,713 47. The Church South has missions in China, Mexico, and Brazil. (See p. 711.)

OTHER METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES.—The space allowed for this article compels the writer to omit the historic and statistical notes prepared concerning the other branches of the great Methodist family in the United States, except such as are given in the General Summary of Methodist Churches on page 714.

**Methodist Churches of Canada.**—In 1828 the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada organized in a separate jurisdiction from the Church in the United States. The Canada Wesleyan Conference in 1833 changed its polity and became affiliated with the British Wesleyan Conference. In 1874, by a union of the Wesleyan and New Connection Conferences with the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America, the METHODIST CHURCH OF CANADA was organized. The statistics of 1880 show 6 Annual Conferences, with a total of 1,182 traveling ministers, 861 circuits, 122,627 lay members, 3,486 preaching-places, 1,802 Sunday-schools, 16,216 officers and teachers, and 126,818 scholars. Soon after the Canada Conference (in 1833) became affiliated with the British Wesleyan Conference, about one twelfth of the body, with a number of preachers, declined connection with the latter body, and in 1834 reorganized the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF CANADA. The statistics for 1880 furnish the following summaries: Annual Conferences, 3; bishops, 1, districts, 10; itinerant preachers, 281; local preachers, 299; deaths, 307; members, 28,070; church edifices, 536; parsonages, 130; value of churches and parsonages, $1,372,510; number of Sunday-schools, 423; officers and teachers, 3,591; scholars, 25,119.

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*Exclusive of Bishop Doggett, who died October 25, 1880.

†Most of the colored members have been absorbed in the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

## GENERAL SUMMARY OF METHODISTS.

The following summaries have been compiled from the latest official statistics reported by the several branches of the great Wesleyan Methodist family. Those of the Methodist Episcopal Church are to January 1, 1880, and include the official numerical returns of the autumnal Conferences of 1879. Those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are for 1879. Those of the Canadian, British, and affiliating Conferences are for 1880. In two or three of the Churches the numbers of local preachers are "estimated;" but in each of those by distinguished members of large observation in the respective denominations.

| I. EPISCOPAL METHODISTS IN UNITED STATES. | Itinerant Ministers. | Local Preachers. | Lay Members. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Methodist Episcopal Church | 11,636 | 12,475 | 1,700,302 |
| Methodist Episcopal Church, South | 3,549 | 5,832 | 828,301 |
| African Methodist Episcopal Church | 1,418 | 3,168 | 214,808 |
| Methodist Episcopal Zion Church | 1,500 | 2,500 | 190,900 |
| Colored Methodist Episcopal Church | 638 | 683 | 112,300 |
| Evangelical Association | 839 | 585 | 112,197 |
| United Brethren | 2,152 | .... | 154,796 |
| Union American Methodist Episcopal Church | 101 | 22 | 2,550 |
| Total Episcopal Methodists in United States. | 21,833 | 25,265 | 3,316,154 |
| II. NON-EPISCOPAL METHODISTS IN UNITED STATES. | | | |
| Methodist Protestant Church | 1,314 | 925 | 113,405 |
| American Wesleyan Church | 250 | 200 | 25,000 |
| Free Methodist Church | 271 | 328 | 12,642 |
| Primitive Methodist Church | 196 | 162 | 3,210 |
| Independent Methodist Church | 24 | .... | 12,550 |
| Total Non-Episcopal Methodists in U. S. | 2,055 | 1,610 | 166,807 |
| III. METHODISTS IN CANADA. | | | |
| The Methodist Church of Canada | 1,190 | 3,537 | 122,955 |
| Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada | 282 | 299 | 28,070 |
| Primitive Methodist Church | 96 | 270 | 8,222 |
| Bible Christian Church | 73 | 197 | 7,254 |
| British Methodist Episcopal Church (Colored) | 41 | 20 | 2,100 |
| Total Methodists in Canada | 1,682 | 4,323 | 168,601 |
| IV. METHODISTS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND MISSIONS. | | | |
| British Wesleyan Methodists in Great Britain | 1,914 | 18,711 | 402,520 |
| " " Missions | 485 | 5,600 | 96,824 |
| Primitive Methodists | 1,142 | 15,517 | 182,691 |
| New Connection Methodists | 177 | 1,149 | 30,853 |
| Wesleyan Reform Union | 18 | 611 | 7,728 |
| United Free Methodists | 431 | 3,469 | 79,477 |
| Bible Christians (including Australia) | 234 | 1,874 | 21,292 |
| Welsh Calvinistic Methodists | 565 | 1,560 | 119,809 |
| Total Methodists in Great Britain and Missions | 4,966 | 48,691 | 940,194 |

| V. WESLEYAN AFFILIATING CONFERENCES. | Itinerant Ministers. | Local Preachers. | Lay Members. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Irish Wesleyan Conference | 244 | 1,800 | 25,186 |
| French Wesleyan Conference | 29 | .... | 1,844 |
| Australasian Conference | 433 | 3,771 | 69,297 |
| Total in Wesleyan Affiliating Conferences | 706 | 5,571 | 96,327 |
| GRAND TOTAL OF MINISTERS AND LAY MEMBERS. | | | |
| Methodists in Churches in United States | 23,888 | 26,875 | 3,482,961 |
| " Dominion of Canada | 1,682 | 4,323 | 168,611 |
| " Great Britain and Missions | 4,966 | 48,691 | 940,194 |
| " Affiliating Conferences | 706 | 5,571 | 96,327 |
| Grand total of Methodists in 1880 | 31,242 | 85,460 | 4,688,093 |

NOTE.—Total Methodist *population*, (estimated,) 23,440,465.

GENERAL COMPARATIVE RELIGIOUS STATISTICS IN UNITED STATES.

| | Ministers. | Lay Members. |
|---|---|---|
| All Methodists in the *United States*, January 1, 1879 | 23,888 | 3,506,891 |
| All Baptists in the United States | 20,292 | 2,656,221 |
| All Presbyterians in the United States | 8,301 | 897,598 |
| All Lutherans in the United States | 2,976 | 808,428 |
| All Congregationalists (including Unitarians) | 3,496 | 375,654 |
| All Protestant Episcopalians (including Reformed Episcopal) | 3,147 | 321,367 |
| All Universalists | 711 | 37,500 |

NOTE.—In the number of Ministers here given the Local Preachers are not included. The Methodist Local Preachers (many of whom are ordained, and a large number have been pastors of Churches) number in the United States 25,498. The total number of Methodist preachers in the United States in 1879 (*not including other countries*) was 48,526.

## STRENGTH OF METHODISM BY STATES.

The space in this volume appropriated to this article will not permit the insertion of tabulated statistics showing the strength of the Churches in the several States in the United States in comparison with other denominations. The writer has before him the official "Census of the State of New York for 1875," recently issued by the State authorities at Albany, and as the figures therein were compiled by impartial agents, and are later by five years than any similar statistics from other States, they are selected and inserted in full. They show the relative strength of the various religious denominations in the Empire State, and indicate a fair average class of facts which would appear in similar statistics from a considerable number of the great States of the Union. Indeed, in some of the States, especially in the South and West, the

aggregate strength of Methodism would appear to even greater relative advantage than it does in the State of New York.

| DENOMINATIONS IN STATE. | Organizati'ns | Edifices. | Sittings. | Membership. | Property. | | Annual Amo'nt Paid for Salaries of Clergy. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Ch'ch Edifices, with Lots. | Other Real Estate. | |
| Methodist Episcopal..... | 1,785 | 1,766 | 619,382 | 180,782 | $14,566,397 | $2,428,475 | $1,157,885 |
| African M. E..... | 48 | 47 | 14,065 | 3,261 | 274,800 | 16,400 | 19,095 |
| African M. E. Zion ..... | 5 | 5 | 2,075 | 111 | 20,700 | 500 | 2,100 |
| Calvinistic Methodist.... | 17 | 17 | 4,975 | 1,090 | 74,500 | 8,050 | 5,294 |
| Evangelical Association.. | 60 | 60 | 17,595 | 5,786 | 437,200 | 49,650 | 33,935 |
| Independent Methodist.. | 1 | 1 | 175 | 5 | 1,000 | 50 | 150 |
| Methodist Protestant.... | 15 | 15 | 3,531 | 884 | 28,300 | 3,245 | 5,005 |
| Primitive Methodist..... | 2 | 2 | 900 | 205 | 48,500 | 8,000 | 1,500 |
| Reformed Methodist..... | 5 | 5 | 1,250 | 217 | 7,300 | 1,700 | 1,300 |
| United Brethren in Christ | 4 | 4 | 870 | 130 | 4,400 | 1,500 | 750 |
| Free Methodist..... | 89 | 85 | 22,685 | 3,716 | 234,260 | 27,700 | 30,538 |
| Wesleyan Methodist..... | 52 | 52 | 13,175 | 2,713 | 148,300 | 15,850 | 17,464 |
| Total Methodist..... | 2,083 | 2,059 | 700,678 | 198,900 | $15,845,657 | $2,561,120 | $1,255,016 |
| Baptist..... | 823 | 812 | 313,653 | 100,886 | $8,371,800 | $648,375 | $630,391 |
| Freewill Baptist..... | 109 | 102 | 29,350 | 6,051 | 284,600 | 43,225 | 38,190 |
| Seventh-Day Baptist..... | 26 | 26 | 8,305 | 3,335 | 76,150 | 5,475 | 10,178 |
| Total Baptist..... | 958 | 940 | 351,308 | 109,972 | $8,732,550 | $697,075 | $678,759 |
| Presbyterian..... | 716 | 708 | 338,442 | 111,660 | $16,590,300 | $2,523,870 | $950,770 |
| United Presbyterian..... | 55 | 55 | 24,970 | 9,015 | 564,100 | 86,625 | 61,710 |
| Reformed Presbyterian.. | 23 | 23 | 9,250 | 3,023 | 356,700 | 9,075 | 28,650 |
| Total Presbyterian .... | 794 | 786 | 372,662 | 123,698 | $17,511,100 | $2,619,570 | $1,041,130 |
| Friends, Hicksite..... | 22 | 22 | 10,650 | 1,583 | 346,100 | 14,850 | ..... |
| Orthodox..... | 24 | 24 | 6,750 | 987 | 68,650 | 700 | ..... |
| Not specified ..... | 45 | 44 | 11,705 | 2,394 | 221,200 | 14,900 | ..... |
| Total Friends..... | 91 | 90 | 29,105 | 4,964 | $635,950 | $30,450 | ..... |
| Protestant Episcopal .... | 561 | 552 | 226,092 | 78,515 | 21,616,750 | 2,984,620 | 810,872 |
| Congregational..... | 258 | 257 | 107,847 | 30,922 | 3,210,300 | 402,700 | 265,045 |
| Refo'ed (Dut.) Ch. in U.S. | 237 | 235 | 109,815 | 35,397 | 5,770,298 | 2,168,325 | 301,240 |
| Evangelical Lutheran.... | 201 | 200 | 77,731 | 34,439 | 2,010,000 | 453,360 | 136,658 |
| Union..... | 147 | 147 | 43,515 | 7,747 | 682,100 | 20,950 | 37,796 |
| Universalist..... | 115 | 113 | 41,978 | 9,651 | 1,413,400 | 38,300 | 96,280 |
| Christian Connection .... | 102 | 100 | 28,555 | 6,270 | 247,920 | 25,500 | 34,991 |
| Campbellites..... | 26 | 26 | 8,340 | 2,330 | 111,700 | 700 | 15,265 |
| Second Adventists ..... | 14 | 13 | 2,992 | 609 | 28,150 | 3,425 | 3,250 |
| United Evangelical Ch'ch | 13 | 13 | 5,970 | 3,699 | 68,300 | 6,500 | 8,425 |
| Reformed Church in U.S. | 11 | 11 | 4,610 | 1,821 | 85,000 | 18,900 | 9,300 |
| Unitarian..... | 10 | 16 | 8,560 | 2,477 | 817,000 | ..... | 46,000 |
| Moravian..... | 10 | 10 | 2,515 | 663 | 163,400 | 20,250 | 5,300 |
| True Reformed Dutch Ch. | 7 | 7 | 2,120 | 244 | 73,500 | 2,000 | 3,900 |
| New Jerusalem Church.. | 7 | 6 | 1,575 | 206 | 158,800 | 5,000 | 8,100 |
| Shakers ..... | 3 | 3 | 2,000 | 326 | 35,000 | ..... | ..... |
| Independent..... | 2 | 2 | 880 | ..... | 40,000 | ..... | 2,900 |
| Seventh-Day Adventists. | 2 | 2 | 350 | 84 | 5,600 | 650 | ..... |
| Mennonites ..... | 2 | 2 | 300 | 61 | 700 | ..... | ..... |
| Advent Chris. Association | 1 | 1 | 300 | 53 | 4,500 | ..... | 600 |
| Roman Catholic ..... | 613 | 609 | 387,226 | * 518,714 | 18,301,590 | 4,366,490 | 467,814 |
| Jewish ..... | 46 | 43 | 25,446 | 5,775 | 3,536,500 | 65,500 | 79,590 |
| Grand total in New York | 6,320 | 6,243 | 2,537,470 | 1,177,470 | $101,105,765 | $16,491,385 | $5,308,231 |

* The Roman Catholic Church counts in its membership the whole of its *population*—including men, women, and children, irrespective of practical religion or age. Hence the numerical returns of that denomination are not to be considered in any equitable comparison between the leading Churches of the country.

The remarkable relative success of Methodism thus far in this and in other countries imposes upon her ministers and members corresponding obligations of continued loyalty to her "doctrines," "polity," and "usages." *Hic signis vincemus.*

# APPENDIX.

In 1875, while the Rev. Alexander M. Wynn was pastor of the Wesley Church, in Savannah, Ga., he happily conceived the idea of building the Wesley Monumental Church. Mr. Wynn early conferred with his presiding elder, the editor of this volume, who gave to the scheme his unqualified commendation. Its warm approval by the Quarterly Conference composed of Wesley Church and Trinity Church, was soon most heartily given. It was, from the first, decided to make the enterprise a connectional and ecumenical one, and that all Methodists, who honor the name of John Wesley, should be invited to take part in it. It was confidently believed that it would prove a pledge of fraternal union between the various branches of the great Methodist family, and bring them into closer fellowship. In this spirit the enterprise was begun, and in this spirit it has been steadily carried on. In our godly judgment, as we believe, no Church scheme was ever more fully baptized by prayer and faith, or begun with an eye more single to the glory of God, whose servant John Wesley was, and the general good of that Methodism which he founded and bequeathed to his followers.

Solicited by the Quarterly Conference in Savannah, and urged by his presiding Bishop, George Foster Pierce, D.D., LL.D., the editor of this volume entered upon the task of uniting in this enterprise the Methodisms of the world. For two years his efforts were purely tentative—only a part of his time taken from his regular pastoral labors being devoted to it. This was kept up, at intervals, until the meeting of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held at Atlanta, Ga., May, 1878. At that General Conference the Monumental Church received the unanimous approval of that great body, and the editor who writes these lines was appointed, commissioned, and sent to the various Methodisms of the world to solicit the co-operation of them all. In so doing the General Conference gave the highest assurance of the connectional and ecumenical char-

acter of the work. For what sectional or merely local Church, by any possibility, could have secured such approval from the General Conference? Thus commissioned, the editor began anew his labors, and with what success the following papers will show:

I. FROM THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

To build a befitting monument in honor of our great founder we ask the friends of Christ and of Methodism every-where to help us, believing that now is pre-eminently a fitting time, and that Savannah is, beyond all others, the place in America to erect such a Christian memorial of mutual fellowship, fraternity, and love.

A. M. WYNN, Pastor Wesley Church, Savannah,
E. H. MYERS, Pastor Trinity Church, Savannah,
J. O. A. CLARK, Presiding Elder, Savannah District,
LOVICK PIERCE, South Georgia Conference,
CHARLES F. DEEMS, Church of the Strangers, New York City,
J. HOLDICH, Secretary American Bible Society.

R. PAINE,
GEORGE F. PIERCE,
H. H. KAVANAUGH,
W. M. WIGHTMAN,
D. S. DOGGETT,
H. N. M'TYEIRE,
J. C. KEENER,
*Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.*

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The South Georgia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, December, 1875, passed the following preamble and resolutions:

*Whereas*, It is proposed to erect in the city of Savannah, Ga., a monument to the memory of John Wesley, the illustrious founder of Methodism, in the form of a beautiful and commodious church edifice, to be called the Wesley Monumental Church; and

*Whereas*, Such a building has been commenced and is in course of erection, with the promise of completion at no distant day; and

*Whereas*, This enterprise is one which appeals strongly to every Methodist heart, and should awaken a feeling of interest in every member of the Church which bears his honored name;

*Resolved*, 1. That the erection of such a monument meets with the cordial approval of this Conference, and that we commend this enterprise to the favorable consideration of our ministers and members throughout the South Georgia Conference, and bespeak for it their generous co-operation and assistance.

2. That we gratefully recognize and appreciate the favor with which this enterprise has been met by our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Wesleyan Methodist Church, and the material aid which has been given by them.

3. That we commend to the generous sympathies of Methodists throughout the world the pastor of this Church, or any other person properly authorized to represent its interests and solicit aid in bringing to a successful completion this fitting testimonial of our love and veneration for the memory of John Wesley.

4. That the Presiding Bishop be requested to give Rev. Dr. J. O. A. Clark such an appointment as will enable him to give a large part of his time to the interests of this Church.

D. S. DOGGETT, *Presiding Bishop.*

S. D. CLEMENTS, *Secretary.*

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At the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held at Atlanta, Ga., U. S. A., May 1–25, 1878, the following resolutions were heartily and unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, 1. That the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in General Conference assembled at Atlanta, Ga., May 9, 1878, indorse the Wesley Monumental Church at Savannah, Ga., and commend it to Methodists the world over as an enterprise eminently proper and meeting our hearty approval.

2. That the bishops be and are hereby authorized, when they deem it expedient, to appoint an agent to represent this memorial church to Wesley, and to solicit the aid of Methodists every-where to bring it to an early completion.

In accordance with the action of the General Conference, it was announced to the Conference that the Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D., was set apart and commissioned for the special work contemplated in the above resolutions.

THOMAS O. SUMMERS, *Secretary.*

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*To the Methodists of the United States, the Canadas, Great Britain, and Ireland, greeting:*

Know, therefore, that by the authority of the General Conference, and with the consent and approval of the College of Bishops, I, as the bishop presiding in the South Georgia Annual Conference, have appointed the Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D., agent for the Wesley Monumental Church at Savannah, Ga.

Dr. Clark is an effective member of the South Georgia Annual Conference, a brother worthy and well beloved, and is hereby commended to your confidence, sympathy, and co-operation. Receive him in the name of our Lord; and for the sake of our common Methodism and the name of the great and good Wesley—whom we venerate as you do—help him in the work to which he has been appointed.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

Signed by the authority of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the College of Bishops authorizing and approving.

GEORGE F. PIERCE,

*One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.*

ATLANTA, Ga., U. S. A., *May* 25, 1878.

Besides the above general commission a special commission was given to the Wesleyan Conference of Great Britain, which was presented to the Conference at Bradford.

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II. FROM THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

ROUND LAKE, N. Y., *July* 9, 1875.

*To whom these may come, greeting:*

The bearer, the Rev. Dr. J. O. A. Clark, by proper authority, represents the proposition of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Savannah, Ga., to build in that city a Wesley Monumental Church.

We think the proposal a beautiful and very important one. We cordially commend it to all Methodists every-where, especially to those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and bespeak for it their sympathy and financial assistance.

E. S. JANES,
W. L. HARRIS,
THOMAS BOWMAN,
I. W. WILEY,
R. S. FOSTER,
E. G. ANDREWS,
*Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

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At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Round Lake Camp-meeting Association, held at Round Lake, July 10, 1875, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:

*Whereas*, It is contemplated to erect a Monumental Church at Savannah, Ga., to commemorate the scene of Wesley's earliest and only labors in America, an enterprise in which the whole family of Methodism throughout the world will be appealed to,

*Resolved*, That we depart from a fixed rule of this Association, prohibiting all financial collections on these grounds, in this exceptional instance, which can never again occur, and that we heartily invite all like-minded to participate in this most filial and worthy undertaking, and to present their offerings to our esteemed brother, Rev. Dr. Clark, the representative of the Savannah Church.

JOSEPH HILLMAN, *President.*

W. S. KELLEY, *Secretary.*

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At the Round Lake Camp-meeting a collection was taken up for the church in Savannah. The late Bishop Janes, then senior Bishop, introduced the subject in the name of the trustees of the Association, and headed the subscription, which was conducted by the Rev. Dr. Ives. Nearly $1,500 was the result. There were also several special pledges. A gentleman of Troy promised the altar railing; Mrs. Dr. Newman the Bible; Mrs. Hillman the Hymn Book; Mrs. Bishop Simpson the communion service; and Mrs. Dr. Sewall, of Baltimore, pledged the ladies of the North to furnish the auditorium. In this work Mrs. Sewall will be assisted by Mrs. Governor Wright, of New York; Mrs. Dr. Newman, of New York; Mrs. Hillman, of Troy; Mrs. General Fisk, of St. Louis; Mrs. Bishop Simpson, of Philadelphia; Mrs. President Hayes, of Washington City, and others.

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At a meeting of the Philadelphia Camp-meeting Association, held at Chester Heights, July 22, 1875, the following action was taken:

*Resolved*, That we assure Dr. Clark of our full sympathy in the Monumental Church to Rev. John Wesley. We regard this effort to perpetuate the memory of our illustrious founder under God as worthy of the aid and co-operation of all lovers of our common Methodism.

We most cordially recommend Dr. Clark and the Wesley Monumental Church to the liberality of our friends and brethren here and in all parts of the country.

J. B. M'CULLOUGH, *President.*

T. A. FERNLEY, *Secretary.*

At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Baltimore, the following was given:

BALTIMORE, *May* 30, 1876.

*To whom these may come, greeting:*

We heartily approve the indorsement of the Wesley Monumental Church—now building in Savannah, Ga.—by our colleagues at Round Lake, July 9, 1875, and, with them, think the proposal "a beautiful and very important one," and cordially commend it to the sympathy and liberality of Methodists every-where, and especially to those of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

L. SCOTT,
M. SIMPSON,
G. HAVEN,
S. M. MERRILL,
JESSE T. PECK,
*Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

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From the Fraternal Messengers of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Wesleyan Conference at Bradford, England:

*To the Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland, greeting:*

The Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D., a member of the South Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of the United States of America, with a commission from his General Conference, held at Atlanta, Ga., May, 1878, is endeavoring to procure from those who cherish the name of John Wesley, wherever they may live, contributions to aid in the erection of a substantial memorial church in Savannah, Ga., where John Wesley lived and preached two years, and tried several of the methods afterward more fully developed in Great Britain and America.

Dr. Clark's enterprise has already reached a good degree of success, and in due time will, without doubt, be completed. Savannah is a large and growing city, and this church will be a memorial, and also practically and constantly useful. Numbers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North have contributed toward it; and already the presentation of the object in different parts of our country has had a marked effect in reviving and deepening the fraternity of the two great Methodist Churches in America.

We shall be glad to see the memorial church completed by contributions from all lands where John Wesley's work is known and admired.

THOMAS BOWMAN,
E. O. HAVEN,
*Fraternal Delegates from the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Wesleyan Conference of Great Britain, at Bradford.*

LONDON, *August* 20, 1878.

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III. FROM GEORGIA'S SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March* 17, 1876.

We, the undersigned, members of the Forty-fourth Congress from the State of Georgia, take great pleasure in recommending the Wesley Monumental Church, now building in Savannah, Ga., to the memory of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, and solicit for it the sympathy and financial aid of the people of these

United States every-where, north and south, east and west, believing it to be an enterprise eminently worthy, and pre-eminently calculated to develop and foster that fraternal spirit, the return of which to all parts of our common country all good men desire to see.

T. M. NORWOOD, U. S. Senator,
J. B. GORDON, U. S. Senator,
JULIAN HARTRIDGE, M. C., First District,
WILLIAM E. SMITH, M. C., Second District.
PHILIP COOK, M. C., Third District,
J. R. HARRIS, M. C., Fourth District,
J. H. BLOUNT, M. C., Sixth District,
W. H. FELTON, M. C., Seventh District,
BENJAMIN H. HILL, M. C., Ninth District.

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IV. FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *June* 22, 1878.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure of introducing to you the Rev. Dr. Clark, of Georgia. He is a distinguished clergyman of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, and is about to go abroad in the interests of an enterprise connected with the Church. I will esteem it a favor personal to myself if you can aid him.

Sincerely, R. B. HAYES.

Hon. JOHN WELSH, *Minister to England.*

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V. FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June* 25, 1878.

*To the Diplomatic and Consular Officers of the United States:*

GENTLEMEN: I take pleasure in introducing to your acquaintance the Rev. Dr. J. O. A. Clark, of Macon, Ga., who is about proceeding abroad on a commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the Wesleyan Conference of Great Britain.

I beg to commend Dr. Clark to such courtesies on your part as may be in your power, not inconsistent with your official duties.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant, W. M. EVARTS.

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VI. FROM THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES.

LYNCHBURGH, VA., *April* 16, 1879.

*Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D.:*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Allow us the pleasure of presenting to you the fraternal greetings of the Methodist Protestant Church in connection with your laudable enterprise of erecting a memorial church in Savannah, Ga., and to assure you that our Church is sensitively observant, not only of every thing pertaining to our holy Christianity, but of every thing that relates to our cherished Methodism; and that in common with every other branch of the Methodist family, the members of the Methodist Protestant Church will be highly gratified with your complete success.

The appropriateness of such a monument to the ministry of Mr. Wesley in Savannah must be apparent to all, and will be duly appreciated wherever Methodism is known. For who can tell what Methodism owes to the providential association of the Wesley brothers with the Moravian immigrants, who accompanied them in their mission to our American shores?

May our common Methodism never cease to be "Christianity in earnest."

Yours in the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,

L. W. BATES, *President.*

G. B. M'ELROY, *Secretary.*

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VII. FROM THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES.

ROOMS OF THE BISHOPS' COUNCIL OF THE
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
BALTIMORE, MD., *April* 25, 1879.

Having been informed—through the agency of the Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D.—of the purpose and plans of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to erect a monumental house of worship in the city of Savannah, Ga., commemorative of the life and work of the apostolic Wesley and our common Methodism, and deeming the enterprise admirably adapted to fraternize all the branches of the great Methodist family;

We, the Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, do hereby indorse the enterprise; and, looking forward with pleasure to its ultimate success, we earnestly wish it God-speed.

In testimony whereof we severally subscribe our names.

DANIEL A. PAYNE, Senior Bishop,
ALEXANDER W. WEYMAN,
JABEZ P. CAMPBELL,
JAMES A. SHORTER,
T. M. E. WARD,
JOHN M. BROWN.

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VIII. FROM THE COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF AMERICA.

MACON, GA., *December* 18, 1878.

We, the undersigned, take great pleasure in recommending the Wesley Monumental Church, now building in Savannah, Ga., as an appropriate and eminently worthy memorial of John Wesley, the founder of our common Methodism.

W. H. MILES,
J. A. BEEBE,
L. H. HOLSEY,
ISAAC LANE,
*Bishops of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America.*

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IX. FROM THE METHODIST CHURCH OF CANADA.

MONTREAL, *January* 31, 1879.

MY DEAR DR. CLARK: The scheme to erect a memorial church in the city of Savannah has, from the very first, been to me full of interest, as tending to honor the name of the beloved founder of Methodism. For evermore is the name of

Savannah sacred in our Methodist annals as the place where the heroic spirit of Wesley began to be trained for that magnificent work which, under God, he subsequently accomplished. I am confident that the sympathies of the Methodist Church of Canada are with you in your great and noble work.

Wishing you every sueeess, I am yours, etc.,

GEORGE DOUGLASS,
*President of the General Conference*
*of the Methodist Church of Canada.*

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X. FROM THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF CANADA.

BELLEVILLE, ONT.,
CANADA, *January* 17, 1879.

*Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D.:*

DEAR BROTHER: The projeet of a Wesley memorial church in Savannah has my hearty accord. There is an inspiration to coming generations in monuments; and to Methodists—indeed, to the Christian world—no more inspiring or instructive monument could be reared than a worthy church edifice at the center of interest of Wesley's labors on the American continent, signalizing that thus far he had taken the world for Christ.

With Christian and fraternal greetings,

A. CARMAN,
*Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada.*

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XI. FROM THE WESLEYANS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The action of the British Wesleyan Conference, begun at Bradford, England, July 23, appears in the "Minutes" of the Conference, as follows:

SAVANNAH MEMORIAL CHURCH.

The Conference, having heard a statement from the Rev. Dr. Clark, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in reference to a project for building a memorial church to commemorate the labors of the Rev. John Wesley, at Savannah, Ga., cordially recommends this scheme to the favorable consideration and hearty sympathy of the Connection.

In "The [London] Watchman" and in "The [London] Methodist Recorder" the action of the same Conference was reported as follows:

Dr. Clark, of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, gave an address on the subject of the John Wesley Monumental Church, which was being built in Savannah, Ga. He said he stood before them in the name and by the authority of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and he might also say, in reference to his special object in now addressing them, of the whole Methodism of the United States. They propose to build a Monumental Church to Mr. John Wesley, in Savannah. They could not forget that it was in Savannah that John Wesley originated the class-meeting and the Sunday-school. It was there, too, he was led to apprehend the doctrine of Christian perfection, and there his high-Church notions got their death-blow. It was at Savannah he gathered the children in Sunday-school nearly fifty years before Mr. Raikes first conceived the idea in England. Mr. Wesley had to bless God in after years for having led him to Georgia. In Sa-

Savannah Mr. Wesley's name had done as much for the Episcopal Church as for Methodism, and his influence probably accounted for the evangelical views which were long characteristic of the Episcopal clergy of Georgia.

Dr. Gervase Smith said he had listened with delight to the address. If the Conference could do any thing to further the object which Dr. Clark had in view, he should be thankful.

The President, the Rev. Dr. Rigg, said that it was very desirable that Methodism should have a Monumental Church at Savannah, a church worthy of, and corresponding to, Mr. Wesley's work in Georgia.

Dr. Smith then moved, which was seconded by Dr. Punshon and Dr. Pope, that the Conference heartily commend this undertaking to the kindly consideration of our people, which was unanimously agreed to.

The President, addressing Dr. Clark, said: We are very glad to have had among us a representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. That Church has done wonders for the colored people of the Southern States, and has preserved Methodist doctrines and traditions with singular fidelity.

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The following editorial, from the pen of the Rev. John H. James, D.D., ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference, and editor of "The [London] Watchman," appeared in that paper September 4, 1878:

THE WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH IN SAVANNAH.

We have much pleasure in calling attention to the appeal of Dr. Clark relative to the erection of the above-named church. That appeal is so powerfully backed by the highest Methodist authorities, both in America and England, and is, moreover, in itself, so reasonable and graceful, that we can hardly doubt of its success. There is, perhaps, no episode in all our founder's history more strangely or painfully interesting than that of his sojourn in Georgia, and his checkered and disappointing experiences there. He went out before he had attained to the clear and definite experience of spiritual religion, partly in the natural but delusive hope of finding rest to his soul while laboring for the conversion of the Georgia Indians. By the good providence of God he learned not a little of the nature of evangelical godliness on his outward voyage, but not enough to rescue him from the fear of death, or to appease altogether the unrest of his soul. He was destined to much vexation and disappointment, and to become the victim of a good deal of misrepresentation and calumny. These, however, were overruled for good, and were among the links of that mysterious chain which, soon after his return to England, drew him into the broader and brighter places of scriptural assurance and spiritual serenity and peace. Nor was his work in Georgia by any means wholly in vain. Had he done no more than bring the young under systematic religious instruction, that fact alone should have sufficed to immortalize his name; for he anticipated by nearly half a century the plans and labors of Robert Raikes. But he did much more.

Defective as was his knowledge of evangelical theology, it was far in advance of that of almost all his fellow-clergymen; and he left the impress of that theology so clearly and deeply stamped that the Protestant Episcopal clergy of the State of Georgia have been singularly free from latitudinarianism on the one hand, and ritualistic superstition on the other. Indeed, this fact has operated unfavorably upon

the extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Savannah. It seems to us a fair and reasonable ground for appealing to British Wesleyanism on the present occasion to remind them of the fact that Savannah was the sole scene of the personal labors of John Wesley in the United States; and we hope that many will practically acknowledge how graceful would be the act of building a memorial church in honor and commemoration of the founder of Methodism in this sphere of his earliest missionary labor.

Possibly this may be pooh-poohed as being purely sentimental. Even if we were to grant that there is a good deal of this in it, the scheme would not much differ from a good many with which we are, and long have been, pretty familiar. But it has this feature in common with such enterprises generally—that, if it savors of sentiment in its origin, it is eminently and most benignly practical in its aims. It proposes to erect not only a sanctuary that, in its size and architectural excellence, shall be worthy of the great man after whom it is to be named, and of the great American Church, which is the most wonderful among the manifold results of his labors, but it is intended also to promote the work of varied and extensive Christian education. These are objects dear to all true Wesleyans, wherever the attempt is made to carry them out; and they should command the practical sympathy of British as of all other Methodists.

The proposal comes recommended to us by another powerful consideration, namely, that it has had quite the effect of the olive branch between the Northern and the Southern Methodist Churches of the United States. The unhappy separation which the question of slavery induced between the North and South a generation ago has ceased to be a cause of strife between the two Churches; and one of the first signs of the passing away of the mutual alienation then engendered has been the generous, warm, and brotherly reception given to the proposal by the highest authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the liberal response rendered to the appeal of its Bishops by the members of that Church generally. Every one familiar with the disastrous results of the separation, and the feeling of intense mutual hostility which it engendered, will rejoice exceedingly at this cheering token and presage of "the healing of the breach;" and will be ready to foster it according to his ability. We trust—nay, we have sanguine hope—that it may prove to be the bridge on which both parties may move forward, not only to perfect accord, but to early re-incorporation; and it is worth any one's while to place a stone or a brick in a structure which is likely to help forward such a result.

Some persons will inquire wonderingly, how it comes to pass that Methodists of America should think of asking British Wesleyans for help in such an undertaking. Well, the scale of the proposed undertaking is large enough to require cosmopolitan support; and the uniqueness of the historical circumstances constitutes a justification of the proceeding. Besides, let us remind our readers of the amazing generosity which the Methodists of America have shown, in more instances than one, toward Wesleyan schemes on this side of the Atlantic—notably, in aid of some of the most recent and important projects for the consolidation and extension of Methodism in Ireland. Now, British and Irish Methodism are emphatically one. Both are under the supreme government of "the Conference of the people called Methodists," and ten Irish ministers are members of the body to which, in law, that designation belongs. Surely some practical return is due for all that transatlantic generosity. Surely the hearty and general support of Dr. Clark's proposals by all Methodists in all parts of the world will be a worthy way not only of maintaining but of exhibiting "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." The scattered

members and communities of other Churches are seeking to draw closer the bonds of mutual sympathy and fellowship. In some attempts having that object in view we are pained to see, that apparently it can only be attained by a degree of theological compromise which, however it may promote external uniformity, has in it no element or promise of real and vital unity. But here there is no such danger. The Methodist theology, all the world over, is singularly symmetrical and uniform; and a closer union and co-operation between the branches of the great Methodist family would be a real and a mighty gain to the cause of true unity.

The Conference has heartily indorsed the scheme, which is emphatically commended by such men as the President, and Drs. Punshon and Gervase Smith; all of whom know America well. For all these reasons, and for others which need not now be named, we commend the cause which Dr. Clark advocates to the sympathizing and generous support of the Wesleyan Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland.

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In "The [London] Methodist," September 13, 1878, the Rev. J. Jackson Wray, its editor, wrote the following leader:

THE JOHN WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH IN SAVANNAH.

The exhaustive and interesting statement made by our transatlantic visitor, Dr. Clark, to the members of the late Conference, and published *verbatim* in our columns, together with the unusually emphatic credentials which this worthy representative of Methodism in the Southern States enabled us to print in a later number of The Methodist, renders it almost needless to call the attention of our readers to the important mission which has brought him to our shores. It is intended to erect a large and handsome Methodist church in Savannah, and to attach to it an educational agency which shall be of great and lasting service to the interests of Methodism, and therefore of evangelical Christianity throughout the whole of the region round about. We do not hesitate to say, that there is good reason why British Methodism should not only be willing but eager to have part and lot in this important undertaking. In the first place, let it be remembered that the State of Georgia was the scene and center of John Wesley's missionary labors in the United States. It was on his outward journey thither that important progress was made in his religious views and feelings, progress which had much to do with his full reception of the heavenly vision in after times. There he was in labors more abundant, under the influence of a constraining hunger for the truth and for the peace which it alone can bring, which appears to us to form one of the most impressively touching episodes in his remarkable history. There he anticipated the grand idea of Robert Raikes, and instituted a Sunday-school organization, the forerunner and germ of one of the most glorious evangelic movements of the nineteenth century. There, too, John Wesley succeeded in laying the basis of so clear and distinct an evangelical Christianity that all the phases of thought and changes of opinion which have obtained since then have been unable to move the Church he established from the pure simplicity of the faith once delivered to the saints. In the second place, this idea of a Savannah memorial church has already done, and is still doing, very much to heal the wound made by the separation in a past generation of the Southern from the Northern Churches on the slavery question. Strong sympathy with the present movement has been shown by Bishops, ministers, and members of the Northern Church, and all the signs of the times point with hopeful

finger to the full reunion of the two in the bonds of amity and peace. We should count it an honor and a joy to be able in any wise to aid in the rewelding of the bonds of holy Methodistic brotherhood that have been too long asunder. In the third place, British Methodism may well be anxious to show a parental interest in and an earnest anxiety for the welfare of that most muscular and stalwart of all her children, the Methodist Church of America. Methodism all round the world is essentially one in doctrine, almost one in discipline, and certainly in aim; and he is a true and genuine Methodist who strives heartily and constantly to bring all the sections of this great religious family into intimate relationship each with the other. In many ways, and by many means, the mighty Methodism of the West has shown its interest in, and its esteem for, the old Church at home, and we should be thankful for such a practical opportunity of reciprocating such real affection and good feeling. Dr. Clark's mission is to secure financial aid in England and Ireland for this grand memorial enterprise. Those of our leading ministers who have personal acquaintance with Methodism in America—men like Drs. Jobson, Pope, Punshon, and Smith—have indorsed the application. The Conference has passed a unanimous resolution in its favor; and we would sincerely hope that this respected deputation from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, will return to his native land bearing abundant and tangible proof of the love, esteem, and good wishes of British Methodism for those across the Atlantic who bear the same name, honor the memory of the same noble apostolic founder, are loyal to the same doctrinal formulas, and are engaged in the same glorious mission of spreading scriptural holiness through all lands. We wish God-speed to Dr. Clark in the accomplishment of his errand, and bespeak for him a kind reception and a hearty response from the "Methodist Societies in Great Britain and Ireland."

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In "The [London] Recorder," September 27, 1878, there appeared a strong address by the Rev. Dr. Gervase Smith, ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference, urging upon British Methodists the claims of the Wesley Monumental Church. Accompanying and introducing Dr. Smith's address was the following leader, from the pen of its editor, the Rev. W. Morley Punshon, LL.D.:

We earnestly ask the attention of our readers to a letter from the Rev. Dr. Gervase Smith, which we publish this week. It is exceptional for any scheme not directly conferential to be thus warmly advocated, but the circumstances, as the doctor says, are not only exceptional, but unique. A memorial church and schools to John Wesley in the city of Savannah!

There is something cosmopolitan, and inspiring also, in the thought. To devout students of the ways of God with man, how deep emotions are stirred, and holy recollections awakened, as the memories of John Wesley in Georgia rise before the eye of the mind! A bootless mission, an unsatisfactory waste of time and labor, an ascetic experiment in a disastrous retreat, after the exhibition of a rigid austerity, and no small heroism of determined purpose—such are the conclusions to which many would come in reference to Mr. Wesley's residence in Savannah. But who can doubt that all this discipline was part of a grand preparative process by which he was schooled through the "uses of adversity" for future usefulness and blessing; by which he was taught sympathy, and patience, and self-renunciation, and courage—apostolic graces which the apostolical life, to which he was designated, required.

The Georgian era, no less than the subsequent experience, is the traditional heritage of universal Methodism. True, he was then a ritualist, a bigot, and a somewhat severe and unbending neophyte in government; but these were only the youthful exaggerations of great virtues. His ritualism was simply reverence gone mad for the time; his bigotry was subdued by the wise Providence which ordained that his greatest blessings should come to him through channels which he would at one time have despised; and the mortification of his Georgia failure taught him to govern more wisely, and impressed on him the truth which Church rulers are so slow to learn, that the compactest system is of infinitely less value than the feeblest man. We repeat it: John Wesley was the better for his toil and travail in Savannah, and that city ought to possess a temple to his memory to which all Methodism had gratefully contributed, and which will be more to the glory of God and to the fulfillment of his great life-work than the memories which now cluster only around "Wesley's Oak" and "Wesley's Spring."

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In the "Wesleyan-Methodist Sunday-school Magazine" for October, 1878, the Rev. Charles H. Kelly, editor of the magazine, and Sunday-school Secretary of the Wesleyan Conference, with the full and hearty approval of Dr. Rigg, the President of the Conference, put the engraving of the Wesley Monumental Church, and accompanied it with the following editorial:

WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH AND SUNDAY-SCHOOL IN SAVANNAH.

Very properly it has been resolved to erect a suitable monument to the memory of John Wesley in the only city in America in which he was minister.

The connection of Wesley with Savannah, though short, was eventful, and, though painful, it was interesting. As Methodists, perhaps we may be thankful both for its brevity and bitterness. Probably if it had been more agreeable to our founder, Georgia might have had a splendid missionary, and Savannah a very able and worthy citizen in Wesley; but Methodism might never have been known, and Great Britain and the world would have suffered terribly in consequence. But God rules all things wisely.

We are thankful that Georgia's loss was Christendom's gain. Now, after all these years our friends in Savannah propose to erect a monument to Wesley. Of what sort is it to be? Wisely they have determined that it shall be a memorial church and Sunday-school of noble proportions, and admirably constructed. This is far better than having a great bronze or marble statue in some public place. That might be beautiful as a work of art, and commemorative, but it would continue bronze or marble—it would be a dead thing; but in this church and school there will be life. In them the work of Wesley will be continued. The gospel will be preached and taught. Living minds and souls will be wrought upon, and in each case a man or woman, youth or maiden, boy or girl, will go forth from the monumental building a personal monument of the blessedness of the religion of Wesley's great Master.

We do not wonder that the Savannah Methodists wish to enlist the sympathies of all members of the Methodist family scattered over the world in their enterprise. They are very anxious that the Sunday-school workers and scholars in Great Britain and Ireland should contribute one or two memorial windows for the auditorium or the Sunday-school. A subscription of two hundred guineas will secure the first, and one hundred guineas the second. Will our Sunday-school

friends help this movement? Let them remember that John Wesley was, when at Savannah, a pioneer in Sunday-school work, for that he engaged in it in that city nearly fifty years before Robert Raikes began his movement in Gloucester. Let us help, therefore, to adorn this monument where he did commence the school. A very little effort will insure immediate success. One collection even at the school doors would realize the whole amount. Let what is done be done quickly, as the Rev. Dr. Clark shortly leaves England. Contributions can be sent to the Rev. Dr. Clark, care of the Rev. Charles H. Kelly, Secretary of the Connectional Sunday-School Union, 2, Ludgate Circus Buildings, London, E. C.

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The Rev. Dr. James, in "The [London] Watchman," October 16, 1878, published two addresses to the Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland, the one, by Chancellor E. O. Haven, a fraternal messenger from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States to the Wesleyan Conference of Great Britain and Ireland, in the interest of the proposed Ecumenical Methodist Council; and the other by the editor of this volume, in behalf of the memorial church in Savannah. In "The Watchman," of the same date, the leader given below was written by Dr. James:

DR. HAVEN AND DR. CLARK.

Our readers will, we have no doubt, peruse the letters of these two distinguished men which we print on the preceding page. Dr. Haven's letter relates to a subject which awakened considerable interest at the recent Conference in Bradford, in reference to which subject the Conference appointed a committee to meet during the year to consider the proposal, and to report to the next Conference. We feel some difficulty in appearing, in any degree, to anticipate the discussions of that committee. It will meet in perfect freedom and confidence, and will give to the subject the thorough and respectful consideration which its own importance, and the great and weighty influence of the quarter whence the question comes, demand. There is something captivating to the imagiuation in the prospect of an "Ecumenical Methodist Conference." Perhaps, however, there may be a good many who will think, as the doctor himself did awhile ago, that such gatherings are "more ornamental than useful." That aspect of the question will assuredly receive the attention of the committee, as will the practical as well as sentimental reasons which our much-esteemed correspondent urges in behalf of the proposal. Of one thing we may be sure, namely, that if held at all, such a Conference would be formed on an inclusive and not exclusive principle. There is considerable diversity of form, polity, and even ritual, among the various bodies of Methodists in the world; and each section would be duly represented. Moreover, no "burning questions" would be likely to produce fiery and angry discussion. At the present moment the ecclesiastical differences between the various forms of Methodism, which were once matters of such fierce controversy, are fewer and smaller than they ever were, and are likely to become fewer and smaller still. Theological controversy is out of the question. The simple and broad basis of Wesley's first four volumes of "Sermons," and his "Notes on the New Testament" has been sufficient to secure pretty complete doctrinal unity; and on the vital truths embraced in the experimental theology of Methodism there is far more than merely substantial agreement.

The questions with which an Ecumenical Methodist Conference would have to deal would be almost exclusively practical; and we may entertain the sanguine

hope that it would be highly promotive of that unity which distinguishes the Methodist Churches even now above all others, and creates among Methodists of every shade a family feeling all over the world. The spirit which originated the proposal in America, and in which it was commended to the British Conference by Dr. Haven, will secure for it as favorable a consideration as possible; and whatever may be the decision on the immediate question, we cannot doubt that good results will follow.

We could wish that Dr. Clark had had the opportunity of urging his case before such a Conference. We feel unbounded confideuce as to what the result would be. It is very likely, indeed, that a Pan-Methodist Conference would have secured for our respected guest all, and perhaps more than all, that he so powerfully and eloquently pleads for in his speeches and letters. We beseech our readers to give his vigorous, eloquent, and fine-tempered letter the candid and attentive perusal which it so obviously deserves. We should be sorry indeed if he should return disappointed to Savannah.

There can be no reason whatever why a world-raised monument should not be built in memory of him whose motto was, "The world is my parish;" but very many reasons may be, and have been, given why it should. And if it should, surely no place is more appropriate than Savannah, where his first missionary labors began, and where, in spite of his personal disappointments, and apparent failure, he has left an evangelical savor which "smells sweet" to this very day.

There is no little pathos in Dr. Clark's eloquent appeal, and the spirit of British hospitality, as well as that of Methodist brotherhood, calls for a worthy response. The kind of *tu quoque* argument in which the writer indulges is perfectly just and true, and sets out what, if the circumstances and parties were reversed, would unquestionably be the action of American Methodists; nay, what has been their action in more than one instance. Dr. Robinson Scott and Mr. Hazleton could each tell us with what warmth of sympathy and liberality each of their respective appeals was answered in the United States, though these appeals related to purely local matters. True, in one sense, the Wesley Monumental Church in Savannah is a local matter, and that city will derive the chief and abiding benefit. But it is fitting that every lover and admirer of John Wesley should have a brick in such a house.

Our friends inform us that they are about to take their flight. We are sorry for it, but personal health and home duties make irresistible demands. We can only say, that their visit has been the cause of both pleasure and profit to multitudes of their fellow-Methodists in the United Kingdom. Our readers will follow them with kindly wishes and earnest prayers, and we trust that each of these beloved and esteemed visitors to our shores will speedily see the realization of the object which is so dear to his heart.

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XII. FROM THE METHODIST NEW CONNECTION IN ENGLAND.

GREAT CLOWER-STREET,
MANCHESTER, *October* 18, 1879.

*Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D.:*

MY DEAR SIR: By the favor of our esteemed editor, the Rev. J. Hudston, I have received an intimation that you are engaged in an effort to raise a Wesley Monumental Church in Savannah, Ga.

I think this a most worthy object, and you are at liberty to use the appended recommendation in any way you may think best.

Yours very truly,

JAMES OGDEN,

*President of the Methodist New Connection Conference in England.*

Dr. Clark is engaged in a movement to build a Wesley Monumental Church in Savannah, Ga.

He comes with well-authenticated credentials, and I think his object a very worthy one. It will give me very great pleasure to know that our friends who have the ability assist in the furtherance of an aim so eminently worthy.

JAMES OGDEN, *President.*

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XIII. FROM THE UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND.

16 PALATINE SQUARE,
BURNLEY, *April* 5, 1879.

*Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D.:*

MY DEAR BROTHER: In reply to your favor I beg to say, that I heartily concur in and sympathize with the proposed Wesley Monumental Church in Savannah, and in the memorial volume you are about to publish. I trust the British branches of Methodism will give it all possible sympathy and support. Such a memorial, sustained by all the branches of Methodism, must tend to strengthen the bands of friendship and good-will between the two foremost Protestant nations of the earth.

Wishing you all success in your noble enterprise,

I am, my dear brother, very truly yours,

WILLIAM BOYDEN,

*President of the Conference of the United Methodist Free Churches.*

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XIV. FROM THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS OF ENGLAND.

WHITBY, ENGLAND, *April* 14, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Dickinson has forwarded your letter to me, and in reply I beg to say that as a Primitive Methodist minister I cordially approve of your proposal to erect a church in memory of the father of Methodism. But I am unable to write officially on this subject without the sanction of our Conference, which cannot be obtained before the latter part of June.

As to your memorial volume, my engagements are so numerous between this time and June that it is impossible for me to contribute an article that would be of any service to you or credit to me. But I will forward your papers to our editor, and ask him to comply with your request.

Praying God to bless your undertaking,

I am, dear sir, yours very truly,

HENRY PHILLIPS,

*President of the Primitive Methodist Conference.*

XV. FROM THE REV. MATTHIEU LELIÈVRE, OF THE METHODIST CHURCH IN FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND.

NIMES, FRANCE, *February* 8, 1879.

*Rev. Dr. Clark:*

DEAR BROTHER: I read yours of Jan. 6th with the greatest interest. Your project of building a memorial church, in remembrance of Wesley, in the city of Savannah, Ga., where he preached, I considered from the first a capital idea. I likewise admire your intention of associating with the stone monument one of another nature, and of a more general interest. Your memorial volume will evidently be a very interesting work. The names of your associates and the subjects treated by them furnish a most enticing programme.

I feel highly honored in occupying a small space in your book. . . . The subject which I shall choose is "Wesley as a Popular Preacher."

I shall write to Mr. Hocart to ask him to contribute to the work if he has time. I shall also be happy to try and get M. de Pressensé into it. He never has had, I think, the opportunity of witnessing publicly in favor of Wesley. Perhaps he may be glad to avail himself of this one.

Believe me, dear sir, yours in brotherly and Christian fellowship,

MATTHIEU LELIÈVRE.

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In bringing this work to a close the Editor will add that besides the WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH, and the WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME, he has in view a WESLEY MEMORIAL LIBRARY, and WESLEY SCHOOLS in Savannah. As a nucleus of the *first* he received, while in London, five cases of books, which are among the most appropriate of the publications of the *London Tract Society*, *The London Sunday-School Union*, *The Wesleyan Sunday-School Union*, and the *Wesleyan Book Room*. These books, the gift of these great religious houses to the WESLEY MEMORIAL LIBRARY, were conveyed, free of charge, by a Cunard steamer from Liverpool to New York, and by a steamer of the Central Railroad of Georgia from New York to Savannah. In respect of the *second*—Wesleyan schools in Savannah for the education of the children of the Methodist poor—the writer hopes that Methodist liberality, at no distant day, will establish them in that American city where Wesley taught, and where Whitefield projected his Orphan House.

In all this, and in all else he has said or done in connection with the WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH, the Editor has sought not to glorify Wesley, but Wesley's Master, and the work which Wesley's Master wrought through him. He has aimed to contribute his mite toward preserving and strengthening the unity and purity of Wesleyan Methodism, believing that it is the most

efficient Church organism which God has ordained in these latter days for the conversion of the world. And of this he is persuaded, through no boastful or sectarian spirit, but with grateful and devout recognition of the great work which the other evangelical Churches have done, and are still doing, for Christ and his Church. Indeed, the writer looks forward to the Methodist Ecumenical Council not only to strengthen the bands of the Methodist brotherhood of Churches, but to deepen and widen its catholicity toward all who, holding the head, are earnestly contending for the faith once delivered to the saints. All Methodists acquainted with our earlier Methodist history will recognize the truthfulness of the graceful tribute which Dr. Stoughton so recently paid to our Methodist Fathers when he wrote, "IT WAS IN THIS ONE PARTICULAR, BROTHERLY LOVE, THAT THE OLD METHODISTS WERE SO MIGHTY AND INVINCIBLE;" and they will recall the saying of their own Watson: "ONE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF WESLEYAN METHODISM IS ANTI-SECTARIANISM AND A CATHOLIC SPIRIT."

To the Ecumenical Council, also, the writer looks for the greater co-operation of all Methodists the world over in all evangelical work, for the wider spread of scriptural holiness over all lands, and for a revival of the Spirit's work in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, broader and deeper than that which, under God, Wesley kindled in the later half of the eighteenth. To effect these great results may the Ecumenical Council—for whose meeting the Editor has long labored, and to which, with anxious interest, he has been long looking—be pre-eminently conducive. But he does not rest here. His desires and prayers have respect, in the meeting of the Council, to the complete fraternization of those Methodist bodies, from which the causes of alienation have been providentially and happily removed; to the annihilation of every obstacle in the way of those that ought to be organically one; and to a more perfect union among themselves and with all the rest of those whose separate organisms are justified and demanded by good and sufficient reasons.

And is it too much to hope—as an immediate, or ultimate, consequence of the meeting of the Council—that Methodist doctrine will be so formulated that the Methodist standards, and the interpretation of the standards, shall be uniform among all the people called Methodists? Is it too much to expect, as another

result of the assembly, that all Methodists thenceforth, out of one and the same hymn book, shall sing the songs which give the most faithful and harmonious expression to Methodist doctrine and to Methodist experience? Is it too much to hope that the various Methodisms shall be so one in doctrine, in usages, in polity, in spirit, and in aims, that transfers may be as natural and easy from one separate Methodist body to another as from one Annual Conference to another of the same body? Is it too much to expect that even different organisms, whenever it can be conveniently done, shall unite in all their foreign mission work? Is it too much to hope that all the different Methodisms, however separated by geographical boundaries, by mountain barriers, or by intervening oceans, shall be so one in Christ Jesus the Lord, that in him the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, may make increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love? May it not be devoutly wished that greater heed will be given to the almost dying words of Wesley to Ezekiel Cooper: "Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue,

> 'Though mountains rise, and oceans roll,
> To sever them in vain?'"

May we not confidently pray that all Methodisms may be such members one of another that if one suffer all shall suffer with it; if one rejoice, all shall rejoice with it; and if one be in need and call for help, all shall be willing to lend a helping hand, and all that are able be swift to "perform the doing of it?" And may not the editor of this volume humbly but confidingly trust that at the Ecumenical Council he shall witness the sanction of assembled Methodism to his earnest and persistent efforts to secure a joint memorial of Methodism's illustrious founder?

The labors of the Editor are ended. He concludes this volume with the same prayer with which he closed its Introduction: MAY THIS BOOK DO REAL GOOD TO SOULS, AND LEAD MANY TO THINK WHAT IT WAS THAT WINS ALL THIS RENOWN TO THE ONCE HUMBLE PREACHER, BUT NOW EXALTED SAINT, WHOSE LIFE AND WORK ARE COMMEMORATED IN ITS PAGES!

MEMBERS OF THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF THE WESLEY MONUMENTAL CHURCH, IN SAVANNAH, GA.

ROBERT D. WALKER,
C. D. ROGERS,
ROBERT M'INTIRE,
R. B. REPPARD,
W. H. BURRELL,
C. H. CARSON.

# THE WESLEY MEMORIAL VOLUME;

OR,

## WESLEY AND THE METHODIST MOVEMENT JUDGED BY NEARLY ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY WRITERS, LIVING OR DEAD.

EDITED BY

## Rev. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D., LL.D.

THE above is the title of a book soon to be issued from the press of Phillips & Hunt, New York. It is published in the interest of the Wesley Monumental Church, now building in Savannah, Georgia, the only city in America where Mr. Wesley had a home and a parish. The net proceeds from the sale of the book will be exclusively devoted to the completion of the church in Savannah.

The book is made up of contributions by forty-two of the best writers of Europe and America. These are living writers, who have written able and elaborate articles on some subject relating to the life and labors of that many-sided man, John Wesley. Besides these, excerpts are made from the writings of one hundred others, living or dead. The writers are not Methodists alone; they represent nearly every branch of the evangelical Christian Church.

The book is pronounced the most unique of its kind that has ever been given to the public. The names of the writers and the subjects on which they have written are a sure pledge of the ability with which the work is written and of the interest it will awaken. It is a work approved by every branch of the evangelical Christian Church. It illustrates not only Methodism, but the Great Revival of the eighteenth century, as it affected the whole work of God in Europe and America. It is a beautiful and deserved tribute unanimously paid to the man who, under God, as Mr. Gladstone says, "gave the main impulse, out of which sprang the evangelical movement," and who, as Dean Stanley says, "was the chief reviver of religious fervor in all Protestant Churches, both of the Old and New World."

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